

An account of the transactions of His Majesty's mission to the court of Persia, : in the years 1807-11, / by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, to which is appended, a brief history of the Wahauby.

Contributors

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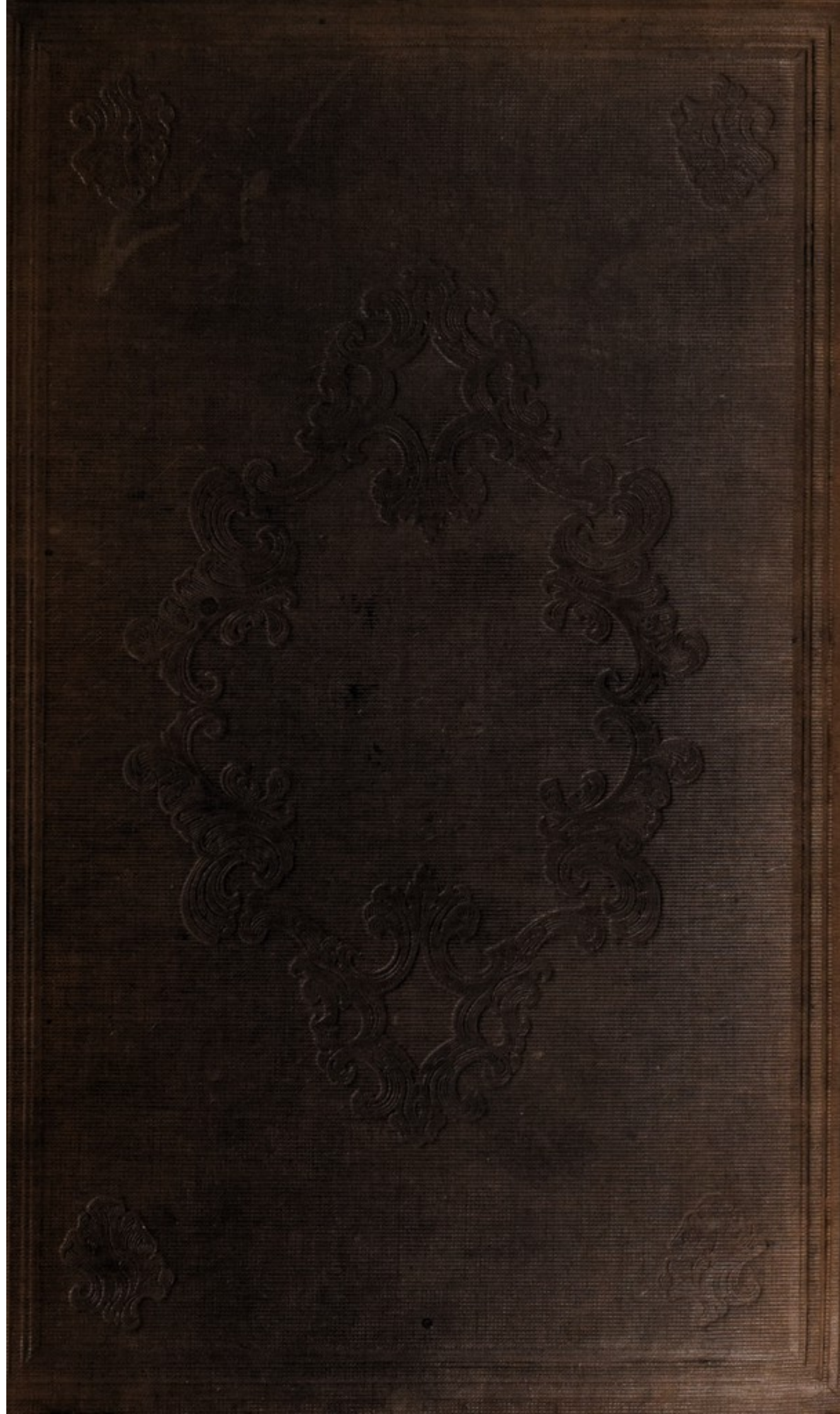
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Nicholas Magrath.


St. Hugh Henry Monk Magrath
Dec. 19th 1843 -

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Engraved by J. Neill sculp.

Lutf Ally Khan. - Aet 20.

From a Picture in the Palace of Schyrus.

AN
A C C O U N T
OF THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
HIS MAJESTY'S MISSION
TO THE COURT OF
P E R S I A,
IN THE YEARS 1807-11,
BY
SIR HARFORD JONES BRYDGES, BART.
K.C., LL.D.,
LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE COURT OF TÆHERAN.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED,
A B R I E F H I S T O R Y
OF THE
W A H A U B Y.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
JAMES BOHN, KING WILLIAM STREET, WEST STRAND.

MDCCCXXXIV.



DEDICATION.

TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

SIRE,

When YOUR MAJESTY graciously condescended to allow a former Volume to bear Your august name, I had the nature of its contents to offer, as an excuse in some sort, for venturing to ask so great a favor : there was little in it really my own, it principally contained a part of the Persian Annals turned into English.

The present Volume is materially different in its composition ; and although YOUR MAJESTY has carried Your condescension so far, as to grant me permission to lay it at Your feet ; yet, when I reflect how frequently in it I am obliged to mention myself, unbounded as I believe Your kindness of heart to be, I am almost afraid to lay such a Work

before You. But, I shall esteem myself a most happy man, if, whatever may be its deficiencies, it should serve to afford YOUR MAJESTY some amusement at Your hours of leisure, and serve also to manifest that deep and dutiful veneration for the Honor and Character of MY SOVEREIGN, which, as far as I know myself, pervaded every thing I said or did in Persia.

I now, with unfeigned submission, lay the Volume at YOUR MAJESTY'S feet,—and subscribe myself, in all humility, and with the deepest respect,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and most grateful

Subject and Servant,

HARFORD JONES BRYDGES.

AVANT PROPOS.

HAVING already acknowledged, and apologized to my Sovereign, for the egotism which pervades some of the following pages, do not expect, Reader, that I shall repeat the same to you, nor be offended, if I at once declare that His Majesty's gracious permission to lay such a trifle as this Volume, at his feet, renders me perfectly indifferent to all the censures which private or public criticism may think proper to make on it.

But there are remarks I would willingly make to you, Reader, before you enter on the account of the Mission to Persia confided to my care.

First,—That in the account I give of its proceedings, not one single word is set down but what I either know, or believe to be true.

Secondly,—That had I been so minded, I could have multiplied, to a considerable extent, extracts of the praise I received for my conduct during the course of the Mission, from those whose praise might be considered an honor, by persons of much higher rank and ability than myself.

Thirdly,—That I have spoken throughout the whole as tenderly, and complained as little of the annoyance I received from some, and the ingratitude I experienced from

others, as is consistent with the thread of my narrative,—and believe me, gentle reader, this does not proceed from any apprehension, that on pursuing a different method, I might be retorted upon, but purely from that disposition of mind, which I would seriously recommend every man, at my age, to cherish,—namely, to forgive, in order to be forgiven by Him, with whom alone substantial forgiveness rests.

Lastly,—That which I am most anxious to prove to you, is, that if the Persians, as a nation, are accused of being addicted to some heavy vices, they nevertheless possess many, and great virtues. One may allow oneself to smile at some of the pages of Hajee Baba, but it would be just as wise to estimate the national character of the Persians, from the adventures of that fictitious person, as it would be to estimate the national character of the Spaniards, from those of Don Raphael, or his worthy coadjutor, Ambrose de Lamela.

It may be said, our perceptions and taste vary; true;—and I trust I think very humbly and soberly of mine; but knowing the Persians as well as I do, I will boldly say the greater part of their vices originate in the vices of their Government; whilst such virtues as they do possess, proceed from qualities of the mind, which, in all countries, render human nature amiable and agreeable to others, and essentially contribute to make it respectable in ourselves.

THE MISSION.

“I will a round unvarnished tale deliver,
“Of my whole course.”

SHAKSPEARE.

“He could speak an equivocal speech, and would fancy
“himself a skilful negociator upon the faith of a doubtful
“sentence, yet in general the feelings of his heart would
“bubble up to the surface unrestrained.”

MARY OF BURGUNDY.

THE MISSION.

"Semper ego auditur tantum? nunquamne reponam,

"Vexatus toties."

JUVENAL.

I WAS first appointed to take charge of this Mission in the month of February, 1807, when Lord Howick, now Earl Grey, held the seals of the Foreign Office, and the late Right Hon. George Tierney presided at the Board of Control. Considering the relations which had subsisted between Russia and Persia, and considering also the various positions which latterly Russia and France had assumed towards each other, I suggested to Mr. Tierney the expediency of my proceeding to Persia by way of St. Petersburg, of which he approved.

Whilst I was resident at Bagdad, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. Charles Richard Vaughan, a gentleman who has since filled, with singular credit to himself, and advantage to his country, various diplomatic situations in Europe and America. This gentleman was my guest for some months at Bagdad, and when he left me, he proceeded into Persia, from whence, until he fell dangerously ill at Reshd in Ghilan,

he regularly furnished me with a variety of interesting and well selected intelligence. He had reached England but a short time before my own arrival, and on meeting him, I was rejoiced to find that he had an inclination to undertake another journey to Persia, and what was of more consequence to me, that he had no disinclination to accept the second place in the Mission. This gave me sincere satisfaction, well knowing that under all circumstances which could happen, I might rely on receiving from him the most useful assistance and counsel, and that in the event of any accident to myself, the public business would be left in hands so honest, so honorable, and so able, that my loss would not be felt.

During my stay at Constantinople, on my way home, I had become acquainted with Mr. James Morier, at the house of his father, the then Consul General. He had lately arrived at Constantinople from Smyrna, where he had been settled in a mercantile partnership with a Mr. Wilkinson of that place. When Mr. Arbuthnot confided to me the charge of his despatches, Mr. Morier wanting to go to England, I gave him a place in my carriage, and franked his passage home: and the civilities I had received from his father, both whilst I resided at Bagdad, and at Constantinople, induced me, as he was out of employment, to accede to his wish of accompanying me to Persia as my private secretary. I made a request there-

fore to Mr. Tierney to that effect, who most obligingly granted it.

The Mission therefore intended to proceed to Persia through Russia, consisted of myself as envoy, Mr. Vaughan as public secretary, and Mr. James Morier as my private secretary. It will be recollected, however, that early in March of that year, whilst every thing for our departure was in an active state of preparation, a change of His Majesty's Counsellors took place. A new administration was then formed under arrangements made by the late Duke of Portland, in consequence of which, the late Mr. Canning was appointed to the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the present Lord Melville to that of President of the Board of India Control.

Several papers connected with the proposed Mission had been delivered to me, and several articles designed for presents had been prepared, and were in my possession; it therefore became my duty to embrace as early an opportunity as was decorous, to present myself to the new President of the Board of Control, and take his orders on the subject of them. Mr. Dundas received me very civilly, desiring me to retain the papers and presents till I heard farther from him.

My constant and warm friend, the late Lord Melville, now arrived from Scotland in London. It was he, when holding the office now filled by his son, who had entrusted to my charge in 1798,

the mission to Bagdad, in performing the duties of which, I was fortunate enough to merit his entire and uniform approbation, so much so, as to induce him to mention me favorably on all occasions, where he thought it might do me service. I therefore took the earliest opportunity of waiting on his lordship after his arrival from Scotland. I had the pleasure of seeing his lordship at his house in Cleveland Row. He received me in the kindest manner, and spoke of my services at Bagdad in such flattering terms, that I can safely say, afforded me the utmost gratification ; for at this period of my life, which is now fast drawing to a close, and when whatever wishes I may have felt to advance myself have been disappointed, and are now dead, I always consider it no small honor to have merited (or at least received), unqualified praise from such a statesman as Henry Viscount Melville, and no small happiness to have been admitted to a certain degree of familiar intercourse with him ; particularly as he knew the friendship with which I was at the same time honored by some of his political opponents. When I took my leave of his lordship, he kindly made use of these words ; “ I think so well of you, and your services at Bagdad have been such, that if there is anything in which I can promote your interest, name it, and I shall have pleasure in doing it.”

At this time I made no mention to his Lordship of the mission to Persia, nor in what manner I

had been concerned in it, for my greatly respected, and invaluable friend, the late Sir Hugh Inglis, for whose advice, assistance, and friendship, I am under the greatest, and never-to-be-forgotten obligations, as well as the late Sir Francis Baring, were of opinion that it would be more advantageous to me to pursue the regular line of the Company's service, (in which they both assured me they would use all their influence for my advancement to the very best appointments), than to throw myself out of it, by taking charge of a mission to Persia.

It was about the very latter end of April, Mr. Vaughan mentioned to me, that a friend of his had told him, that he was present in a company, where Lord Melville was asked if he had heard anything of a Mission to Persia, and if he knew under whose charge it was to proceed, and that his Lordship answered "Yes, and I wish it had left England, for it is a very important one, and it is under charge of Mr. Jones, a better man than whom, could not have been chosen."

Not long after this was told to me by Mr. Vaughan, I received a note from Mr. Robert Dundas, desiring me to wait on him at the India Board Office, when he informed me that Ministers had determined that I should retain the appointment of envoy to Persia, and that they had also determined, in consequence of representations made by the East India Company, that the mis-

sion, as to all the other members of it, should be new modelled. On receiving this information, I confess my first feelings were to declare I would not undertake a mission of so much delicacy and responsibility, unless I had the power of choosing my private secretary. Before, however, I said anything on this point, it seemed prudent to consult with Sir Hugh Inglis, and Sir Francis Baring. The former appeared inclined to take my own view of the subject; whilst Sir Francis strongly urged the necessity and propriety, as matters had gone so far, of my accepting the appointment, on the terms it was offered, laying much stress on the certainty of my success in Persia, and the future advantage to me, which that success would be fraught with.*

* I see no impropriety now in distinctly saying, both these kind friends assured me, if the mission was successful, that they would, on my return, use their utmost influence and exertions to procure for me the government of Bombay; the present Lord Melville knows that Sir Hugh Inglis, as Chairman of the Company, mentioned this to him in strong terms: and perhaps my Lord may remember the sort of apologetic terms he made use of to me, when he informed me of Sir Evan Nepean's appointment. "We shall be able to pop you in on some future opening." Now the comical part of the story is, that the person whose embassy to Persia to turn out the French, completely failed, had afterwards the Government of Bombay; and that I, whose embassy was completely successful, was not only refused that, but when the narrowness of my circumstances made it convenient to me to ask for employment, I was refused offices, which persons far my juniors in the Company's Civil Service, might have asked for without being ac-

Seeing two of my excellent friends not entirely agreed as to which was the best line of conduct for me to pursue, I repaired to a third (who had long honored me with his advice and good opinion), I mean the late General Fitzpatrick, who, after a long conversation, concluded by saying, "I sincerely wish you had left England whilst we were in administration, but as from our repeated and long communications together, I am convinced, whatever difficulties you may meet with, you will succeed, it is impossible in that case that any set of men, whether your friends, or those to whom you are not much known, can refuse to reward you proportionably to your deserts." This put an end to all doubt, and in company with Sir Hugh Inglis, I acquainted Mr. Dundas that I was ready to obey the commands of His Majesty's Government.

Shortly after, I waited on the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, at the India House. I was received civilly enough; but I was informed by them, that Ministers had left in their power the nomination of the public and private secretary to the mission, and that it

cused of presumption. Had Henry Viscount Melville, and Sir Francis Baring, lived till I returned, matters would not have gone thus with me : however,—

—————"Hoc decus illi

Hoc solamen erat, bellis hoc victor alibat

Omnibus."

was their intention to appoint to the first, Major Lewis Smith, who had been in the service of some of the native Princes in India, and who had just arrived in England from Bengal; and to the latter, one of their own junior civil servants, who would hereafter be made known to me. This new arrangement, as it regarded Mr. Vaughan, was to him a matter of no importance, but to me it was a matter of the greatest concern; and I well knew, and truly lamented, the loss I sustained of so amiable and able a coadjutor. The case, as far as it respected Mr. Morier, was totally different, to whom, to retain the situation to which he had been appointed, was a matter of great importance; and for him, at his own instance, and that of his friends, I determined to fight as stiff a battle as possible.

My first object was to see Lord Melville, to whom I freely stated how much I was cast down by the arrangement which had been communicated to me at the India House, and frankly told him, that unless I was permitted to choose my own private secretary, he would oblige me if he would, in the manner most proper, and least offensive, convey to Mr. Dundas my wish to resign the appointment of Envoy to Persia. His Lordship condescended to say he felt very strongly for my situation, and spoke at the same time in the highest terms of Mr. Vaughan; but added, as the East India Company "pay the piper," and Government

appoint the Envoy, it was thought but fair the Company should have the appointment of the two secretaries.

His Lordship however was good enough to say he would speak strongly on the subject to Mr. Robert Dundas ; and that perhaps if I made a good battle at the India House, I might be able also to retain Mr. Morier. This ultimately, after much solicitation, and at the expense of receiving some peevish expressions from the Chairmen, I effected.

It was impossible there could be a more amiable person than Major Smith, and as he knew the Persian language well, and spoke it fluently, I should have been extremely happy to have received him as private secretary, but the service in which he had been employed in India, the rank of which, as compared either with that of His Majesty's, or of the Company's service, the Persians could not fail to be acquainted with, made him in my judgment, by no means a proper person to hold the second rank in a mission, which was for the first time to enter that country directly from the King.

The political events which took place since the beginning of March, caused all idea of the mission proceeding through Russia to be abandoned as early as the end of April, and as the effects of those events were gradually developing themselves, His Majesty's Ministers fixed various periods for its departure, which were repeatedly postponed

and changed. Early in the month of August, His Majesty was graciously pleased to confer on me the dignity of Baronet of Great Britain, which Lord Melville, in a letter to Sir Hugh Inglis,* told me to consider as a reward for my services at Bagdad, and for the effort I had made, by crossing the Baltic in an open boat in the dead of winter, to bring home Mr. Adair's and the King of Prussia's despatches. This was confirmed to me by Mr. Secretary Canning, when I kissed His Majesty's hands for the honor conferred on me.

As soon as the Mission was finally arranged at the India House, I was desired to purchase any further articles which I thought might be acceptable to the King of Persia as presents. In such matters I had had pretty fair experience during my long residence at Bussora and Bagdad, and my different visits to Persia; and I had uniformly found presents in money were always the most acceptable, because neither the presenter, nor the presented, could possibly estimate their value differently. And I always found that presents so made, were in the end the least expensive to my employers, or to myself, because there was no

* In this letter, Henry Viscount Melville distinctly said, if I succeeded in Persia, he would exert all his influence to procure me the appointment of Governor of Bombay; and when my success was communicated to his Lordship, and that I had tendered my resignation, and requested leave to return to England, his Lordship emphatically said to Sir Hugh Inglis, "this is the only false step he has taken in the business."

profit paid to a mechanic for workmanship. I had no fear of wounding the Persian delicacy, for I knew, from the intimacy which had long subsisted between myself and some of the principal Persian Ministers, that I could, when on the spot, obtain the loan of any valuable articles from them, to make the *ostensible present*, which after being carried in form to the King, should be returned to me, and the amount of the *peishcush* or present afterwards sent in money. By this means, the Company would probably save a full quarter, as well as the charge of commission, paid to the merchants by some of my predecessors.

Being in London, and having nothing to do, it happened one day that I went into Phillips's the auctioneer in Bond Street, when a large brilliant diamond was offered for sale, for which the biddings were so low, that it was bought in. It was a jewel of no common magnitude, and after Phillips had left his desk, I had the curiosity to enquire to whom it belonged, and was told that the proprietor was the representative of the late William Hornby, Esq. formerly governor of Bombay; and that the very respectable house of Bruce, Fawcett, and Co. had the disposal of the stone for that gentleman.

With the history of this diamond I had long been acquainted, and it may not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader to learn something of it.

This stone was brought out of Persia by some Armenians to Bombay in the year 1779, from

which, I conclude it to be one of those royal jewels which fell into private hands in the confusion which took place at Schyras, on the death of Kesim Khan. From these Armenians it was purchased by an Armenian lady at Bombay, of the name of Cross, but whose more frequent and better known appellation was Madame Pompone. Mr. Hornby was at that time governor of Bombay, and the East India Company then allowed their civil servants the privilege of trading on their own account, so that Mr. Hornby was not only the first in dignity and authority, but also the first and greatest merchant at Bombay. To him Madame Pompone exhibited her splendid purchase, and offered at the same time to sell it. The purchase was soon concluded by Mr. Hornby and the late Mr. David Scott, at the price of something like £21,000. In the year 1782, the late Mr. H., son-in-law to Mr. Hornby, proceeded from Bombay to England by way of Bassora, and to this gentleman's care Mr. Hornby entrusted the diamond, with directions on his arrival in England to deliver it to the late John Hunter, Esq. an East India Director. The extraordinary part of the business is, that Mr. Hornby never communicated to Mr. H. the nature and value of his charge, and Mr. H. not being able to see Mr. Hunter immediately on his arrival, left the packet in a house where he had slept the first night of his arrival, and from whence, contrary to what might have been expected, he was fortunate enough to recover it.

The form of this diamond does not equal its water and color : with its water no serious fault can be found, and its tinge or color is that which is never considered by jewellers to deteriorate the value of a diamond—I mean a slight shade of pink when placed in certain lights : the form is what the oriental jewellers call an irregular circle, but capable of being much improved if the stone were submitted to new cutting and some loss of substance. Could a purchaser have been found for it, it ought, according to the late Mr. Jeffries' tables, every allowance being made, to have been sold for between £24,000, and £25,000.

No such purchaser however did present himself in England, and as the Empress of Russia, Catherine, had not long before purchased from an Armenian the great diamond known by the Koo-i-Noor or Mountain of Light, which had also been clandestinely carried out of Persia subsequently to the murder of Nadir Shah ; it was considered not improbable, she might wish to become possessed of this also. With this view, Mr. Hunter made a journey to Petersburg, but whether he estimated the diamond too high, or the jewel did not please the Empress, he returned with it unsold to England, where it remained till the period I am speaking of. Mr. Scott, not long after Mr. Hornby purchased it, sold his share of the jewel to Mr. Hornby, whose representative was now the sole proprietor.

Those who have dealt in precious stones are well aware it seldom happens that diamonds of the magnitude of the one in question, purchased even at a very favorable price, can be so readily disposed of again as to prevent the interest of money invested from absorbing the profit when the gem is resold : but in the instance before us, the gentlemen who purchased this diamond of Madame Pompone, gave so high a price for it, as to lead one to imagine they trusted to an immediate resale, in which however they were sadly disappointed ; and I calculate that when the stone was put to auction at Phillips's, its cost to the proprietor had been as follows ;—viz. prime cost £21,000, twenty-six years interest at 5 per cent. £27,000, total £48,000.

After a conversation with Mr. Fawcett, the jewel was directed to be held at my orders, and the following arrangement respecting it was concluded between myself and that gentleman ; that on my leaving London to embark for Persia, it should be delivered to me to put into the hands of Captain Davies on freight ; that on my arrival in India, it should be lodged in the hands of Messrs. Bruce's firm at Bombay, and that on my departure from thence to Persia, it should be delivered to me to take with me at the risk of the proprietor, until parted with, and that the terms of parting with it should be entirely left to my discretion. The reader will by and by hear more of this jewel.

On the 27th of October, 1807, His Majesty's Sloop of War, of 24 guns, the *Sapphire*, Captain George Davies, sailed from Portsmouth, with instructions to convey myself, and the gentlemen attached to the Mission, first to Bombay, and from thence to Bushire, in the Gulf of Persia.

The passage to Madeira, if not a remarkable, was at least a very favourable one, for, on the eighth day, in the morning, I landed at Funchal, the *Sapphire* having, late in the preceding evening, anchored in the road. The passage from Madeira to the Cape was not proportionably good, and our arrival at Bombay, from the difficulty we experienced from not keeping enough to the southward, to make our casting between the Cape and India, was protracted to the 26th of April, 1808, when I learnt, that in consequence of the great delay that had taken place in my arrival, Brigadier-General Malcolm, had been appointed by Lord Minto, the then Governor-General of India, to proceed to Tæheran, as his Envoy, and that he had just sailed for Persia; indeed, whilst the *Sapphire* was working into Bombay Harbour, some of the vessels composing part of his fleet, were to be seen standing to the northward, on their course to the Gulf. I was told from good authority, that the *Sapphire's* evening gun, on the night preceding her arrival, was distinctly heard at Bombay.*

I had long been, not only in official, but the

* Mr. Duncan, the Governor, mentioned this to me.

most friendly correspondence with Mr. Duncan, at that time Governor of Bombay, and I was received by him in a manner the most hospitable, and which gave me the greatest pleasure.

It was certainly untoward enough to reflect that General Malcolm should have departed with the Sapphire almost in sight; but the information I received from Mr. Duncan, respecting the state of the French Mission, and of our affairs in Persia, made me consider it my duty not to interfere in any shape with the step General Malcolm had taken, but patiently to await the result of it at Bombay. As it was evident some months must elapse before this could be known, I was desirous, as soon as possible, to communicate to the Governor-General, not only my arrival in India, but the resolution I had taken, of suspending for the present my departure to Persia. And to render this communication as respectful as possible to his Lordship, I sent my dispatches to him, under the care of the public secretary to the Mission, Major Smith. In answer to this communication I received from Lord Minto the most flattering commendation, on the *wisdom, propriety, and disinterestedness* of my conduct.

General Malcolm, after some little negociation at Bushire, between himself and the Persian ministers, determined to withdraw from Persia; and sailed from Bushire direct to Calcutta. As soon as the intelligence of this reached the Gover-

nor-General, he wrote to me overland, urging me *in the most earnest manner* to proceed to Persia *with as little delay as possible*.

Fortunately for me it so happened that H. M. ship *La Nereide*, Captain Corbett, which had been employed in the River Plata on the memorable expedition under the command of General White-lock, had grounded in that river, and was supposed to have received so much damage as to require going into dock : this accommodation could not be afforded her at the Cape, and therefore Captain Corbett had brought her to Bombay ; and Sir Edward Pellew, being on the Coromandel coast, her gallant Captain became senior King's naval officer at Bombay. Understanding my wish of proceeding to Persia immediately, Captain Corbett was so good as to offer *La Nereide* for myself and a part of the Mission ; an offer I was delighted to accept. In seven days therefore, from receiving Lord Minto's letter, I embarked on board *La Nereide*, and she, with the *Sapphire*, and a very small vessel belonging to the Company, called the *Sylph*, sailed out of Bombay harbour for Persia on the 12th September, 1808.

The Mission then consisted of the following persons :—Myself, Envoy ; Major Smith, public Secretary, absent at Calcutta ; Mr. James Morier, private Secretary ; Mr. Thomas Henry Sheridan, Political Assistant ; Captain James Sutherland, Surveyor ; Cornet Willock, who had been attached

to General Malcolm's Mission, but left by him at Bombay ; and a native Persian Secretary recommended to me by Mr. Duncan.

On the 14th October, 1808, *La Nereide* and the *Sapphire* anchored in Bushire roads, and by my desire, Mr. Bruce, the East India Company's resident at that port, came to me on board *La Nereide*. After a long conversation with him he returned on shore that night, to settle with the Governor of the town (whom I had known from a youth) some preliminaries regarding my reception on shore next day, all which, in the present state of things, I deemed necessary to have arranged before I left *La Nereide* ; and very early on the following morning, I had the pleasure to receive a communication from Mr. Bruce, that whatever I had demanded in this respect, had been most readily granted. In the course of the day Shaik Abdul Resoul, and the principal merchants of the town, came on board *La Nereide* to compliment me on my arrival, and towards mid-day, under a salute from both of H. M. ships, the gentlemen of the Mission and myself proceeded on shore, accompanied by the governor, and the persons who had attended him on board *La Nereide*. As Captain Corbett never wasted that, which on the public or any other service, is most valuable, I mean time, he was desirous of returning to India immediately after I landed. Hasty dispatches therefore, for India and England, merely stating that the Mission

had landed, and was well received, were prepared and delivered to him; and in the course of the evening, I parted from my gallant, high-minded honorable friend, alas! never to meet again!

I am aware that the necessity and even the propriety of the strict discipline which he maintained on board his ship, has not only been questioned, but his conduct severely censured; and though I at once profess myself incompetent to offer an opinion on the subject, still I have sailed often enough on board H. M. ships of war, to observe, that, not only the general temper, disposition, and habits of their several crews varied, but that the state of perfection to which they had arrived, in the performance of the seaman's duty, differed; and I can scarcely imagine that the loudest of Captain Corbett's censurers in this respect, will go the length of asserting, that a raw ill-disposed crew can be treated in the same manner as a crew of veterans, well trained and well disposed, can, and ought to be. Therefore, till these gentlemen chuse to affirm, which of these two descriptions of men Captain Corbett had to deal with, all their unkind observations on the memory of that brave man, must, with unprejudiced minds, go for nothing. It is enough for me to bear testimony as an eye witness, whilst on board *La Nereide*, to the tenderness of heart, benevolence, and earnest attention to their comfort, which were daily, without the smallest ostentation, manifested by Captain Cor-

bett towards the sick : and, I can safely say, if when well, he treated his crew as a strict commander, when any of them were ill, he treated them more like beloved children, than any thing else.

This gallant man had a fixed opinion, that the superiority of our navy over that of other countries, arose principally from the superiority of the discipline we maintained in it ; and when a sort of mutiny was apparent in La Nereide's crew at Bombay ; and I was cautioned even by Mr. Duncan, as to what might be the effect of it, on the passage up the Gulph ; the following words made a part of his address to all hands, who were turned upon deck, almost instantly after the ceremony of receiving me on board was finished :—" Gentlemen, " I find you have indirectly, and in no very proper " manner, complained to the civil authorities on " shore, of the treatment you receive on board His " Majesty's ship under my command. For my part, " I shall be glad if any of you will bring me before " my proper tribunal, a court-martial ; and I here " promise you, before a person invested with the " representation of our common Sovereign, that " when this voyage is finished, I will afford to " such as may be desirous of doing this, every " facility in my power. In the meantime, I tell " you plainly, as long as we sail together, by G—d, " I will keep you strictly to your duty, and that " it is a matter of perfect indifference to me,

“ whether I lose my life in supporting what I consider to be the proper and necessary discipline of our service, or whether I lose it in battle, it will be as well lost for the interests of my king and country, in the one case as in the other.” The effect of this speech may be judged of by the circumstance of a gruff voice rising from amongst the seamen, as they were shuffling from the deck, uttering most audibly, “ Well said, old iron-bound, by G—d !”

In the exercise of his principle of discipline, Corbett never shewed any respect to persons, an instance of which I was one day witness to. As he and I, after dinner, were walking the quarter-deck, the weather being extremely hot, Mr. Sheridan had seated himself on the carriage of one of the quarter-deck carronades. Corbett, on perceiving it, went up to him, and said, “ My dear Sir, forgive me, but if His Majesty had intended the quarter-deck of his ship to be made a drawing room, *he, no doubt*, would have commanded it to have been furnished with chairs and velvet cushions, for the use of his officers and their friends.” I confess it struck me as no common proof of the great good sense, good temper, and amiable disposition, which my friend Sheridan so eminently possessed, that instead of receiving this rather abrupt address with displeasure, and starting off below, he joined Corbett and myself, and told the former, with a smile, “ that if, at any future

“ time, His Majesty should order cushions for the
“ quarter-deck of La Nereide, he hoped he should
“ be consulted as to the fringes, because he con-
“ sidered himself to possess an exquisitely good
“ taste in those articles.”

The smallest thing out of its place, or not adjusted *au point*, made Corbett irritably uneasy; and his eye was constantly roving above or below over every part of the ship, to see that all was right. It happened, one day, that I came into the cabin, whilst Corbett was in one of the quarter galleries, and though the door was open, I was not aware that he was there, nor was he aware that I was in the cabin. I began to read, and in a little time, was much amused and surprised to hear Captain Corbett utter, pretty loud, the following exclamation:—“ Well, old Nereide, let them say what they
“ will of thee, thou art a beautiful beast, by G—d.”

Corbett had a great passion for an opportunity being afforded him to fight La Nereide, which carried twelve pounders, against a French frigate, carrying eighteen pounders, and he appeared to have no doubt about the result of the engagement being in his favor. Just before La Nereide sailed for the Gulf of Persia, there had been on the coast, to the northward of Bombay, a French frigate of this description, and she escaped being brought to action by Capt. Foote, in consequence of his carrying away the fore-topmast of his frigate in the chase. It was by

no means certain that this vessel had left the coast, and Corbett's first question in the morning was, "any sail in sight?" and his last wish at night, that we might fall in with this French frigate. This idea had taken such possession of his mind, that frequently, in the course of each day, he exclaimed to me; "I wish we may fall in with the Frenchman. I will then either do what has not yet been done in the navy, or go to the bottom." Never thinking, that though this, to him, whose trade was fighting, might be very agreeable, yet, to me, whose trade was writing, it was by no means a consummation devoutly to be wished.

I lament having to add, that Capt. Corbett lost his valuable life in an action off the island of Bourbon, with two French frigates, and as I cannot find any account of this most remarkable and gallant action given in *Dodsley's Annual Register*, I extract the following from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for the years 1810-11.

"Captain Rowley arrived at St. Paul's, about
"the same time the enemy arrived off Bourbon,
"waiting for a reinforcement, but not anticipating
"any certain succour which might afford him
"adequate means to check the effrontery of the
"enemy, to clear the British port from molesta-
"tion, and to drive him once more within his own
"seas. On the 12th of September, within two
"days after his return to the island, under the
"mortifying circumstances explained, the com-

“ modore had the good fortune to hear of the
“ arrival at St. Denis, of H.M. frigate, the Africaine,
“ from England, under the command of Captain
“ Corbett. The Boadicea was immediately pre-
“ pared for sea, and accompanied by the other
“ sloop of war and Staunch gun brig, proceeded
“ to join the Africaine, for the purpose of attack-
“ ing the French frigates, which stood off to sea,
“ with a fresh breeze to the eastward, as soon as
“ the British force was discovered. The enemy’s
“ ships had the advantage of the wind ; the En-
“ glish division being subjected, from their relative
“ situation, to light baffling airs. The Africaine,
“ experiencing after a short interval a favorable
“ but partial breeze, came before the fall of the
“ evening close to the enemy, and lost not sight
“ of him in any part of the night, maintaining,
“ during the chace, a communication with the
“ Boadicea by means of night signals.

“ Captain Corbett, before it was dark, had mani-
“ fested so much superiority in sailing, that he
“ thought himself justified in shortening sail within
“ gun shot of the enemy, apparently with a view
“ of the Boadicea’s coming up. The Boadicea,
“ who was a bad sailer, was several miles astern,
“ and the gallant and impetuous spirit of Captain
“ Corbett did not allow him to wait for her coming
“ up, for he saw if he did so, the enemy would in
“ the meantime escape. He resolved, therefore,
“ to attack both, with his single frigate, and he

“ ran up at three o'clock in the morning, and
“ opened a heavy fire on each. The action con-
“ tinued with great fury for some time: the En-
“ glish fire made dreadful carnage with the enemy;
“ but at length the masts of the *Africaine* went
“ by the board. Captain Corbett was killed, and
“ every man on deck, except three, being either
“ killed or wounded, and the ship being at the
“ same time reduced to an unmanageable wreck,
“ struck her colors, and was taken possession of
“ by the enemy.

“ During this unequal conflict, Commodore
“ Rowley made every effort to join the *Africaine*,
“ but the two French frigates had suffered so
“ severely in the action with the *Africaine*, that
“ they had no inclination to renew the battle with
“ the *Boadicea*; on her approach, they left their
“ prize to be taken possession of by Commodore
“ Rowley, and made off with all possible dispatch
“ to the Isle of France, to refit the damages they
“ had sustained in their action with the *Africaine*.
“ They were both much crippled, and owed their
“ escape entirely to the heaviness of the *Boadicea*'s
“ sailing. The *Africaine* landed 120 wounded at
“ St. Paul's, and she had 50 killed outright in the
“ action.”

The manner of my poor friend's death was reported to me after my return to England, by the father of one of the gentlemen midshipmen who was fortunate enough to escape suffering in the

dreadful carnage. In the early part of the action, Captain Corbett was twice wounded, but would not quit the quarter-deck; he afterwards received a wound, so very serious in its nature, as to disable him from remaining longer on deck, and he was carried below to have his wounds dressed, and be laid in his cot. When the colors were struck, this young gentleman was sent below to Captain Corbett for his sword, that it might be delivered to the French officer who came on board to take possession of the vessel. When this person came to the side of his captain's cot, he found him with his uniform sword lying by him on his cot, over which were hanging two fancy swords, one of which had been presented to him in testimony of former gallant conduct. Understanding what was required of him, and notwithstanding the agony he was in, Corbett contrived, as his cot swung near the port, to throw his uniform sword into the sea; then told the young gentleman to take which of the other swords he pleased, tore the dressings from his wounds, and bled to death. If this be not an instance of "the ruling passion strong in death," I know not what is.

Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitæ—*sed famam extendere factis*
Hoc virtutis opus est.

To return to the Mission,—I was now fairly embarked in the prosecution of that which had for so many months occupied my thoughts, and

embarked in it under circumstances of more awful responsibility than I had originally contemplated. The information I obtained at Bombay of the proceedings of General Malcolm, was by no means so full as it might have been, and I had but a very hasty sight of a very long paper which he had delivered to the Persian ministry, under the form and title of a Declaration, on the contents and necessity of which I am obliged to say, I differed in opinion with the General; but reflecting on the position in which I was placed, it appeared to me the wisest course I could adopt, would be to give my proceedings as much as possible the appearance of agreement with his, instead of acting as I should have done, had I commenced my negotiation with the Persian ministers under other circumstances, and unfettered by these considerations.

It became incumbent upon me therefore to ascertain precisely what was the opinion of the Court, and Persians in general, as to the intentions with which General Malcolm had returned to India; and I soon found it to be, that he departed from Bushire with the design of prevailing on the Governor-General to place a large force under his command, with which he might return, and by means of it, force the King to renounce the connection it was said he had formed with the French; and in addition to this, I found that the Persians generally believed, that one of the unfortunate princes of the Zend family, then living at

Bombay, was to accompany this armament, and if necessary, to employ himself in rallying the friends of his family in the southern parts of the empire. Such assuredly was the opinion of the Persians, and such assuredly placed me in no very pleasant situation. I cheered myself, however, with the reflection that I was now within reach of communication with some very old and steady friends, whom I was quite certain, would represent every measure I took, in the most favorable light ;—would, in all cases of difficulty, give me valuable and disinterested advice ;—and would, on all occasions, give me information, from the best and surest sources to which they had access.

There was at this time living in exile at Bushire, Abdullah Aga, a Turk, who had for some years been Governor of Bussora, and afterwards, during my residence at Bagdad of Merdin ; through the whole of which time, a very intimate correspondence and friendship, as long as Suleiman Paçha lived, subsisted between us. The great abilities of this gentleman were highly valued both at Constantinople and Taheran, and his probity, honesty, and humanity, had rendered him exceedingly beloved and dear to all the inhabitants of the cities and countries under the Governments of Bussora and Merdin. In consequence, he became an object of great jealousy to Ally Paçha, the successor of Suleiman, who had, unsuccessfully, attempted to seize him ; whilst the esteem in which

he was held by the King of Persia and his ministers, was so great, that he was consulted by them in all their transactions of importance with the Court of Constantinople.

This gentleman was so kind as to visit me on board *La Nereide* ; and on the morning after I landed at Bushire, paid me another visit at the factory house in the country, at which he expressed a desire to converse with me in private. As soon as we were alone, I was rejoiced to find he had a letter for me, from my old and powerful friend Meerza Bozurg ; but on opening it, I was as much disappointed, to perceive it contained nothing more than commonplace compliments, and assurances of the pleasure he should receive in seeing me again, provided such “should be our fortune,” (*nasseeb.*) I suspect that my countenance on reading this letter, betrayed disappointment, for Abdullah Aga, with a very particular tone and manner, said, “but the letter is not the whole I have for you from Meerza Bozurg,—I have a message also—it is short but very important :—‘ lose no time in letting me know, through Abdullah Aga, your plans and wishes—it will be your own fault if you are not admitted to the presence ; and as you have many and strong friends, particularly amongst several merchants who have great influence, it will also be your own fault if you do not succeed. I might have been appointed to negotiate with you, but, as in that case, I

“ ‘ should have deprived myself of rendering you
“ ‘ many services when occasions offer, I declined it.
“ ‘ The children whom you left children at Schyras,
“ ‘ are become men ; one of them is minister to the
“ ‘ Prince Royal, and nothing concerning your
“ ‘ Mission will be concluded, without the prince’s
“ ‘ knowledge and concurrence. Whatever hap-
“ ‘ pens, keep your temper till you reach Tæheran,
“ ‘ and push on as quick as you can.’ ”

In the course of a day or two, I received a letter from Mahommed Nebée Khan, who was then at Schyras; and as this person appeared in India as an envoy from the King of Persia, to the Governor-General, the reader will not find fault with me, I hope, if I give some account of my connection with him.

Immediately after my arrival at Bussora, in the year 1784, I determined to commence studying Persian; but to find any one willing to become my preceptor was difficult; and to find one, either at Bassora or Bushire, who spoke the language with purity, and who possessed a decent knowledge of Persian literature, was much more difficult. I visited Schyras, for the first time, in 1786, and both on my way there, and on my return, I made some stay at Bushire; during that time I became well acquainted with a merchant named Hajee Kheleel, who afterwards was appointed envoy to the Bengal Government, on the part of the King of Persia; and who most unfortunately lost his life in an affray at Bombay, on his way to Calcutta.

Mohammed Nebbee Khan's mother had formerly been protected by Mr. Douglas, chief, for some time, of the factory at Gombroon, and afterwards of that at Bussora. By this gentleman she had a daughter, who, in course of time, became heiress to Mr. Douglas's fortune, and who, after being educated in England, married an English gentleman, of rank and great respectability.

On the decease of Mr. Douglas, the mother, who was originally a pyrist or worshipper of fire, was persuaded to change her religion, and to marry a very respectable merchant at Bushire, named Aga Cutchuk, by whom she had Mohammed Nebbee; a daughter, married to Hajee Kheleel; and several other children. Some unlucky speculations in trade, had, before his decease, reduced Aga Cutchuk to very narrow circumstances, and a very principal part of the support of the widow and her children, was derived from remittances made to the family, from England, by her very amiable daughter above alluded to.

To Hajee Kheleel, I had applied to procure me a moonshee, or preceptor, in Persia, and he recommended Mohammed Nebbee to me, who was an exceedingly amiable, well-informed young man, and what is much prized among the Persians, wrote a most beautiful hand. The allowances I then received from the East India Company,* did

* At this time, and for *the fourteen years* I served them at Bas-sora, I never received from them more than 150 rupees per month, or £169. 1s. 9d. per annum, amounting, in 14 years, to the sum of

not permit me to give Mohammed Nebbee a better salary than thirty rupees per month; but his brother-in-law promised to help this out, by constituting him his commercial agent at Bussora, in which capacity he was to receive a low commission on goods consigned to him. We, therefore, when I left Bushire, returned to Bussora together. Mohammed Nebbee's good temper, and good conduct, soon procured him many friends; and, not long after his joining me, a large concern in vessels, to sail between Bengal and the Persian Gulf, was established, between Hajee Kheleel at Bushire, a Portuguese merchant (Signor Philip da Cruz), residing at Calcutta, and Mr. Manesty and myself, at Bussora. This connexion very naturally brought Mohammed Nebbee in contact with me in another character besides that of Persian preceptor; and when, in 1794, I left Bussora to proceed to England, I parted from him, established as one of the first merchants of the place, and greatly respected by the Turkish government for sagacity and good conduct. As I had a real friendship for him, I observed with concern, that as his wealth increased, it was accompanied with a strong passion for interfering in Government speculations, and political intrigue;—a passion, which, whatever brilliant and illusive prospects it may present at its outset, I have never known any Oriental merchant pursue, without its ending

£2,367. 0s. 6d. ! and, at a very low calculation, I am confident, within that period, that I must have paid them 7,000*l.* in customs.

either in his ruin or destruction, and in many instances in both. And my reader will easily conceive this must be the case, when he is told that it is an invariable rule with all Oriental Governments, to consider the wealth of the merchants who transact any business for them, as entirely proceeding from the very lucrative contracts they are thus enabled to make ; and that, therefore, no injustice or wrong is committed, when the Government calls them to a severe account, and, under this pretence, deprives them of all, or the greater part, of their property.

When I arrived at Bagdad in 1798, I found the bark of Mohammed Nebee's fortune had proceeded with a most prosperous gale, and that both his wealth and reputation were exceedingly augmented ; but I also learnt, not without much regret, that he was principally and deeply engaged in politico-mercantile speculations, both at Bus-sora and in Persia. An Oriental diplomatist always, either secretly or openly, combines the ill-agreeing characters of *eelchee* and *taujaar*—that is, merchant and ambassador ; and to this rule, as far as I know, the Turks form the only exception. Hajee Kheleel had now become, confessedly, the greatest merchant at Bushire ; and the commerce he carried on was principally connected with India. When a Mission in return for General Malcolm's Mission, was to be sent from Persia to India, Hajee Kheleel immediately saw the immense advantage it would be to him to be re-

ceived in India in the character of the King of Persia's Envoy. His communications and concerns with the Persian Government, and his reputation for wealth and ability, easily procured him an order for his appearance at court; and the King was soon glad to find a person who would undertake the Embassy to India, with no further demand on himself or his treasury, than to receive the empty title of Khan, a court dress, a permission to wear a *jeka*, or piece of jewellery, in his cap, and some sets of horse furniture. The deplorable termination of these his projects of ambition, and increase of power and wealth, which took place at Bombay, may serve, if rightly read, as an instance, if instances were wanting, how frequently those things which we most passionately and ardently desire, may, by God's good providence, be beneficially denied to our prayers.

When Hajee Kheleel expired at Bombay, he left, by the sister of Mohammed Nebbee, an only son, who was a minor, at Bushire; and he also left a widow, a Turkish lady at Bussora, whom he had married in one of his mercantile visits to that place. In Persia, Mohammed Nebbee found no difficulty in getting himself acknowledged as the guardian of his nephew, and the executor of his brother-in-law; but there was property belonging to Kheleel, to a considerable amount lying in the warehouses at Bussora, the control over which the Turks seemed inclined to dispute with Mohammed Nebbee, in consequence of the representa-

tions of Fatima, the Turkish widow, who was a lady of very great beauty, but still greater turbulence of spirit and knowledge of intrigue. This lady, however, was by some means or other persuaded to give her hand in third nuptials (for she had first been married to Hajee Eusoof, the Capoutan Paçha) to Mohammed Nebbee, and from that moment, the Bussora government ceased to interfere, and Mohammed Nebbee commenced his intrigues at Tæheran, for the embassy to India.

Considering to what point the embassy of Hajee Kheleel had arrived, there might be good policy, or there might be a necessity, that it should be carried to its close by his executor. Be this, however, as it may, Mohammed Nebbee proceeded to Tæheran, and received the title of Khan, and his credentials to India, on the same terms as his late brother-in-law had formerly received them. If I am asked how I know this, I reply because he told me so. If I am asked what these terms were, I answer from the same authority, that the king of Persia was to be at no further charges on account of this mission, than those which have been already enumerated. The expense of the mission, and the advantage the ambassador was to derive from it, were, the one to be paid, and the other to be made from the ambassador being allowed to import and export throughout the British territories in India large quantities of merchandize duty free, and from the splendid allowance the ambassador expected, and actually

did draw, from our government. The expensive scale on which General Malcolm's mission had passed through Persia, had effected one thing most assuredly; and if it gave the Persians an idea of our boundless wealth, it gave them, at the same time, an idea of the facility, not to use a harsher word, with which we parted with that wealth. As an instance of this, whilst Mohammed Nebee was with me at Bagdad, on his way to India, he seriously consulted me, whether on the day on which he was to pay a visit of ceremony to Mr. Duncan, the governor at Bombay, it would not be proper for him to apply to our government for a sufficient supply of gold or silver wherewith to shoe the horses used in his procession, stating it, at the same time, to be his intention, that these shoes should be so lightly fastened, that they might from time to time drop off, and be scrambled for by the spectators.

Now, notwithstanding appearances were in favor of my success, I could not but be aware that I did not yet stand on firm ground, and that except my own old personal friends at Schyras and Bushire, and my great pillar of confidence, Meerza Bozurg, the public officers who arrived from the former to the latter place, affected in their behaviour to shew me that I was to esteem their visits and notice as a favor, and consequently, that I was to submit without complaint to any want of respect or deviation from proper ceremony, which they might choose to practice.

This was a matter which, on many accounts, it was absolutely necessary to check *in principio* ; and, accordingly, I determined to seize on the very first opportunity of giving some one of them a lesson, conveyed in strong terms, that I would not permit such conduct on their part to pass with impunity.

The intrigues which had been carrying on for some time at Schyras by Mohammed Nebec Khan, and his brother, Mohammed Jaafer, at Bushire, against Shaik Abd-ul-Refoul, the son of Shaik Nassir, had now prevailed so far, that an officer of some rank was sent to arrest the shaik, and carry him prisoner to Schyras. By false promises and treachery, this officer effected the purpose of his mission ; and, as the prince at Schyras, thought the English might be alarmed at the seizure of the governor of a place with which our intercourse was so intimate and frequent, he sent me a declaratory firman, addressed to that officer, and requested me to deliver it into his hands, and require him to read it publicly in my presence.

In consequence of this, I notified to him a time for the performance of his commission. The officer was to return to Schyras, and therefore a better subject, or a more proper time for my purpose, could not have presented themselves ; but besides all this, he fortunately put the game entirely into my hands.

Before delivering the Prince's firman to him, I

stated my dissatisfaction at the formula in which the Prince had addressed me, telling him, that as the immediate representative in Persia of my sovereign, I could not suffer it to be continued ; and laying down broadly and plainly, the only terms on which I would receive either the visits or the communications of the Persian ministers and noblemen. I then gave him the firman, when, to my utter astonishment, after receiving the instrument with the accustomed marks of respect to his Prince's mandates, he said the room was very hot, and with perfect nonchalance, most indecently and uncereemoniously took off his cap, commenced wiping his bald head with no very clean handkerchief, and then proceeded to read, *sotto voce*, the contents of the firman. Now, in Persia, baring the head in company, would be considered as the very acme of disrespect ; I therefore said :—" Pray does the firman from the Prince, which I have just put into your hands, and which you are reading in so slovenly a manner, direct you to insult me by an act, which, had you dared to commit even in the presence of your equals, there would not have been one of them who would have hesitated to rise and kick you out of the room ; and I do assure you, I am only prevented doing so, by your being an officer of the Prince ;—or does this proceed from your own want of education or bad manners ? Tell me, sir, I say distinctly, am I thus affronted

“ by order of the Prince, or does such an unheard-
“ of act of incivility, arise solely from your brutal
“ self? Answer me these questions immediately,
“ for if the Prince have ordered me to be thus
“ treated, I will not rest to-night before I dispatch
“ a messenger to Tæheran, to demand satisfaction;
“ and if it be to you sir alone, I owe it, a messenger
“ shall be sent off instantly to the Prince, to com-
“ plain, in the strongest terms I can use, of your
“ misbehaviour.” I now copy out of Mr. Sheri-
dan’s private journal, which came into my hands
after his lamented death, the conclusion of this
scene. “ The Khan at first pretended not to hear
“ Sir Harford’s questions, but on their being
“ sternly and loudly repeated, he blushed up to the
“ ears, looked like a fool, very humbly begged Sir
“ Harford’s pardon, and as humbly entreated him
“ not to notice to the Prince what had taken
“ place.” After this, I had not again occasion to
complain of incivility in my guests, and the dis-
patches received afterwards, both from the Prince
and his ministers, were perfectly guarded in their
address and expressions.

On Sunday, the 13th November, I received from
the British agent at Schyras, Jaaffer Ally Khan,
the intelligence, that the Prince had appointed a
Mehmandar to wait on me from Bushire to Schyras,
and that on my arrival there, I should find the
official invitation from the King and his ministers
to continue my journey to the presence. I re-
ceived, at the same time, a private separate letter

from Jaafer Ally, of which, Mr. Sheridan, in his journal, speaks as follows.—“ Read Jaafer Ally
“ Khan’s separate letter to Sir Harford, from which
“ it appears, that it was determined at Tæheran,
“ through the influence of Meerza Bozurg, that as
“ soon as his arrival in Persia was known, he
“ should be acknowledged and received.”

On the 22d of November, I felt myself justified in assuring Lord Minto, (little knowing how he had been worked upon, and what a fine freak in the meantime he had taken into his head) that I considered the success of the Mission as quite certain ; and I find a remark entered on this day by Mr. Sheridan in his Journal, to the following effect :—“ Sir Harford attributes his prospect of
“ success, *to the fear which the Persians have now*
“ *imbibed, of the consequences to which their con-*
“ *nection with France will lead them ;* and these
“ fears being stronger than the apprehensions they
“ entertain of the result of the war with Russia ;
“ this state of things has been entirely brought
“ about by the precipitancy, parsimony, and *hauteur*
“ of the French Ambassador.”

Now, reader, if you will do me the favor to turn to page 338, of the first volume, containing the translation of the Persian Manuscript, and read the text and notes which you will find there, you will I think, perceive, that even in my preliminary discussions, I did not work entirely *by the rule of thumb* : and I think you will also

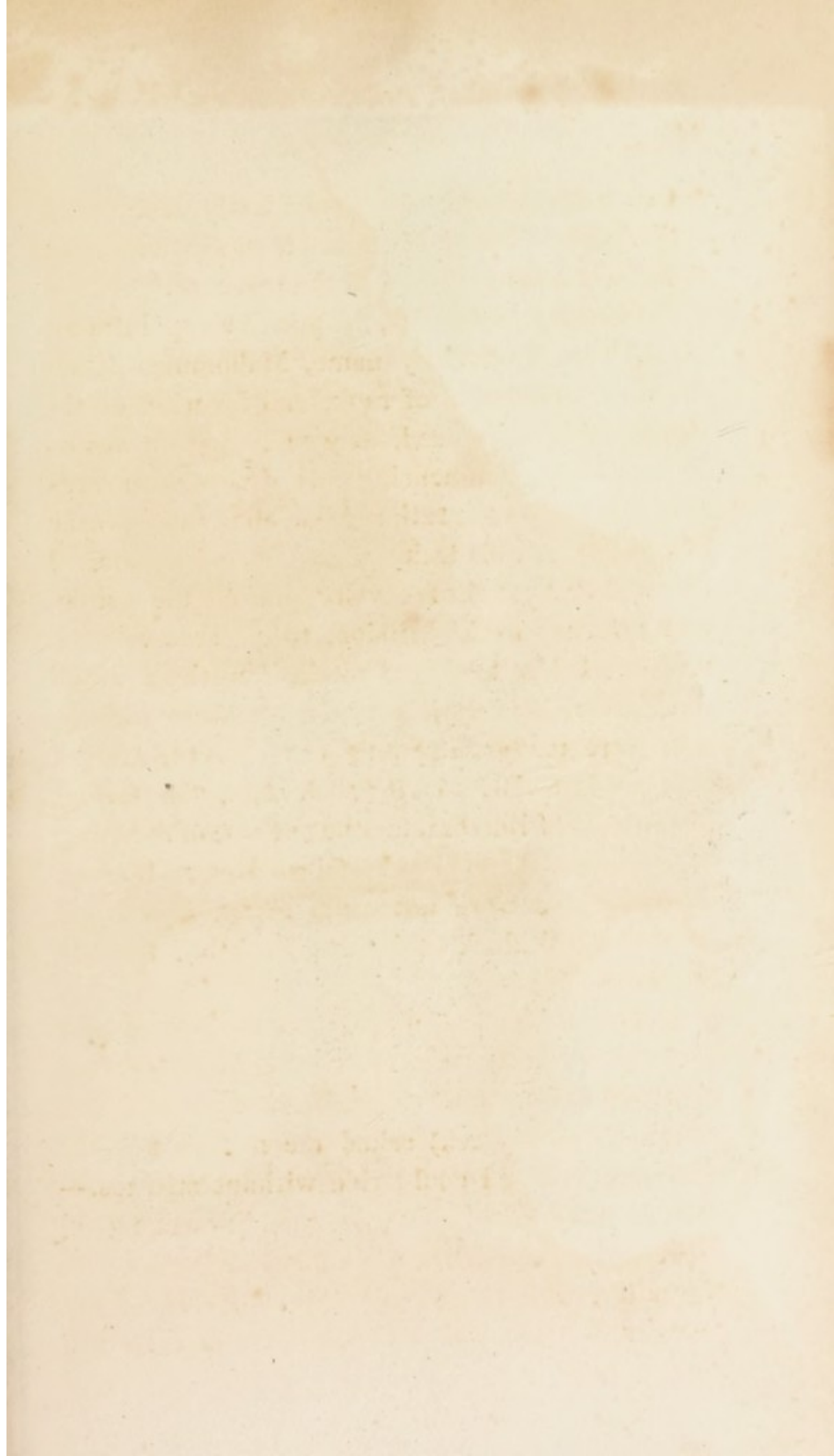
perceive a strong proof, from the accuracy of the information which was afforded me, how correctly I made the assertion in my first volume, “ that
“ truer and kinder friends than the Persians do
“ not exist ; that when confidence is merited, it
“ is generally obtained ; and that a Persian grants
“ it in a manner equally creditable to the giver
“ and receiver.”

Matters having attained this point, on the 25th of November, I judged it proper to give the Persians an indisputable proof, that in all my political transactions and engagements with them, I was determined to fulfil every thing which, through General Malcolm, might have been held out to them in the name of the British Government in India, and to make all my proceedings harmonize with the plans and wishes he had developed, as far as I was acquainted with them. It is on this day, that I find Mr. Sheridan notes in his Journal as follows. “ Copied a letter from Sir Harford,
“ to Nazir Ollah Khan, (the Prince Governor of
“ Schyras’s Minister) stating, first, that whatever
“ promises General Malcolm had made to the Per-
“ sian Government, he, Sir Harford, was ready to
“ stipulate that they should be performed *in toto* :
“ and second, that he, Sir Harford, would willingly
“ engage to grant to Persia, such assistance in
“ her present war with Russia, in the shape
“ of military stores, of all sorts as she might
“ require ; the letter concludes with a request,

“ that a Mehmandar be immediately sent down,
“ Sir Harford reporting himself ready and most
“ anxious to move towards the presence.”

On the 4th December, the positive appointment of the Mehmandar, by name, Mahommed Zikia Khan, a nobleman of rank, and favorite of the Prince, was announced, as well as that he was on the point of commencing his journey towards Bushire; and on the 12th of December, the approach of himself and his train, was reported to me. I directed the guard of cavalry, and all the gentlemen attached to the Mission, to proceed to meet and escort him to a tent pitched in the front of the Factory House, where Mr. Sheridan and myself, were ready to receive him. On the 15th, I paid my last visit to Abdullah Aga, the former Mussaleem of Bussora, for the purpose of receiving his confidential letters to his friend Meerza Bozurg. These letters were not quite ready, and I left Lieutenant Willock behind me, to bring them to me, when finished.

In Mr. Sheridan's journal, I find a note of part of the conversation which passed between Abdullah Aga and Willock after my departure. “ Abdullah Aga, (says Willock) asked me if I were in the
“ cavalry, and if I could ride without stirrups.—
“ I told him I could.—He said a soldier was a good
“ profession, and asked me what the leather bag
“ was for, which hung down by the side of my
“ sword.—I told him the use of it, was to receive





One of the Envoy's Servants, equipped for the Road.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

“ any letters I might have to carry—He said carrying letters was the business of a *cossid*, or messenger, not of a soldier.—He then asked if any of my troop could ride standing upright on their horses.—I said, I did not think any one had ever tried, but I made no doubt many of them could if they tried.—He then said, have you ever seen a man that could put each foot on a separate horse, stand upright, and guide them both at full gallop ;—the Turks can do this.—I answered no.—But I dare say, replied he laughing, you have frequently seen two men ride one horse.” I have copied this little memorandum, in order to give the reader some idea of the playfulness and affability of Abdullah Aga’s character.

On the 17th December I commenced my march towards Schyras, under salutes from H. M. S. Sapphire, and the guns on the walls and beach at Bushire ; and, like all people long confined to one spot, and who have passed a considerable portion of time in a state of doubt and expectation, every one felt glad of a change, and in high spirits ; and as to myself, not being able to look into the future, I rejoiced that I should again meet several persons for whom I had the highest esteem and sincerest friendship, and that I had a fair prospect of completely fulfilling the instructions of my Sovereign.

I have already mentioned, that Mohammed Nebee Khan had been for some time intriguing at

Schyras, to obtain from the Prince, the Government, not only of Bushire and its district, but also of a considerable portion of the Dushtistan, which, for many years previous, had been ruled by different families of Perso-Arabs, whose Government sat very easy on the inhabitants, and was a sort of patriarchal administration. He had now obtained the object of his wishes ; but the appointment of Mohammed Nebbee was particularly unpopular, and raised up against this foolishly ambitious person a host of enemies, open and concealed, who ultimately effected the complete ruin of his fortune, and the loss of his life in a very cruel and terrible manner.

He was now on his way from Schyras to Bushire, to take possession of his Government ; and I expected to meet him at the end of this day's march. To those who reflect on " the changes " and chances " which attend this mortal life, the account of such a meeting will neither be void of interest nor instruction. Here were two persons, after a certain lapse of years, to meet in situations so totally different from those in which their acquaintance commenced, that the most careless observer could not fail to consider the occurrence as a most extraordinary one ; and to me, who, recollecting Mohammed Nebbee when he pursued the broad, plain, honorable, and safe path of a merchant,—and who, from former intimacy and services, entertained a very sincere friendship for him,—I

confess, his present situation, obtained by intrigue and his ambitious folly, was productive of very many painful reflections; and these, as the reader will see, were far from being lessened or mitigated by what took place when we met.

To afford the reader an account of this meeting, I shall again turn to my friend Sheridan's Journal, and present the following extract:—

“ A man was sent by Zikea Khan, our Meh-
“ mandar, to see if Mohammed Nebbee Khan, who
“ arrived this day at Ally Changee, were coming to
“ meet Sir Harford. He returned, giving notice
“ of the Khan's approach, which was also an-
“ nounced to us by a prodigious cloud of dust
“ appearing in the distance. It was not long
“ afterwards that the Khan himself became visible,
“ dressed in scarlet, mounted on a white horse,
“ his saddle adorned with gold, his saddle-cloth
“ most splendidly embroidered, his reins of silver
“ lace, and his stirrups and bit mounted in gold.
“ He was surrounded by an immense cavalcade,
“ which, as he approached the envoy, fell back on
“ each side, and began to blaze away with their
“ matchlocks, but were a little disconcerted by
“ Willock's charge with our cavalry, to salute the
“ Khan. No one who has not witnessed Persian
“ pomp, and their manner of being splendid, can
“ form an idea of the motley group which sur-
“ rounded us as the Khan approached.

“ As soon as he came up to Sir Harford, he

“dismounted, and we all did the same. A most
“loving embrace then took place between the two
“*friends*, for Mohammed Nebbee, though now a
“Governor, and formerly an Ambassador, was at
“one time of his life Sir Harford’s Moonshee, or
“Writer. After this, both mounted their horses,
“and we proceeded to our tents, which were
“pitched at Ally Changee. Mahommed Nebbee
“Khan, and the Mehmandar, attended Sir Harford
“to his tent, and then took leave; for, as all the
“baggage was not up, and there was considerable
“confusion, Sir Harford had no sort of refresh-
“ment to offer them.”

Here I find my lamented friend proceeds in his Journal to state that which may amuse the reader, as well as that which in our future intercourse with Persia, it may not be unuseful should be known in certain quarters.

“After Sir Harford was dressed, he walked out
“with Willock and myself, and talked to us very
“freely on the subject of our Government having
“paid the expences of Mohammed Nebbee Khan,
“as Ambassador in India; amongst other things,
“he told us, that Mohammed Nebbee had acknow-
“ledged to him, that by remission of customs and
“other things, he had made seven lacks of
“rupees, and Sir Harford related to us the follow-
“ing anecdote, which amused us exceedingly.

“When Mohammed Nebbee Khan was at Bombay,
“he sent Mr. Duncan, the Governor, as a present,

“ a copy of the King of Persia’s Poems. Mr.
“ Duncan was rather puzzled what present to make
“ the Ambassador in return; after some reflection,
“ he sent him a large paper copy of *Denon’s*
“ *Travels in Egypt*. This the Ambassador re-
“ turned, and intimated to Mr. Duncan, that the
“ present he had made him of the King of Persia’s
“ Poems could not be estimated at less value than
“ 100,000 rupees, which was a pretty broad *avis*
“ *au lecteur*, that his Excellency expected to re-
“ ceive something very different from *Denon’s Tra-*
“ *vels*, however highly the work might be valued
“ by the literary world in Europe. Mr. Duncan
“ perceiving the scrape he had got into, sent to
“ assure the Ambassador, that being now aware
“ of the value of the present which had been made
“ to him, he could not think of robbing the Am-
“ bassador of a thing he so highly prized, and
“ therefore hoped the Ambassador would allow
“ him to return it. To consent to this, was no
“ part of the Ambassador’s game, and he gave
“ Mr. Duncan to understand, that to return the
“ poetry of the King of Persia, would be an affront
“ of sufficient magnitude, to endanger the amica-
“ ble intercourse between the two states; the
“ farce therefore ended, by Mohammed Nebce ob-
“ taining from Mr. Duncan a present in money,
“ equal to about one-fifth of the price at which
“ he had valued his Sovereign’s poetical effusions.”

As I had lived on terms of intimacy with Mo-

ammed Nebbee Khan, and had had it in my power at different times to render him services of some value, it was natural, situated as he and I then were, that I should be desirous to have a private conversation with him, as soon as possible. From the delay in the arrival of different parts of the baggage, our dinner was not served up till a late hour, and whilst we were seated at it, I received a message from the Khan, announcing his wish to visit me in about an hour's time. As he had attended me to my tent, where, in truth, he had met with a reception but little suitable to my wishes, I secretly sent an answer, expressive of the satisfaction I received from this fresh mark of his friendly attention, at the same time, hoping that all ceremony between us might be waived till the next day, and that he would allow me, after my dinner was finished, to come to him quite alone, and sit an hour with him in his tent, where we would both meet as we were formerly accustomed to do,—he as Aga Mohammed Nebbee, and I as Harford Jones, each of us *doffing* our public character.

As soon as I could properly rise from table, I wished the gentlemen of the Embassy good night, and repaired to my private tent, from whence, after taking some precautions that my absence should not be known, I proceeded to the Khan's tents, which were pitched at no great distance from mine. A very comical adventure now took place :—to the first Persian who challenged me,

I answered, "I am one of the English gentlemen sent by the minister with a message to the Governor,"—the fellow immediately brought a light, and as the devil would have it, he was a Bushire man, who knew me perfectly well, and who, before I could prevent him, bawled out for the Khan's officers to turn out, as the Ambassador was arrived in the camp. The uproar and confusion this occasioned, was becoming pretty general, when Mohammed Nebee Khan, who, in consequence of my message, had expected me, appeared and put an end to it.

As soon as we reached his private tent, I said, "My old friend, I was anxious to come and apologize to you in person, for the unsuitable reception you met with this morning at my tent, but I am still more anxious to convince you, that however I may feel myself honored by my present commission, my heart is the same towards all my old friends, and more particularly so towards yourself, with whom I lived so long on such terms of intimacy and friendship. It is impossible we could either of us, in the presence of other persons, say one half of that which both of us must wish to communicate."

The Khan however, like a true Persian, surpassed me in compliments, and repeated several times,—"I began life as your servant, and it will be my greatest happiness to continue so to the last.—I have a greater right to your unreserved

“ confidence than any man in Persia, Meerza
“ Bozurg not excepted, and you shall see I will
“ endeavour to deserve it,—indeed, I have already
“ rendered you no inconsiderable service with the
“ Government and Prince, at Schyras.” He then
entered into a long detail of the manner in which
he imagined it might be most advantageous for
me to conduct myself, a very considerable part of
which awakened my suspicion as to the entire
probity and disinterestedness of the advice he
gave, particularly as he besought me to disclose
to him the full extent of my instructions and in-
tentions, and that I would make him the medium
through which all my most delicate negociations
and transactions with the Persian Ministers, should
pass. He proceeded to detail the sort of presents
which he conceived would be most acceptable to
be made by me to the King and the Ministers at
Tæheran, as well as to the Prince Governor at
Schyras, and his Ministers ; assuring me, at the
same time, that I need not give myself any trouble
about providing the articles, as his brother at
Bushire was possessed of all those which he had
enumerated as required.

I confess I was at first startled and angry to find
my old friend so hollow ; and it was with difficulty
I prevented myself from shewing, both by my
countenance and language, what I felt. A moment’s
reflection, however, shewed me the difficult game
I had to play, and brought to my recollection, the

immense mischief it was in the Khan's power (should he be so inclined) to do me, with the Prince Governor and his Ministers at Schyras, to none of whom I was personally known. I therefore commenced my reply by saying :—" You must perceive
" the great value I set on your advice, by the profound attention with which I have listened to it ;
" and the best return I can make to the confidence you repose in me, is to tell you, that the essence
" of my instructions and intentions, is to create, by every means in my power, the most perfect
" harmony and good understanding between my own Sovereign and the King of Persia, and to
" promote and establish a reciprocity of good offices, and commercial advantages, between the
" two kingdoms, as well in India, as in Europe.—
" This," continued I, " has, I am sorry to remark, been somewhat endangered by the intrigues of
" the French, who have been admitted to your Sovereign's presence, and by the hasty departure
" of General Malcolm from Bushire ; but, as one
" of your poets justly remarks,

" The cloud in the summer sky never sheds snow,"

" so I hope and trust, that by the assistance of
" yourself, and other good friends, I shall be able
" very shortly after I am admitted to the royal presence, to put all these trifling matters to
" rights. Nothing can be kinder, and perhaps more
" just, than the advice you offer me respecting

“ presents, but until I see how matters go at Schyras, you must allow me to decline speaking definitively on this subject ; but this I will say, that whenever I have anything to transact with the Persian Ministers which requires confidence and secrecy, I shall remember the conversation which now passes between us ; and as an undeniable proof of the extent to which I incline to guide myself by your advice, do give me, as you have just left Schyras, a slight *carte du pays*, which cannot fail of being most useful to me during the time I remain in that capital.”

The Khan then entered into the characters of the Prince Governor, of his Minister Nasr Oollah Khan, and of other influential men in the Government there, very much at length, and with a considerable degree of freedom ; indeed so much so, as to surprise me,—and I at last contrived to draw from him that which it was of the very utmost importance to me to know,—namely, that there was a design, under various pretexts, to detain me at Schyras, till intelligence might be received, as to the result of General Malcolm’s return and representations at Calcutta. Our conference lasted to a very late hour of the night, or rather an early hour of the morning ; and, at parting, the Khan fully justified all my suspicions, by again bringing forward the subject of the presents, and by indirectly hinting *how something in respect to them might be arranged to our mutual advantage.*

The dawn of the morning was near appearing when I returned to my tent, perplexed, disappointed, and most heartily tired. However, I had obtained information, the nature of which not only required serious reflection, but the adoption of some immediate measure to counteract the designs of the Prince and his Minister, of detaining me for some time at Schyras, especially as I had not the smallest doubt of that course of proceeding being most likely to be adopted by the Schyras Government.

After mature consideration, I determined to communicate word for word, to Meerza Bozurg, the conference which had taken place between myself and the Khan, distinctly however declaring to him, that though I did not believe either his Persian Majesty, or his Ministers, could think of directing the Schyras Government to treat the Mission in this manner, yet I considered it might be right, the Ministers at Tæheran should at least know, that a report of it, had indirectly reached me, adding, that if, on my arrival at Schyras, I found circumstances to bear out the report as fact, I should judge it to be my duty, to deliver a formal, and official note of complaint, that a Mission, immediately proceeding from my Sovereign, was treated with such disrespect, and afterwards, return to Bushire, in the best manner I could. This appeared to me to be evidently what the circumstances of the case called on me

to do. Meerza Bozurg was then at Tauris, and how, with a proper degree of security and secrecy, to communicate with him, was a matter of some difficulty. I recollected, however, that steady and excellent friend's message to me through Abdullah Aga, who, on parting with him, had said from the Meerza, "Make any use of me you please ; lose no time in letting me know, through Abdullah Aga, your plans and wishes ;" and ended the message with words to which I was determined to pay the utmost attention : "*push on as quick as you can.*"

Before I laid down to rest, therefore, I wrote, myself, a few lines in Persian, to Abdullah Aga, simply stating, that something had taken place at Ally Changee, which I was desirous to communicate to Meerza Bozurg, with the utmost speed and secrecy ; and requesting of him, immediately on receipt of my note to send me a person, to whom I could entrust a *viva voce* message to that Minister. The note to Abdullah Aga, I dispatched to Bushire, by one of my own horsemen, and he, without the smallest loss of time, sent a person to me, who was dispatched to the Meerza with the information I wished him to be possessed of. All this was executed very fortunately without my Persian Secretaries having the smallest idea or suspicion of what I was engaged in.

I omitted to mention, that I had received a public and formal invitation from the Ambassador, which was delivered very shortly after our arrival





Engraved by J. Warren.

Printed by J. Neale.

One of the Envoy's Persian Messengers.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

on the ground at Ally Changee, for myself and the gentlemen of the Embassy to dine with him the next day : and for some account of the proceedings of that day, I return to the journal of my lamented friend. “ Sunday, December 18th, after
“ prayers, we all accompanied Sir Harford on his
“ visit of ceremony to Mohammed Nebee Khan.
“ The forms observed at this visit, were pretty much
“ the same as those which took place at visits of
“ the same nature at Bushire, except that trays of
“ sweetmeats were placed on stools before each of
“ us. From the tray placed before Sir Harford, the
“ Khan took a species of dry sweetmeat made
“ into round cakes, about the size of cakes of
“ shaving soap, and not very much unlike them
“ in outward appearance ; these he endeavoured
“ to break, but finding it difficult to effect, he
“ gave them into the hands of one of his servants,
“ who succeeded better than his master. The
“ pieces were then distributed by the Khan to
“ Sir Harford, and the rest of the gentlemen.
“ After the full ceremonies of a Persian visit had
“ been gone through, the gentlemen rose, departed,
“ and left Sir Harford and the Khan together.
“ When, about eight o’clock in the evening, Sir
“ Harford was ready, we mounted our horses, and
“ rode to the Khan’s tent. We were received by
“ him, and the Mehmander, at the door of the
“ tent ; which, after pulling off our Persian shoes,
“ we entered, and Sir Harford was conducted by

“ the Khan, and placed in the seat of honor.” &c. I do not trouble the reader with a farther account of this entertainment, as given in the Journal, because all such entertainments are very much the same, and as it is my intention, by and by, to describe one of the best and grandest I received, I hope he will permit me to say, *ex uno disce omnes*.

We were to move forward the next morning, and as the Khan had declared an intention to escort me a little distance on my road, I rose very early for the purpose of previously paying him, in his own tent, a complimentary visit. Little did I imagine how painful to me this visit was to be.

After receiving from him a repetition of the most unbounded professions of regard, devotion, and service, conveyed in terms which shocked me by their servility, he again returned to the subject of presents, and plainly told me he had India goods proper for this purpose, to the amount of about £14,000, which it would be most highly convenient to him to part with, and which, if I would undertake to distribute at Tæheran, and on my way there, the profits should be shared between us. Had I been differently situated, I trust the reader will do me the justice to believe, I should have replied to such a proposal in terms much harsher than those which I then judged it prudent to make use of. As it was, I couched my refusal in as gentle words as possible, and perhaps this emboldened the Khan to return to the charge,

and to propose that at least I would allow the goods to be sent up from Bushire to Schyras, in my name, by which he would save the payment of those customs which otherwise would be levied on them. I told him this proposition was as much out of my power to consent to as the other had been, and that the very utmost I could do to serve him, in this respect, was to promise, that if, after my arrival at Schyras, I found I had occasion for any of the articles he possessed, I should prefer being supplied with them by him, to purchasing them from any other person, and would write to him accordingly ; “ besides,” added I, “ it is a matter “ of great moment to me to arrive at Tæheran as “ quickly as possible, and therefore I am anxious “ to diminish, if possible, rather than encrease my “ baggage.” We parted ; and I regret to say, on my part, with a total change of sentiments towards my old friend ; and he, I strongly suspected, and afterwards found but too true, with a determination rather to annoy than to assist me. I do not pretend to better or finer feelings than my neighbours, but I must say the Khan’s behaviour vexed me more than perhaps it ought to have done ; and this because I imagined, that from our long intercourse with each other, he ought to have rated my regard for honor and integrity much higher than he appeared to do. But I ought also to have recollected, that from the pursuits to which he had latterly unreservedly delivered himself up, his mind

and heart had room for little else than ambition and avarice, passions which, if suffered to predominate, extinguish friendship and good feeling, as the sun-beams do a common fire.

There is a custom in Persia, which I believe few Europeans have ever seen practised, without regretting its existence. I mean that every public agent, when he travels in Persia, is considered as the king's guest, and that therefore every thing he stands in need of on the road, for himself, for his suite, for his servants, and for his cattle, is furnished by a very oppressive species of purveyance, in the different villages through which he passes, or near which he halts, on the road.

Now, if no more was demanded from the villages, than what was absolutely required by the person so travelling, and the amount of it was really carried, as it is pretended to be, to the credit of the villages, in their account with Government, the thing would be, in reality, of no further consequence than it being sometimes disagreeable to an European so travelling, to know that he was travelling at the expense of another State ; about which, however, *au bout du compte*, he might very well satisfy his conscience, by finding that he had presents to make at court, nearly equal in value to what he had received on his way there, from the villages. But the fact is the direct contrary. The Mehmandar, who, on great occasions, always purchases his appointment, is silently

permitted to demand, both for himself and the king's guest, three times the quantity of provisions necessary for both ; this immediately leads to a negociation between the Mehmandar, the Khedhoda, or head of the village, to mitigate a considerable part of that which he has demanded, on receiving a douceur in money ; but this is not all the hardship the village is subject to,—for when the Miri, or Government account, comes to be settled, either at the capital of the kingdom, or the capital of the province, the fair and just claim of the village, is seldom, if ever, admitted to its full extent. It is true, that in the case of Europeans, the villagers are in some measure compensated by the presents made to them on departing ; but in the case of native Persians of consequence travelling with an order for this kind of purveyance, the oppression is really dreadful. Well aware of this, I considered it my duty not only to issue the strictest orders, but to see myself that the person whose office it was to state the wants of the Mission to the Mehmandar, kept them at the lowest possible rate : but I always proportioned the present which I made on leaving a village, to its poverty, and the time we had drawn on it for supplies.

It is not my design to dwell on a description of the country through which the Mission passed, nor the places at which it halted ; what I shall pretty nearly confine myself to, *is the proceedings*

of the Mission, and other circumstances connected with them. Such as are desirous of becoming acquainted with the first, may find them minutely detailed by travellers who journeyed with their minds more at ease, and with less responsibility on their shoulders, than I had.

Our next stage was to Borasgoon, where I determined to halt one day, in order that the remainder of the baggage, from Bushire, might come up with us; for, at this time, the Mission was but scantily supplied with many articles of necessity, as well as of comfort. It was at this place, that I received a dispatch from Jaafer Ally Khan, then in charge of our interests at Schyras, the contents of which amused me a good deal. I find, in my friend's Journal, the following observation made on it:—"An express arrived from " Jaafer Ally Khan, intimating, I suppose, from " the answer I copied, that if it were Sir Harford's " wish, the French Ambassador should be immediately seized. Sir Harford, in his reply, " expressed the utmost detestation of such a " design or proceeding, and strictly directed Jaafer " Ally Khan to answer the Prince's Minister, that " the bare mention of such a thing filled him with " horror." It was true enough, that such was the purport of a message which Jaafer Ally Khan, in his dispatch, stated he was desired by the Prince's Minister to communicate to me. Now, I mention this, merely for the purpose of giving the reader

some idea of the absurdities which the Persians will be guilty of, and resort to, for the purpose of cajoling, or in the hope of being able “*jeter la poudre aux yeux*,” of those with whom they have to treat. Neither Nasr Oollah Khan, nor the Prince Governor, had more the power of seizing the French Ambassador, had they been so willed, than I had of seizing those personages themselves, and sending them down to Bombay; besides which, intelligence from Tæheran, on which I could place the most implicit reliance, assured me, the struggle between General Gardanne and myself was, at that time, by no means clearly decided in my favor; and, therefore, supposing for a moment, that his Persian Majesty could have determined on so violent and unjustifiable a proceeding, it was most improbable he should, at that time, resort to it. Nothing farther was designed by this message, than what took place between Lady Mary Wortley Montague and her Janissary, when he offered to bring her the Turk’s head in a basin, who had not been able to procure her ladyship some article for her table which she wished for. It was a *façon de parler*, but it was a *façon de parler*, which gave me an excellent opportunity of detailing to the Persians the conduct I proposed to myself to pursue towards the French embassy, with which, if my correspondence with the Prince’s Ministers at Schyras, was communicated, as was more than probable, to the

Minister at Tæheran, it might be of some advantage to me, that his Persian Majesty should be made acquainted.

We reached Dowlaki on the 21st of December, and here I had a business on my hands which caused me some little vexation. Whilst encamped at Ally Changee, a person who had formerly been one of the district Governors or Reis, in the Dushtistan, and who, whilst in power, had been uniformly friendly and serviceable to our residents at Bushire, had been some time before deprived of his Government and reduced to great poverty by the intrigues already alluded to, of Mohammed Nebée Khan and his brother. This person came to implore my assistance to prevent the Khan harassing him by further persecutions; and I prefer giving the reader Mr. Sheridan's account of this little affair, to relating it from my own recollection.

“ On the morning of our departure from Ally
“ Changee, we were detained some little time
“ in consequence of Mohammed Nebée Khan's
“ being desirous to obtain a private conference
“ with Sir Harford, and of Sir Harford's wishing
“ to speak to the Khan in behalf of a poor old
“ Reis; this man had lately a tract of country
“ under his management; he is now old and very
“ poor; but in his days of prosperity he had always
“ manifested the greatest attention to the English
“ at Bushire, and frequently entertained them

“ with the greatest hospitality, on their parties of
“ shooting or hunting in the country. He accom-
“ panied Sir Harford towards the Khan’s tents,
“ and as soon as that person observed him, not
“ being aware of the interest Sir Harford took in
“ the poor man, he called out to him: ‘ What
“ ‘ has such a scoundrel as you to do here?’ Sir
“ Harford then spoke at great length, and very
“ warmly, to the Khan, in favor of the old man,
“ and the other at last deigned to say, ‘ as the
“ ‘ Ambassador interests himself about you, you
“ ‘ are forgiven, and if you behave well, I will
“ ‘ have my eye on you.’ That is, I will protect
“ or favor you. Sir Harford is a person, who, on
“ certain occasions, has difficulty to hide what
“ passes in his mind from appearing in his counte-
“ nance, and now being evidently displeased, he
“ said to the Khan, in a manner I have never seen
“ him assume before to any Persian; ‘ Mohammed
“ ‘ Nebee Khan! you are the son of Aga Cutchook;
“ ‘ you well know who this old man is, and the
“ ‘ services he rendered your father, when, God
“ ‘ knows, he had great need of them. *I* re-
“ ‘ commend him to your notice, and *I* entrust
“ ‘ him to your care.’ ”

The old Reis begged hard for permission to accompany me to Schyras; this, if granted, might have raised the Khan’s suspicions of my intention to obtain something for him from the government

there, and, in the end, have done the old man more harm than good,—so I positively refused it ; and, under this view of the case, much against his will, and somewhat against my own, I took leave of him at Dowlacksi. I have again recourse to my friend's Journal:—" Before we left Dowlacksi, " the old Reis came to take leave of Sir Harford, " having been advised by him to return to Bu- " shire, and positively forbidden, by Mohammed " Nebee Khan, to accompany the Embassy any " farther. The old man was in tears, and accom- " panied us, on the commencement of our march, " a little way on foot, by the side of Sir Harford's " horse, constantly wishing him all the happiness " this world could bestow, and uttering the " warmest expressions of gratitude for his kind- " ness to him." I had afterwards, when I had a personal interview with my excellent friend, Meerza Bozurg, the great satisfaction to obtain for this injured old gentleman, reparation and security to as great an extent as either he or I wished ; and he lived long enough in peace and quietness to witness the downfall and horrible fate of the man, who, instead of oppressing him and treating him with scorn, ought to have rejoiced at an opportunity of returning to him, in some measure, the great services his father had formerly received from him. The letters I received from this person during my residence in Persia, and the little

common bed carpet which he contrived to send me, as a present, amply, most amply, repaid every pains or trouble I took on his account.

Meerza Bozurg, whose descent from their prophet Mohammed is indisputable, and publicly acknowledged throughout Persia,* prides himself greatly on his Arabian blood, and therefore was extremely indignant at the manner in which many of the old Arab families in the Dashtistan, had been treated, and at the intrigues of Mohammed Nebee to dispossess them of their governments; and this indignation was greatly increased by the Meerza's recollection of how steadily many of them had supported the cause of his former sovereign, Lutf Ally Khan. He had prudently, lest it might awaken unfavorable suspicions in the minds of the Khajar ministers, abstained from interfering in their behalf; but, in a confidential conversation with me, at Tæheran, he said, "the day shall come, when that mountebank, Mohammed Nebee, shall be made to feel what it is to have *taken the fire from under an Arab pot*;" and most bitterly did he keep his word.

On the morning of the 22nd, we moved to Khesdt, where I had to prepare for an interview, to me most interesting and extraordinary, that is, with my old friend, Zâl Khan, whom I had never seen

* The family house at Mecca, Meerza Bozurg told me, still exists, and that his uncle, Meerza Mohammed Hussain, was lodged in it when he visited that city on his pilgrimage.

since I parted from him and His Majesty, Lutf Ally Khan, as mentioned in my first volume. In the interval, he had been deprived of two most precious organs, his eyes and his tongue; he sent out to meet me the very largest procession he could possibly collect; and very shortly before I reached my tent, he came to compliment me himself. The old man expressed great delight at our meeting again, and repeatedly wished he could be of any service to me, adding emphatically: "Meerza Bozurg is now the only man in power I have any correspondence with; and I know, by experience, your influence with him is greater than mine;—these Khajars," continued he, "are now in power, and I almost rejoice that the loss of my eyes prevents me witnessing their ascendancy. There is one thing I shall accuse myself of to my dying day, the opposition I made to the sage and wise advice you gave His Majesty, Lutf Ally Khan, before you left us to proceed to Bunder Reig; had that advice been followed, His Majesty would have regained his throne, and old Zâl would not have been so cruelly maimed and mutilated, as he is. It may, however, be some satisfaction to you to know, that as long as I was with His Majesty, your name was constantly in his mouth; and that he often said to us, 'that Fringee had more sense than all of us put together, and if I live to see him again, he shall never leave me.'" Mr.

Sheridan, I see, in his Journal, gives the following account of Zâl Khan's deplorable mutilation, and I have every reason to consider it as correct.

“ Shortly after Aka Mohammed Khan had destroyed
“ the King, Zâl Khan, the Governor of Khesdt,
“ fell into his hands ; it was said that Aka Mo-
“ hammed Khan had at first no intention of per-
“ sonally injuring him ; but that, when brought
“ before him, Zâl Khan could not command him-
“ self, and was so extremely intemperate and un-
“ guarded in what he said, that Aka Mohammed,
“ in a passion, ordered him to be thrown down
“ and deprived of sight. When he was suffered
“ to rise from this cruel operation, the violence
“ and bitterness of his language increased, and
“ there was no opprobrious epithet or name in the
“ Persian language, which he did not apply to the
“ eunuch ; who then ordered his tongue to be
“ destroyed, saying, ‘ we shall see whether this
“ ‘ will stop the fellow’s abuse.’ This operation
“ was so performed, that is, by taking away one
“ half the tongue, that he was deprived of utter-
“ ance which could be understood. As soon, how-
“ ever, as he was released, and, at home, he had
“ fortitude and resolution enough to order the
“ remaining part of his tongue to be extracted ;
“ and what is more extraordinary, but not more
“ extraordinary than true, is, that he now speaks,
“ as Sir Harford assures me, more distinctly than
“ he did before his misfortune, and certainly dis-

“ tinct and plain enough for me to understand
“ every word he says.”

The Khan paid me a very long visit, and I believe we both of us felt unwilling to break it up : at parting, he complimented me in the following very extraordinary terms :—“ I pray God to put it into
“ the heads of those ill-bred Khajars, to send you
“ back, for I cannot bear the idea, they should
“ have about them a person of your ability and
“ judgment. Adieu, my dear friend ; we shall never
“ meet again in this world ; you are a Christian,
“ and I am a Mohammedan, but you are such a
“ Christian, that I am sure you will either go to
“ your own paradise, (if you have one) or be per-
“ mitted to enter our’s.” The forlorn appearance of my old friend, and the very extraordinary feeling towards me, which alone could have produced such a speech, affected me to tears, and I was glad for a few minutes to retire to my private tent ; and to find we had exchanged some little trifling things, which we each wore about our persons, as keepsakes.

The Mission was attended by a troop of Madras cavalry, which had been ordered to Persia with General Malcolm, and also by a Jamaadar’s guard of sepoy. I considered it to be no small part of my duty, on all occasions, to adopt ostensible means of marking to the Persians, the different degree in which Englishmen regard and respect their Sovereign, and the Governor-General, from

which last all the late Missions to the Persian court had hitherto been sent. As one means of effecting this, I caused the Taktrevan, which was prepared for me to travel in, if indisposed on the road, to be covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, and ornamented with gold lace, and a very handsome satin mattrass to be placed inside of it; on which, when we commenced our march from Bushire, I placed, with some ceremony, the box containing the King's letter to the King of Persia. On the line of march, the taktrevan, or litter, was always preceded by one of the troopers carrying before it an Union silk Jack; at each door of the litter a trooper, with drawn sword, was stationed, and as many of the cavalry guard as could be spared from other services, followed behind, under the command of their native officer, with their swords drawn. When, on approaching any town, we had occasion to form in procession, the European officer in command of the troop, invariably rode, with his sword drawn, in the front of the litter, a double guard was stationed at the doors, and the remainder of the troop followed, with their swords drawn; then came the Mehmandar and myself, abreast; and following us, the gentlemen of the Embassy, two and two. At every halting place, I dismounted, and followed the litter on foot, to the place destined for its reception, previously passing it through the troop drawn up in two lines, and who presented arms as

the litter passed along. A sentinel was always placed over it, and regularly relieved from time to time ; and whenever we had lodgings in a town, the litter was placed in the best room in the house, where I received visitors of distinction, and into which I never suffered, either myself or the gentlemen attached to the Mission, to enter without making an obeisance. I soon found this arrangement to produce the best effects, in raising the character of the Mission in the eyes of the Persians.

On the 23d December, we moved towards Kazeroon, but the difficulty in passing over the mountain between the plain of Khesdt and Kemaridge, delayed us so much, that it was judged prudent to encamp for the night at the northern extremity of the last ; and I esteemed myself fortunate, that, in the course of this day's march, no material accident had happened, either to the beasts of burden, or to the burdens with which they were laden.

Very early the next morning we resumed our march, and at a distance from Kazeroon, the Mission was met by the Governor of that city and district. I could not travel again over a part of the ground which we did to-day, without recollecting the adventures which there befel me when escaping from Schyras ; nor without making, I hope, some useful reflections on the strange mutabilities of circumstances and situations, which

every one, more or less, is subject to in the course of his life.

Although it is not exactly in accordance with the plan I prescribed for myself in compiling this Memoir, yet the following extract from my friend's journal may amuse the reader :—

“ The Governor of Kazeroon, to show his respect to Sir Harford, met him at Deeraïs. The crowd increased as we advanced, and by the time we were within two miles of Kazeroon, most of the male inhabitants of that city, to the number, at least, of five thousand, had assembled about us ; and here we were met by wrestlers and pahlewans, who exercised their heavy clubs, called *meels*, and went through various feats of agility and strength, immediately before Sir Harford's horse, and so near to him, that the animal sometimes appeared not much to relish the performance. It is impossible to describe the appearance and confusion of the crowd which now surrounded us. The dust was so great, and so dense, that we were completely enveloped, and it lay on the long black beards of the Persians, like hair powder, when applied to a wig or the head, through a machine called a puff. I compute the distance from Deeraïs to Kazeroon, to be about seven miles, which, owing to these really little-wished-for performances, and the immense crowd about us, it took us six hours to achieve. Neither sun, wind, nor dust, seems to

“ have any effect on Sir Harford ; for the moment
“ after we had reached our ground, and he had
“ dismissed the Governor and our Mehmandar,
“ he ordered cossids, or messengers, to be in
“ readiness; and sat down, not only to write him-
“ self, but to dictate to the Persian secretaries,
“ who, I fancy, heartily wished that he had been
“ made of more fatiguable materials.”

Having mentioned this last circumstance, it is necessary I should say, that I had ordered Jaafer Ally Khan, the British agent at Schyras, to meet me here. Now, from the day of my landing at Bushire, the public business, in one shape or other, had left me but little time either for rest or pleasure. I made it a rule, from which, during the whole of my residence in Persia, I never swerved, not to allow the Persian secretaries to put a single word into any official document, but what was dictated to them by myself. The person who was then acting as my principal Persian secretary, had served General Malcolm, and he prided himself greatly on the elegance of his style, that is, on the intricacy of it, and on the length of his periods ; so that his style was pretty much the same as that which Don Quixote admired so greatly in the works of Feliciano de Silva. This custom of mine caused him, I believe, very soon after he had joined the Mission, heartily to repent his having done so ; for he told a person, who repeated it to me, that “ he knew not for which of his sins it

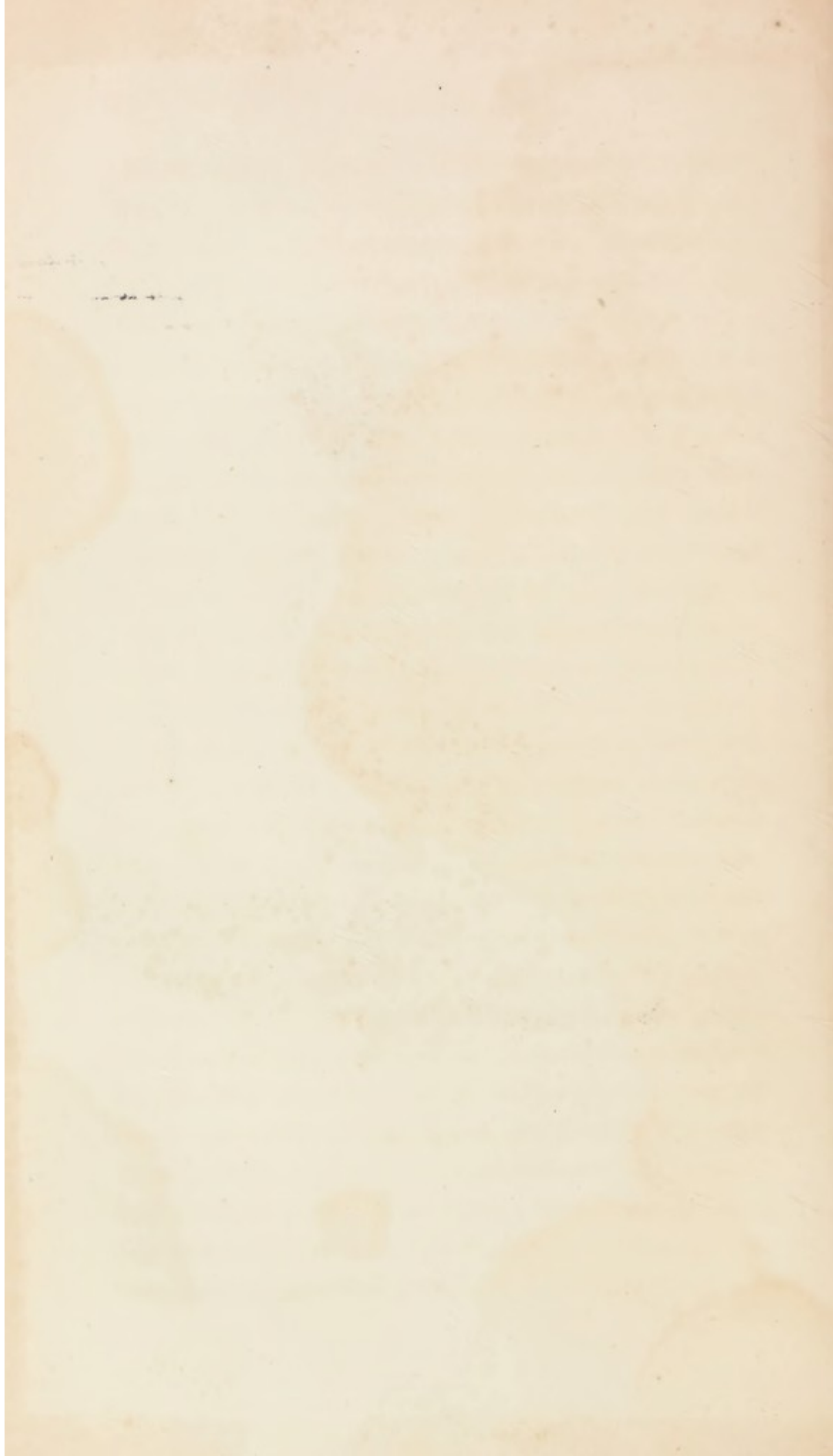


On Stone by A. Pickers.

Printed by J. Mather.

One of the Envoy's Meerya, or Secretaries.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.



“ was, that he had attached himself to me, whom
“ he found to have no proper value for a person
“ possessed of such eminent epistolary talents as
“ himself; and to serve whom, a fellow who gained
“ his bread by writing notes and letters for infe-
“ rior shopkeepers at a penny a piece, was quite
“ good enough.” The first time I had occasion to
employ this consequential scribe at Bushire, was
very near being the last. It was to prepare a
letter, which required some caution in the word-
ing of it, to the Prince Governor of Schyras.
“ Meerza,” said I, “ you will, in the exordium of
“ the letter, give the Prince as many titles, and
“ pay him as many compliments, as you think
“ proper; but that done, not a single word which
“ I dictate to you on business, must be changed.”
He very readily replied, “ Cheshem,” *i. e.* “ on my
“ eyes,” and very steadily and composedly took
down my dictation. After some time, he brought
the letter, fairly copied, that I might affix my seal
to it. This was an act I never performed without
having the document read over to me first. Judge,
reader, of my astonishment, after the submissive
“ Cheshem,” to find all the business part of the
letter couched in the most flowery and uncertain
phraseology which the Persian language could
supply. I immediately said, “ My good friend,
“ these are not the words I dictated to you, and
“ desired you to write.”—“ No,” replied he, “ the
“ words are not the same, but the meaning of

“ them is ; and the reason of my changing them
“ is, that what you dictated *is not Persian*, and
“ therefore the Meerzas about the court would
“ never be able to comprehend what you designed
“ to communicate to the Prince.”—“ That,” said I,
“ would indeed be most unfortunate ! because it
“ is of very great consequence to me, that both
“ the Prince and his Ministers should *clearly* and
“ *accurately* understand *what I do mean* ; and,
“ moreover, it is of equal importance to me, not
“ to communicate any thing to them, but that
“ which *I do mean, ad litteram*. As to what I
“ dictated to you *not being Persian*, you must
“ not be offended if I say I think it is, and, there-
“ fore, that there will be no danger of the Prince
“ and his Ministers not understanding its meaning
“ and import ; and what confirms me in this opi-
“ nion is, that during the several years I resided
“ at Bagdad, and carried on a multifarious corres-
“ pondence, of considerable importance, with
“ Meerza Bozurg, and other persons of conse-
“ quence, I never had the misfortune to have one
“ of my letters returned to me as unintelligible,
“ nor was I ever asked for the explanation of any
“ particular phrase.” The last shot he fired was,
that “ his credit as a scholar and writer was at
“ stake.”—“ My dear Meerza,” said I, “ so is mine
“ as a Minister ; and just at present you must for-
“ give me if I think the latter to be of much more
“ consequence (to me, at least) than the former.

“ I am really sorry, and perhaps I may add,
“ ashamed, to give a man of your eminence and
“ talents the trouble of writing this letter over
“ again ; *but it must be done.*” And done it was,
but with a very bad grace. But what surprised
him still more was, that I compelled his assistant,
in a note to the Prince’s Minister, to say, “ I be-
“ seech your Excellency, that, in all matters of
“ business which are to pass between us, you will
“ only use the most precise terms and plainest
“ words, because on all occasions I am most
“ anxious to understand your commands and
“ wishes, without being obliged, from my con-
“ fined knowledge of the Persian language, to
“ recur to others for the explanation of a more
“ elegant and refined phraseology.” This was a
death-blow to a great part of the consequence, and
perhaps the designs, of my Persian secretaries :
they felt it as such, and afterwards acted but
sulkily. At this, however, I felt no great concern,
and I redoubled my attention and politeness to
them, in all other respects. I am not sure, that
there were not, at this time, others, forming my
suite, who expected to be more consulted than
they had been, and who wished I should leave
things which I managed myself, to be directed and
managed by them.

I had never seen Jaafer Ally Khan. I had much
reason, however, to be satisfied with his zeal and
general conduct, but I had found on one or two

occasions, that in the fulness and joy of his heart, he had, in his communications with the Prince's ministers, exceeded the instructions I gave him; and as it seemed to me, that on my near approach to Schyras, he might be assailed so as to draw from him inconvenient promises and terms about my entrance and reception there, I judged it safest and best to request him to meet me at Kazeroon. A very few minutes' conversation with him, convinced me, that in doing so, I had acted with considerable prudence, and that from the account he gave me of the state of affairs at Schyras, and of the intentions towards me of that government, it became indispensably necessary that I should communicate with his Majesty's Prime Minister, Meerza Sheffe, and Meerza Bozurg, without a moment's delay. I sent, therefore, for the two Persian secretaries to my tent, and desired them to compose a complimentary letter to each of the personages above mentioned, expressing the satisfaction I derived from the very honorable reception I had that day experienced at Kazeroon, desiring them, the secretaries, also to especially attribute it to the favor and friendship of these two ministers. Whilst these gentlemen were thus employed, I retired with Jaafer Ally to effect the business part of my communication, and as he understood English tolerably well, and did not pride himself on being an *accomplished Persian scribe*, it was done with ease and goodwill.

The reader, no doubt, will rejoice, to be relieved from this very dull detail, and therefore I shall turn again to my friend's Journal.

“ Jaafer Ally Khan joined us ; his appearance
“ is much in his favor, he has an excellent coun-
“ tenance. Sir Harford made him many acknow-
“ ledgments for the services he had rendered the
“ Mission, and Bruce and the Doctor were very
“ glad to see their old friend. The Governor of
“ Kazeroon sent us refreshments on three large
“ trays, consisting of pilaws, stews, sweetmeats,
“ &c. The Persian cookery is very good, and
“ their sweetmeats excellent. In the evening, we
“ went to look at the Governor's garden,—it is a
“ square, the four sides of which might measure
“ about three quarters of a mile ; there is a strait
“ walk runs up the middle of it, bounded on each
“ side by cypress and orange trees ; in the middle
“ of this walk is a kiosk or summer-house, and
“ over one of the gateways is a room which has a
“ pretty appearance. It gave us much pleasure
“ to find here one of the most melodious of all our
“ own singing birds, that is, the blackbird.

“ I find the Governor is universally well spoken
“ of, as a generous, and charitable man, which is
“ greatly to his credit, since the manner in which
“ all Governors in this country are obliged to col-
“ lect the revenue, invariably leads them to oppress
“ those under them. The government of a dis-
“ trict is without any exception purchased ; and

“ independent of the purchase money, the buyer
“ has, at different times and on different occasions,
“ most expensive presents to make to the king and
“ his Ministers ; so that, after these claims are
“ satisfied, the Governor is obliged to have recourse
“ to extortion, to support himself and his house-
“ hold. It seems that the policy of the present
“ king’s government, is to keep not only the inha-
“ bitants, but the Governors of the provinces and
“ districts, as poor as possible ; and thus, though,
“ in a country where water is scarce, the average
“ return of crop is from fourteen to twenty fold,
“ agriculture declines ; and the earth is made to
“ produce no more than will subsist the inhabitants
“ and pay the taxes, and furnish the subsistence of
“ the Governor and his household. Any effort
“ made to go beyond this, would, under the present
“ system, not lead to the happiness of the people.
“ Prospective economy and prudence is seldom
“ from this cause practised ; for if a man has
“ enough for the present, he is indifferent about
“ the future, well knowing that any superfluity he
“ possesses to-day, may be taken from him to-
“ morrow. Persia certainly suffers the want of sea-
“ ports,—Bushire being the best and most fre-
“ quented ; notwithstanding this, many of her
“ merchants possess great wealth.

“ In the evening, Jaafer related to us that the
“ Prince Governor of Schyras had desired him to
“ read a newspaper in English to him, and then to

“ translate the whole, even to the advertisements,
 “ into Persian : he said the Prince was extremely
 “ inquisitive, and gave him a great deal of trouble.
 “ The Prince was particularly desirous to know
 “ who the Germans were ; because, when Jaafer
 “ read to him of a German army of 120,000 men,
 “ and of 25,000 of them being slain in one action,
 “ he said, in plain terms, that he did not believe
 “ either the one or the other of these things to
 “ be possible,—‘ For this plain reason,’ said the
 “ Prince, ‘ that the King, my father, cannot bring
 “ ‘ into the field more than 60,000 horse ; how,
 “ ‘ therefore, can any European potentate bring
 “ ‘ 120,000 ; and as to 25,000 men being slain in a
 “ ‘ battle, that is equally impossible ; because, in
 “ ‘ our severest and longest battles, our loss never
 “ ‘ exceeds from 50 to 100 men.’

“ The Persians are unquestionably a very polite
 “ people. All the Governors of districts or pro-
 “ vinces who come to meet Sir Harford, dismount,
 “ whilst he receives their compliments on horse-
 “ back. The salutation to him, is *Musharoff*
 “ *sauktie*—‘ you do us honor,’—his reply is,
 “ *Musharoff shudam*—‘ I am honored, or you do
 “ ‘ me honor.’”

I regretted exceedingly that the constant occu-
 pation of my time did not permit me to spend
 more of it in the society of the gentlemen attached
 to the Mission. But I omitted no opportunity
 to afford them every facility in my power, both of

amusing themselves on the road, and of pursuing any inquiries as to the country, its antiquities, or produce, which they wished to make. I had early witnessed, and was delighted to see, the earnestness and eagerness with which Sir James Sutherland applied himself to fulfil, in the most correct manner, the important duties attached to his department; for though, frequently, I believe, much fatigued when we arrived at our ground, he never allowed himself rest till he had laid down, accurately, the bearings and distances, as well as all the other observations which he had made in the course of the march. The fruit of these his labours has been given to the public in the beautiful map lately published. Mr. Morier had early communicated to me his intention of publishing an account of the country through which we were passing, and he in consequence received from me every assistance he wanted or desired. Such being the path I had chalked out for myself, as the ruins of Shahpoor are not very distant from Kazeroon, I was not sorry that Christmas-day obliged me to halt; for by observing Sunday, and the great festivals, as days of rest, I wished to demonstrate to the Persians, that we were not, as the English in Turkey and Persia, (are often accused of being) without religion.

After the service of the day, therefore, had been publicly performed in my tent, and I had received the compliments of such Europeans and Persians

as were entitled to pay them, Mr. Morier and myself, with a sufficient guard, set out to visit the ruins of Shahpoor, amongst which we remained to the close of day.

The following part of Mr. Sheridan's Journal, will, perhaps, convince the reader, that, on more accounts than one, it was prudent to direct Jaafer Ally Khan, to leave Schyras, and meet me at Kazeroon.

“ Whilst Sir Harford was absent with Morier,
“ Jaafer Ally Khan paid Willock and myself a
“ visit, and gave us an account of the various im-
“ positions which were practised upon him by the
“ people about the Prince ; he said one of the
“ gentlemen of the guard begged of him to pur-
“ chase a horse, at twice its value, and when Jaafer
“ had complied with this request, he preferred
“ another the next day, saying :—‘ My dear friend,
“ ‘ the cold weather is coming on, for God’s sake
“ ‘ give me cloth enough to make a cloak, to keep
“ ‘ me warm.’ Jaafer said it was of no use to
“ protest to this person that he had no cloth ; he
“ returned to the charge, and the end was, that he
“ found himself obliged to purchase cloth for this
“ purpose, from the Bazaar, and present it to him ;
“ and so get rid of his incessant importunity.
“ This, he told us, was one case amongst many
“ others.”

Now Jaafer’s compliance with these inconvenient, and I may add, shameless, importunities, arose,

as he told me, from an apprehension that denial might, in some shape or other, injure the interests of the Mission ; and, therefore, whether the cost of these presents was to be borne by Jaafer himself, or to be carried (as it really was) to the public account, it was my duty to put a stop to them as soon as possible. The fact was, that very early in my intercourse with Jaafer, I discovered him to be, with a certain degree of ability, a very weak, timid man ; and being an Indian born, though of Persian parents, the Persians, in their own country, considered him as a person who might be bullied or flattered as best suited their purpose. I am glad, however, to close these remarks, by saying, that if his mistakes were sometimes a little provoking, his services, *au bout du compte*, were often efficient, and of some importance ; that his temper was delightful, and his manners those of a polished Persian gentleman.

God forbid that any one should suppose, that in making the following extract from my friend's Journal, I do so with a design to attack the memory or character of a person no longer able to reply. No one can be more ready and willing to declare, than I am, that he was possessed of great information on matters connected with India, and also of very valuable talents, and if I have never estimated either the one or the other so very highly as they seem to have been esteemed by others ; it may perhaps proceed from my want of judgment and

discernment, and not from his want of superior abilities. Thus much is quite certain, that our ideas of diplomacy (and I hope I may say it without offence to any one) differed *toto cælo*; his were purely Indian; mine, (I beseech you, reader, to observe, I do not speak either of their merit, or the correctness of them) had been formed by no very short intercourse and correspondence with several of His Majesty's most able Ambassadors in Europe, and with the Agents and Consuls of foreign nations established in Turkey.

What has occasioned my touching on this subject is, that I know it to have been repeatedly represented by some whose names it is now not worth while to mention, in quarters where such representations worked me no small evil, that "my success in Persia was owing to circumstances from which I could claim no merit; and that those circumstances, *cæteris paribus*, would have been attended with the same effects, whoever had held the office of Envoy to the Court of Persia." In such case, I trust the reader will not blame me if I adopt the words of one of the most witty Knights that ever rode "a colonelling," when he says:—

"Quoth he, it stands me much upon,
"To enervate this Objection;
"And prove myself by Reason clear,
"No *chanceling* as you would infer."

and, therefore, if in giving an account of my pro-

ceedings in Persia, I now quote for this purpose the opinion of those who were on the spot, I feel it is not vanity which induces me to do so, but a just and proper regard for my own character. At the same time, I will assure the reader that this opinion was completely unknown to me till long after I returned to England, and known only through the lamented circumstance of my becoming one of the executors of Mr. Sheridan, and in that capacity, his Journal falling into my hands.

That which I am now about to extract from my friend's Journal, is part of a conversation which he has noted down as having taken place between himself and Jaafer Ally Khan. "Jaafer
" told me the reason why Sir Harford had succeeded, and Malcolm had failed, is this: Sir
" Harford had gained his point by remaining
" quietly at Bushire; taking advantage of every
" circumstance as it occurred; continually impressing on Nasr Oollan Khan, the vagueness
" and insincerity of the French promises, and their
" incapacity to fulfil those promises, even if they
" were so inclined; and pointing out the solid
" advantages which must accrue to Persia from a
" regular and well-formed alliance with England.
" Moreover, by constantly exhorting the Ministers
" to consider seriously in what situation they
" would place themselves if they advised His
" Persian Majesty to refuse receiving a Mission
" sent to him directly from the king of England;

“ appearing also to regard the reception of the
“ French Mission at Tæheran, *not as a matter of*
“ *complaint*, but as a casualty, which would easily
“ be remedied and set to rights, when he was
“ admitted to the royal presence.

“ Jaafer said that Malcolm had adopted a me-
“ nacing course, and that the Court of Tæheran
“ considered all his communications as saying, in
“ effect ; ‘ if you do not dismiss the French, I will
“ ‘ return to Calcutta, and advise the Governor-
“ ‘ General to make you do it by force ;’ *it is not*
“ *therefore owing to any political changes in*
“ *Europe, or elsewhere*, that Sir Harford has
“ succeeded ; but it is owing to his own unre-
“ mitting exertions, judgment, and prudence ;
“ and to his dexterity in raising suspicions in the
“ minds of His Persian Majesty and his Ministers,
“ as to the real nature of the French designs, and
“ the great probability, that if they were permitted
“ to march through Persia to India, they would
“ require, or rather demand, a pretty large loan
“ of His Majesty’s treasures, and a pretty large
“ supply of horses, camels, mules, &c.* And to
“ this may be added the judicious hints which
“ Sir Harford has from time to time thrown out,
“ that their differences with Russia might be more
“ advantageously settled through the medium of
“ England than that of France.”

* The reader who peruses this Memoir with any interest, will do well to turn to Page 338 of the first volume.

I find my friend's memoranda of this day conclude very comically: "This being Christmas day, "Jaafer Ally had plenty of plum pudding, which "he admires above all things, and is very fond of "English cookery in general."

We moved from Kazeroon to Aubudoor, where a Persian officer, by name Kereem Khan, sent express, brought me the first firman which I received from the King, and letters from the Ministers, containing circumstantial reports of a repulse which the Russians had suffered, in an attack they had made on the fort and city of Erivan; and they also acquainted me, that, on the receipt of this news at Tæheran, the King had said, in full court, "Sir Harford Jones's foot is lucky. Let it be "communicated to him that I think so, and that "I have said so." I assembled, in my public tent, the whole of the Mission, as well as the Mehmandar and his suite, to hear, not only the King's Firman, but the official Persian dispatches, read; and to the bearer of them I presented a handsome dress and gratuity. On this occasion, too, I very much gratified my principal Persian secretary, by desiring him to compose a congratulatory letter to the Prince Governor of Schyras, in his very best style; which, when done, God knows, put common sense at defiance to understand it, farther than its having reduced all the heroes of antiquity, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, to mere drivellers, in comparison with Fath Ally Shah. The reader

may be sure I did not forget, on all available occasions, to make use of His Majesty's expression, that "my foot was lucky;" and this was of the more importance, because the Persians are thoroughly convinced, that good fortune is attendant on particular persons, and may, by their presence, be imparted to others, in the same manner that the eyes of some persons have a direct and immediate power of good or evil influence over things and persons on which they fall.

Our next resting-place was Deeshterjean. Although the attention I uniformly received from the Mehmandar, was such as to merit my entire approbation, nevertheless, I had here strong reason to see and feel that it was much increased, both in assiduity and respect. He had heard that his Sovereign had publicly declared, that "my foot was lucky;" and this instantly convinced him, that I should be held in high esteem at court, and that my future recommendation and patronage might be worth his notice. He had with him a very handsome gray Arabian horse, which was particularly easy and light in his paces, and which once or twice, by his desire, I had mounted on the road, and had in consequence wished to purchase; but he had declined to part with it, saying he intended, on his return to Schyras, to present the horse to the Prince Governor there. In the course of a visit which he paid me in the evening, I was greatly surprised to hear him say, that he had

dreamt the preceding night, that the King had ordered him to make me a present of this horse, and that he, wishing not to be disobedient to the vision, had sent the horse to be picketted with mine; and begged my acceptance of it; entreating me, at the same time, to grant him a favor in return; which was, that I should mount this horse when I made my public entrance into Schyras; which, he assured me, would be not only extremely creditable to him, but might be extremely useful to him at Tæheran.

We next arrived at Khonehzineaun. The cold had now become excessive, and we were travelling through snow; and my Indian companions, servants, troopers, sepoy, &c., required, in the shape of warm clothing, every comfort in my power to afford them. Here the Mehmandar invited me to hawk with him, which I accepted; but his hawks were extremely ill trained, and good for nothing. I raised myself, however, in his opinion, by talking to him on the different sorts of hawks, their qualities, the best method of training and of treating them during the hazardous season of moulting; all which recondite knowledge I had purchased very dearly, during my residence at Bagdad, where hawking was the only amusement I had.

Next day, the 24th December, we halted within three miles of the city of Schyras. I had now once more passed over the same ground that I had formerly done, as an invalid in search of

health, as a merchant, seeking to mix profit with pleasure, and as a fugitive from Schyras ; scarcely hoping to reach Bunder Reeg without being plundered of much, if not all, the valuable baggage I carried with me. The different places at which we stopped on the road were, therefore, familiar to me ; and each brought to my recollection some circumstances of interest. There was scarcely one of these places at which I had not formerly made acquaintance with some of its inhabitants in the humbler walks of life : many of these had already gone to “ that bourne from whence no traveller returns ;” but such of them as were still alive, invariably found some opportunity or other of visiting me in private,—some of them attended by their children,—all of them greeting me with the kindest expressions of regard and friendship,—and uniformly bringing with them some little present. Some, for instance, brought a favorite kid ; others, fresh butter, made by their wives ; others, cream cheese, or coagulated milk, of which the Persians make great use, under the name of “ liban.” I observe that, for want of a more intimate knowledge of the character of the Persian peasantry, my friend, in his Journal, notes all these visits, as proceeding from motives of interest, and not of friendship. Now, I am bound to declare, that there was not one of this class of visitors, on whom I could prevail to accept a pecuniary return for the present he made. The general request was for

something to keep in remembrance of me,—a knife, a pen-knife, or a pair of scissors. I hope the reader need scarcely be told, that I never accepted their favorite kid: to carry it along with me, would have been inconvenient—to have killed it, would have been sacrilege. I advert to these, and such like trifling circumstances, in the hope, that a disclosure of them may soften the injurious opinion, formed by some persons, of the Persian character, from the perusal of books written by such as had only the opportunity of viewing them superficially, or of books published with the avowed design of amusing the idle, by the recital of absurd tales, or extravagant caricature. I have said already, and I repeat it, that the greater part of the vices of which the Persians of all classes are accused, arises from the nature of their government. For instance, when force can, at any time, deprive a man of his all, does it not follow, that he will easily reconcile himself to the not being over nice in the means he takes afterwards to recruit his finances? He who attempts to make us believe, that the inhabitants of cities in Persia, and the Persian peasantry, are, in moral character, the same, knows little or nothing of what he is talking about; and he, who imagines that the Persian peasants of Fars, Irak, Azarbaijan, or any other province, all possess the same moral qualities, is equally ignorant. Even in this country, it is easy to perceive a distinctive difference, in

the manners, in the habits, and, consequently, in the character, of the peasants of different countries. The greater part of man's moral qualities, is formed by circumstances, over which he, as an individual, has little or no power—such as climate, government, propensity to imitation, and (reader, you may laugh at me if you please,) the food which is in general use in the country, in which he is born, and resides.

It was at this halting-place, that the Prince Governor of Schyras paid me the compliment of ordering one of his own tents to be pitched for my accommodation. It was splendidly large, and lined throughout with the finest Mazulipatnam chintz. The next day was to be a day of great bustle, and much of the intervening time was spent in arranging the ceremony of my entrance into Schyras. The principal difficulty was, to obtain an order from the Government, that the Khans appointed to meet me, should dismount, whilst I received their compliments on horseback. This proposition was, for some time, resisted; and the reason given was, that the noblemen intended to be sent to compliment me, were distantly related to the King of Persia. Mine for insisting on receiving this mark of respect, were, that, in Persia, I was the appointed, *and now acknowledged*, representative of my Sovereign. This business, which some persons may incline to think a ridiculous one, and carried, on my part, further than it

merited, was, in point of fact, an important one ; and, at one time, it seemed to assume so serious an aspect, that I threatened to remain where I was, to dispatch a representation to Tæheran, and await the decision upon it, of His Persian Majesty and his Ministers. About eight in the evening, one of the Prince's secretaries came to me, and acquainted me that my demand was acceded to, after a sitting of the Prince's council, which lasted some hours ; where it was determined, " that a " person authorized to represent a King, was " higher in dignity than the relation of a King, " particularly if, as in the present case, the relationship was not a very near one." This decision was extremely important ; and, knowing the use I could make of it at Tæheran, to stop, *in limine*, many idle pretensions, likely to be made in my intercourse with various noblemen there, I begged that it might be communicated to me in writing ; and I was promised that this should be done after I had entered the city.* The procession, which issued from the city to meet the Mission, was very honorable and large ; and as we approached it, the crowd became immense.

I see that Mr. Sheridan in his journal, observes : " that the Mehmandar was unusually alert, and " that owing to his great exertions, we got into " the city without being much annoyed ;" but that, notwithstanding what had been communi-

* This was never done.

cated to me the night before, “there was some
“ hesitation on the part of the Khans who came
“ out to meet Sir Harford, as to dismounting from
“ their horses at the Ambassador’s approach, most
“ of them being related to the royal family.*
“ However, Sir Harford positively declared, that
“ he would not move on a step farther, unless
“ they did so, and they were obliged to comply.”
On reaching the lodging appointed for the embassy, we found spread for us a superb collation of sweetmeats, &c., and Abdullah Khan, the son of the Prime Minister, came shortly afterwards to compliment me on my arrival.

Well, I am now in Schyras! but with what different feelings, under what different circumstances, to those experienced in my former visits to this city! Where is the noble Sovereign, *the true lion of war*, to whose presence I was familiarly admitted whenever I chose to seek the honor?—betrayed and cruelly destroyed. Where is the royal child, whose innocent tattle gave me so much pleasure? alas! alive,—but most inhumanely mutilated! Where is the scoundrel, whose mad

* I strongly advise those who have to negotiate or transact any other business with the Persians, never to lose their temper on account of any extraordinary propositions which they may bring forward; nor, when knowing themselves to be in the right, ever to despair of carrying their point by proper perseverance. In such matters the Persians uniformly act on this principle. Shud, sheed, ne shud heich: viz. if I succeed, I succeed; if I fail, there is no harm done.

ambition, and black heart, brought ruin on his confiding King, and misery the most severe on his fellow-citizens?—gone, I hope, trust, and believe, to receive a just punishment for his most atrocious villainies. Where is that great, good, and amiable Minister, Meerza Mohammed Hossein, whose conversation was a charm, and whose most hospitable mansion was always open to me? Where is the little, worthy, laughing Khorassaunee Seyd, whose humble doors were never shut against me, and whose willing services anticipated my wishes? Where is Mohammed Ally Behbehaunee, my old humorist Mehmander? Where is Mohammed Ally, the joyous fat merchant, who took care of me, and managed my little concerns in the year 1786, when I first visited Schyras? Where are numerous other kind and humble friends, with whom, when Persia was a new world to me, I rambled about, and loitered or feasted in the Baugel-Vakeel, the Hafezeah, the tomb of Sadee, or the Heft-tun?—Gone! gone for ever. What was I then? My own master—willing to please and be pleased—enjoying, with almost a child's delight, every thing and every body! What am I now? A man bound down to ceremony—a man whose situation is envied by many—who, instead of enjoying a fearless, careless, joyous intercourse with the Persians who visit him, is obliged to measure almost every word he utters to them, and to reflect on almost every sentence which they

address him in return ! Could any *Jin* or *Deeve* appear, and say, " If you will cast off your present " fine trappings, I will restore all you lament." I trust the reader will give me credit for sufficient good taste, to believe that I would willingly take the preternatural agent at his word.

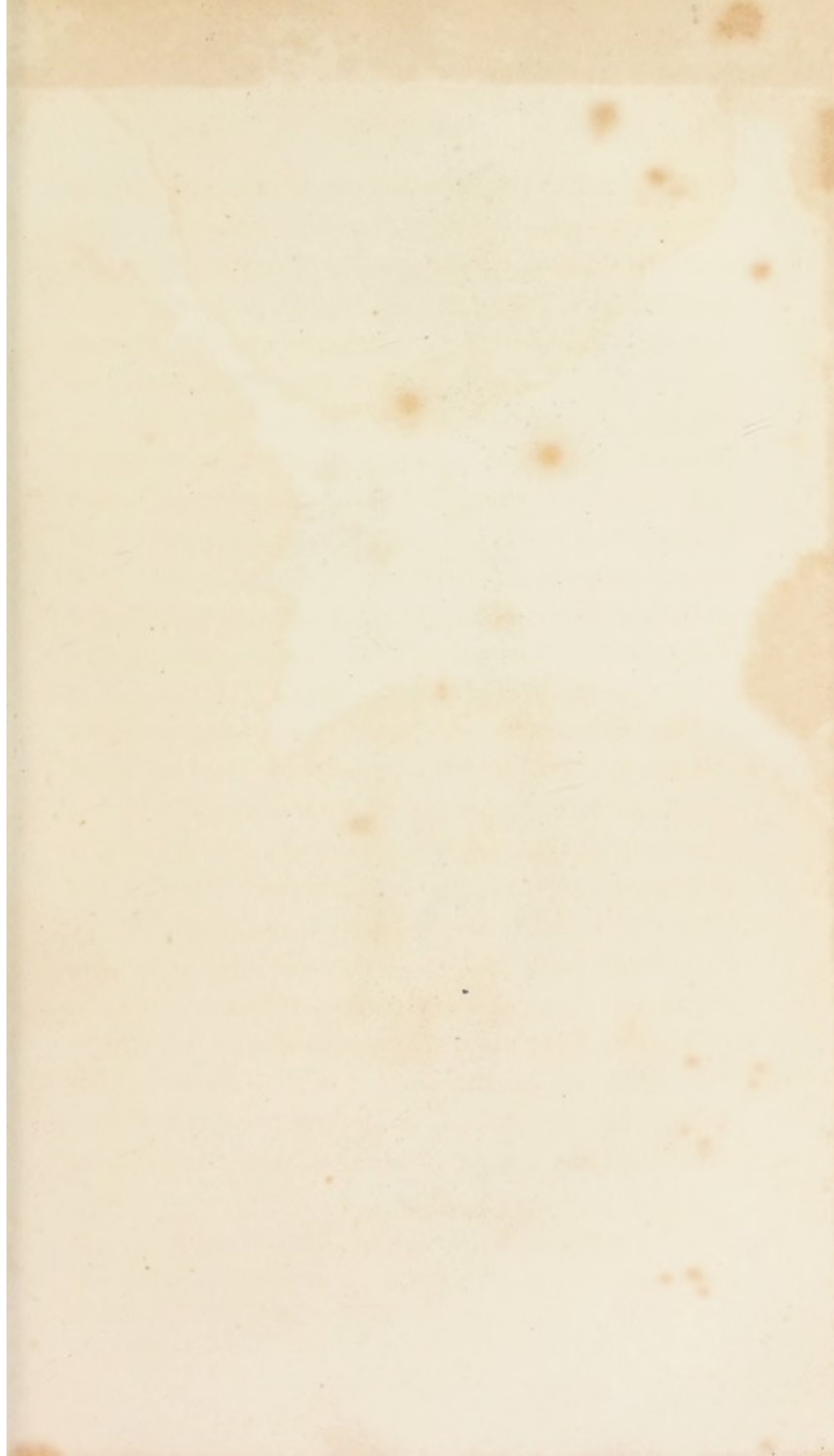
Such reflections the next day forced themselves on me with additional power, in consequence of finding myself obliged to hint to one of the gentlemen, that his farther attendance on the Mission would be dispensed with. He had treated me, at my own table, with disrespect, by giving orders to my servants on a point of ceremony, not only without consulting me, but in direct contradiction to my general regulations on the subject. He had the choice of apology or departure ; he chose the latter. He was a person of some ability, and of more pretension, and, I incline to think, he expected to be more consulted in the proceedings of the Mission, than I considered it either useful or proper he should. As I was extremely anxious to live on the strictest terms of friendly intercourse with all the gentlemen composing my suite, this little untoward affair gave me much vexation.

This day Nasr Oollah Khan, the Prime Minister, paid me a visit. He was a man stricken with years, of no prepossessing appearance ; and his manners, in comparison with those of the ministers with whom I had been accustomed to have intercourse, during the reign of the Zunds, were extremely coarse, and almost disgusting.

The 1st of January was the day fixed for my public reception by the Prince Governor,—for an account of which, I am glad to turn to my friend's Journal.

“ At 12 o'clock we set out, accompanied by our
“ Mehmander, Mohammed Zikea Khan, who pre-
“ ceded Sir Harford, and cleared the way for him.
“ Before Sir Harford, were led seven horses, with
“ English saddles and bridles, each led by a Persian
“ groom on horseback, and the whole headed by Sir
“ Harford's European groom, in scarlet and gold
“ livery. The gentlemen of the Embassy followed
“ Sir Harford according to their rank, and the rear
“ was brought up by Lieutenant Willock, at the
“ head of his troop. The streets of Schyras, gene-
“ rally speaking, are very narrow, and in some
“ places scarcely admit of two horsemen riding
“ abreast. The houses are built with brick, but
“ present no windows to the street. We were led
“ much out of the way of the straight road to the
“ palace, in order that the spectacle might be pro-
“ longed. At last we entered the Vakeel's bazaar,
“ built by Kercum Khan ; in the centre of which,
“ in a kind of balcony, the Cutwal, or Superintend-
“ ant of Police, was sitting performing the duties
“ of his office.* He rose at Sir Harford's approach,

* My excellent friend, I see, has omitted to mention in his Journal, what the Persians thought was the very pink of attention. On my approach to the Cutwal, a fellow was thrown down to be bastonadoed, and on my coming opposite, the Cutwal called out, in a loud voice,—*Aff kirdaham !*—“ I have pardoned you.”





On Stone by A. Packer.

Printed by J. Nethercot.

A Russian Soldier, at Schyras.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.

“ and made him an obeisance, which the Ambassa-
“ dor returned. Having passed through the whole
“ length of this bazaar, we entered a spacious
“ court, which led to another, and that again to a
“ third — and all these courts were lined with
“ people. We then reached the gate of the build-
“ ing in which the audience was to take place. At
“ this gate we dismounted, and found the Master of
“ the Ceremonies, and his suite, ready to receive us.
“ On passing through the gateway, we entered an
“ oblong square walled garden, through the middle
“ of which a broad straight line to a building in the
“ centre was drawn, and which lead to this building.
“ There was a canal, twelve or thirteen feet wide,
“ filled with pure water, and fountains at regular
“ distances, which were playing. On each side of
“ the canal was a broad pavement of coarse
“ marble, on which the Prince’s battle-axe guard,
“ and other troops, were drawn up in line.
“ Amongst these was a person who had been an
“ inferior Russian officer, who had been made a
“ prisoner in some of the skirmishes between the
“ Persians and the Russians, and who had been
“ prevailed on (outwardly at least) to profess the
“ Mohammedan religion, and was now called, by
“ the Persians, Peer Russ Khan. The drummer
“ belonging to the regiment had been captured
“ also at the same time ; he now stood by the side
“ of his officer, and the Persians regarded him as an
“ accomplished performer. We passed along one

“ side of the pavement, between the canal and the
“ troops, and at the stations where the Persians
“ made an obeisance, we lifted our hats. We had a
“ considerable distance, therefore, to walk, before
“ we entered the room, at the corner of which the
“ Prince was sitting, on a very fine nummud. His
“ dress was a white brocade, over which was
“ loosely thrown a superb shawl cloak, and on his
“ shoulders, a magnificent sable tippet. Before
“ him was placed a gold enamelled plate, contain-
“ ing, as I thought, comfits of some sort ; but I
“ was afterwards told they were loose pearls for
“ the Prince to play with, when he was so dis-
“ posed.

“ On his head he wore a Persian cap, with a
“ very beautiful shawl twisted round it, his fingers
“ were loaded with rings that made a great show ;
“ and the hilt of his poignard, as well as that of
“ his sabre, was covered with precious stones ;
“ in short, his dress and appearance were splendid
“ and princely. The Prince's name is Hassan Aly ;
“ he is a fine youth, is very handsome, and his
“ manners very engaging. Immediately opposite
“ to him stood Nasr Oollah Khan, his Minister.
“ At the upper end of the room, in a line with the
“ Prince, and on his left hand, the Ambassador was
“ seated, and below him the gentlemen, according
“ to their rank. The Prince's three favorites,
“ Eusoof Beg, the Georgian, Abdullah Khan, the
“ Prime Minister's son, and our Mehmander Zikea

“ Khan, stood to the left of the Prince, below the
“ gentlemen of the Embassy ; whilst Jafer Aly
“ Khan, as being British Agent, was, notwith-
“ standing his being a Persian, allowed to sit down.
“ Though Sir Harford spoke Persian as fluently as
“ he did English, still, at first, whatever he ad-
“ dressed to the Prince, was repeated to him by
“ Nasr Oollah Khan ; but it was not long before
“ this tiresome ceremony was dropped. We were
“ served with coffee and caleans, and, after a stay
“ of something more than half an hour, we re-
“ turned home in the same order which had been
“ observed on our coming to the palace.”

But, previously to this interview with the Prince, which Mr. Sheridan has justly described, I had been engaged in a pretty sharp discussion with Nasr Oollah Khan respecting a claim of the Prince to invest me, on this occasion, with a dress of honour, to which, as representing my Sovereign, I thought it my duty not to submit ; and wishing to close such matters once for all, I told Nasr Oollah,—“ I not only will not consent to receive
“ one from the Prince, but if the same proposition
“ should be made to me at Tæheran, depend on it
“ nothing in the world shall induce me to accede
“ to it.” Seeing me so determined, Nasr Oollah withdrew his proposal, and it was never after renewed, either at Schyras or Tæheran.

I return to my friend's Journal. “ The King

“ of Persia has just prohibited the use of Cash-
“ mere shawls, or rather confined it to the Princes
“ of the blood, and some few individuals of very high
“ rank. It is said that this edict has been issued
“ principally with a view to improve and benefit
“ the manufactures at Korman, where a shawl is
“ now made of so delicate a texture as almost to
“ rival that of Cashmere. The day on which we
“ entered Schyras, Sir Harford wore a shawl cloak,
“ which, of course impressed the multitude with a
“ very high opinion of his rank.

“ Now, I have been told the true reason why
“ the King prohibited the promiscuous use of the
“ Cashmere shawl, arises from a circumstance
“ which took place some little time ago. A mer-
“ chant arrived from Cashmere, bringing with
“ him a quantity of the most beautiful and elegant
“ shawls, for which he demanded the most extra-
“ vagant price. They were exhibited to the King,
“ and from amongst them he selected three or
“ four for his own use, for which the merchant
“ demanded 3,000 dollars each. At this price the
“ King refused to purchase; but some of his
“ wives hearing of the circumstance, and of the
“ extreme beauty of the shawls, contrived, in one
“ of his pliant moods, to coax the King to purchase
“ them. The merchant was accordingly sent for
“ the next day, and ordered to bring with him the
“ shawls which his Majesty had selected, and was,

“ at the same time, told that he should receive for
“ them the price he had demanded. The merchant,
“ of course, attended; but was dreadfully alarmed
“ when obliged to acknowledge that he had sold
“ the shawls. ‘How!’ said the King, ‘sold
“ ‘the shawls which I considered as being too
“ ‘dear for me to purchase! Pray to whom have
“ ‘you sold them?’—‘Please your Majesty, I sold
“ ‘them to a muleteer.’ The King appeared
“ thunder-struck, and sent for the muleteer, to
“ whom he said, ‘How is it that you can afford to
“ ‘purchase articles which I consider too dear,
“ ‘even for a King? what use could you have for
“ ‘such shawls? go, and bring them to me imme-
“ ‘diately.’ ‘Please your Majesty,’ replied the
“ muleteer, ‘the shawls are no longer in my pos-
“ ‘session—they are disposed of.’—‘How! how!’
“ said the King, ‘to whom?’—‘Please your Majesty,
“ ‘I gave them to my wife, and she has cut them
“ ‘up for trousers for herself.’—‘Well,’ said the
“ King, ‘I hear, every now and then, that my
“ ‘subjects complain of the weight of the taxes
“ ‘which they pay, and of the presents they are,
“ ‘at stated times, obliged to make; but surely I
“ ‘do not very severely oppress them, when a
“ ‘muleteer can purchase for his wife what, but
“ ‘for their importunity, I should have refused to
“ ‘purchase for mine.’”

Now I have principally extracted this little story

for the purpose of telling the reader that, in Persia, persons of very humble condition* scarcely ever refuse their wives a jewel or a piece of finery which they can, in any shape, manage to purchase; and I have been informed by persons to whom credit is due, that, with the merchants of wealth, their wives are as richly dressed as those of the King. It is much the same case in Turkey, as the reader may see by turning to the lively and instructive pages of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. In Europe, because our information on the subject is necessarily very scanty, and what we have mostly very incorrect, we are apt to consider the Asiatic ladies as being miserably ill-treated; but, from the little I know of the matter, I am convinced, that most of them have a great deal more their own way, and are made much more of, than is generally supposed. Women, in most parts of Asia, are regarded but in one light; but this is the very light which makes men, in general, profuse in their presents to them, and makes them also the most anxious about their dress. Europe may be the Paradise of old women, but Asia is, assuredly, that of the young and beautiful. The splendid paraphernalia of the bath, the ostentatious

* It frequently happens in Persia, that the muleteer is richer than the merchant who employs him. I remember one of this class who was master of more than two hundred and fifty mules, besides twenty yaboos, or pack-horses.

manner in which it is laid out, the envy it creates, may console an Eastern lady for the want of a London equipage. The slaves she has at her command, the luxurious entertainments which she can give her neighbours and friends, and which they return to her, in the private apartments of their husbands' houses, are, in their estimation, full as gay—and certainly, with ladies of high rank, full as splendid—as any London parties. I have heard of a lady, during the course of one of these entertainments, changing her dress twenty times, each dress richer than the former.* Perhaps the ladies in Persia, previously to the introduction of Mohammedanism, enjoyed more personal freedom than they do now; for I consider it certain, that many of the most severe dicta of the Koran, on this subject, came into Mohammed's head, in consequence of the freaks of his own pretty, but termagant and intriguing wife, Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Beer.

On the 2nd January, I paid my first visit, that of ceremony, to the Prince's Prime Minister; of which Mr. Sheridan gives the following account:—
“ At the door of the Minister's house we were re-
“ ceived by Abdullah Khan, his son. We were
“ shown into a very elegant room, the lower part

* The Paulos exhibited this Eastern custom, on their return to Venice, to their friends and relations.—See *Marco Paulo's Travels*, Marsden's Translation.

“ of the walls of which were lined with marble.
“ The fire-place was ornamented with cut-glass ;
“ and in the centre of the room were three very
“ handsome stands, on which chafing dishes were
“ placed, and charcoal burning ; on the top of
“ which stood Isfahaun quinces, which, as they
“ burnt, emitted a very pleasant odour. Before
“ the windows, which were open to a small gar-
“ den, there was a tank, or basin of water, in
“ which three fountains were playing, the ice hav-
“ ing been broken for that purpose. The Isfa-
“ haun quinces have a most peculiarly fine flavor :
“ they never become completely mellow, and al-
“ ways retain, more or less, a rough taste ; never-
“ theless, they are very delicious, and grow to a
“ much larger size than any apple I ever saw.—The
“ Minister and Sir Harford conversed a long time
“ on different subjects, and the Ambassador gave
“ him a very detailed and particular account of
“ the battle of Friedland ; but the Khan was
“ dreadfully puzzled to comprehend where Am-
“ sterдам was situated. Nasr Oollah Khan was
“ splendidly dressed, and his smoking apparatus
“ was very fine and costly. He is about sixty-
“ seven years of age, and it is now four years that
“ he has acted as Prime Minister to the Prince
“ Governor. There is in his manners a degree of
“ plainness, and apparent sincerity, seldom found
“ amongst the Persians. He is said to be a good

“ man, as well as a sensible one. Our Mehmandar
“ now entered the room with some degree of agi-
“ tation and hurry, and said, that the Prince had
“ ordered him to attend on a hunting party the
“ next day. He came, therefore, he said, to be-
“ seech the Minister, that he would point out *to*
“ *the young man* the impropriety of his (the Meh-
“ mandar’s) quitting the Ambassador during his
“ residence at Schyras. Accordingly, the head
“ eunuch was sent for, and returned with a mes-
“ sage from the Minister to the Prince, which set-
“ tled the matter to the satisfaction of the Meh-
“ mandar and Sir Harford. This person is an
“ Abyssinian, and is said to have considerable in-
“ fluence with the King; to be extremely invete-
“ rate where he dislikes, and to be equally warm
“ and friendly towards those for whom he pro-
“ fesses a liking. Sir Harford and the Minister
“ retired to a private conference, and Abdullah
“ Khan, who had hitherto stood outside of the
“ window, when his father left the room, came and
“ sat with us.”

Some account of this conference may be expected, and as nearly as my memory serves me, I will relate it.

The Minister, Persian-like, began with many praises of myself and my conduct, and with very many expressions of the happiness it afforded him to make the acquaintance of a person of whom,

from all classes of the inhabitants of Schyras, he had heard so much—that the Prince Governor had ordered him to assure me, his Royal Highness was disposed, not only to pay me particular attention whilst I remained in Schyras, but also to contribute all in his power to the success of my Mission—that the season was extremely inclement to travel in—that he hoped I might be disposed to honor the city of Schyras with my presence, and pass my time amongst my old friends, till the weather became milder, and the spring opened—and that, in such case, the Court and the city would do all in their power to amuse and please me.—To the first part of all this, I answered with the common routine of complimentary words; to the second I replied, if a choice were in my power, of either presently prosecuting my journey, or remaining at Schyras till the season opened, I should, on many accounts, prefer the latter; but that it was *duty*, and not *choice*, which was to guide all my proceedings—that my positive orders were, to lose no time in proceeding to the presence of His Persian Majesty—and to the presence of His Majesty I must go, let the weather or inconvenience to myself, be what they might.—He said, that I had no idea of the severity of the winter, beyond Isfahaun—that I was not very young—and that, apparently, my constitution was not of the strongest.—“ You may be right,” said I, “ as

“ to the two first ; but, in respect to the last, you
“ are deceived. I have borne, and I can bear,
“ great fatigue. But I am now placed in a situa-
“ tion, that I must not suffer what *may* happen
“ to myself, to cross my mind.”—He then said,
abruptly, “ But, supposing I was appointed to
“ negotiate with you, and the King should wish
“ the place of negociation to be Schyras, what
“ would you say to that ? would it not save much
“ time ?”

I said, “ Hear me,* Nasr Oollah Khan. Is this
“ spoken of only as a thing which you yourself
“ think might be convenient and agreeable ; or
“ are you authorized, either by the Prince, your
“ master, or from Tæheran, to make such a pro-
“ position ? for, according to your reply, I shall
“ shape mine to your question.”—He said, that the
proposition came from himself ; though, he would
confess, he was not sure, that some idea of the
sort might not be entertained in *their minds*, at
Tæheran.

“ I have uniformly heard you represented,” said
I, “ as a plain, straightforward nobleman ; and I
“ trust, that, in all the intercourse we may have,
“ you will find my conduct to be guided by these
“ principles. I tell you, therefore, that, from what
“ quarter soever this proposition comes, I cannot,
“ and I will not, accede to it ; and that, if it be

* *Goosh-kun*—“ Lend your ear.”

“ pressed, I will resist it by every means in my
“ power ; and ultimately, if necessary, I will form-
“ ally protest against it. Now, do not mistake
“ me. No part of what I have said, applies to your
“ being the person appointed to negociate with
“ me, if such should be the King of Persia’s plea-
“ sure ; for it is my duty to negociate with whom-
“ soever he nominates as his Plenipotentiary, or
“ Plenipotentiaries. But I trust, that you will not
“ be offended, if I say, I fear, from the proposi-
“ tion you have made, that you are not very con-
“ versant in the forms prescribed on such occa-
“ sions. In the first place, I *must* have the honor
“ in person, to present to the King of Persia the
“ credentials granted me by my Sovereign ; and
“ he must accept, and acknowledge that letter of
“ credence, before I can properly act as British
“ Minister at his Court. This alone, you see, my
“ friend, is a bar, *in limine*, to the acceptance by
“ me, of any proposition of the sort you have
“ made. This done, I do not know that I am en-
“ titled to decline proceeding to any place, at
“ which the King of Persia might judge it proper
“ that the Plenipotentiaries should meet ; but I
“ think, that, after so long a journey, I should be
“ entitled, not only to complain, but delicately to
“ remonstrate, against the conferences being held
“ anywhere but at the capital. I shall not ex-
“ press, to the King or his Ministers, the most

“ distant opinion or wish, as to any particular
“ person being appointed to negociate with me ;
“ but you must perceive, from what I have already
“ said, that I must go to Tæheran, and be admit-
“ ted to the King’s presence, and acknowledged
“ by him as British Minister, before I can treat
“ with anybody ; and if the King should fix on
“ yourself as his Plenipotentiary, and Schyras as
“ the place of conference, I must return here,
“ which will cause a great loss of time ; or, if His
“ Majesty fixes on Tæheran as the place of con-
“ ference, and you the Plenipotentiary, it will pro-
“ bably be inconvenient, and may be disadvanta-
“ geous to you, to leave the Prince Governor for
“ so long a time ; but, if otherwise, even in that
“ case there will be a great loss of time. I know
“ Meerza Sheffee was appointed His Persian Ma-
“ jesty’s Plenipotentiary, to negociate with Ge-
“ neral Gardanne ; and, to be plain and open with
“ you, I will confess, that, if the person were left
“ to my choice, I should prefer him. First, on
“ account of his rank, as Prime Minister of the
“ Kingdom, and the great confidence the King re-
“ poses in him ;—from which I could rationally
“ expect, that many minor points would be settled,
“ and cut short, without the necessity of reference
“ to the King and the other Ministers : and, se-
“ condly, because, from his having previously ne-
“ gociated with General Gardanne, I should, in
“ the course of our conferences, have ample op-

“portunities of pointing out to Meerza Sheffee,
“many circumstances respecting the French Mis-
“sion, which, though his penetration and experi-
“ence are no doubt very great, seem, hitherto, to
“have escaped his consideration.” The Prince’s
Minister attempted to answer, by saying, I was
already acknowledged as British Minister by the
Prince, who had treated me, and who had ordered
me to be treated as such.—“My dear Sir, I cannot
“mean to offend the Prince Governor, nor your-
“self, but I must directly tell you, that the Prince
“Governor has not the power officially to acknow-
“ledge me as British Minister to the court of his
“father. This power is confined to the King alone.
“If I am bound to make this assertion as matter of
“business, it becomes me also to express to you,
“and through you to the Prince, the grateful re-
“membrance I shall ever cherish of the very
“honorable and kind manner in which he has
“caused me to be treated, and treated me himself.”
Here our conversation on this interesting subject
ended ; and, before I left the Minister, I said to
him :—“I am already, no doubt, under many obli-
“gations to you ; and these, now that I am in
“Schyras, are daily increasing,—but the greatest
“obligation you can confer on me, will be, by every
“means in your power, to hasten my departure to
“the presence.”

It will easily be imagined, that this conference
afforded me much matter for reflection, and also

gave me some uneasiness ; but the more I turned in my mind the principles I had laid down to Nasr Oollah, the more I became convinced of their rectitude and justness ; and consequently the firmer was my determination, under all possible circumstances, to act upon them. It was most apparent to me, that for whatever purpose General Malcolm had returned to Calcutta, it could not be for one which accorded with my views of the case ; and although, on looking over the instructions I had received from His Majesty's Government, I did not find myself in any shape put under the orders of the Governor-General of India, yet common sense told me, that I should do right to attend, as far as it lay in my power, to such wishes as he might express ; and to conduct my negociations, should it be possible, in conformity with his views, when made known to me. I then thought it however but too probable, from the representations made to him by General Malcolm, that he would adopt measures which, when once made known to the Persian Ministers, would increase the difficulty of negotiating with them. But, God knows, I did not, I could not foresee, that under any representation he would have recourse to the hasty and violent steps which he adopted ; nor could I imagine that, after the praise he bestowed on my conduct at Bombay towards General Malcolm and his mission, and the thanks he gave me for it, he would so soon turn round, and heap upon me accusations equally false

and groundless. Lord Minto, Governor General, is no more, and unluckily for me this happened before I had an opportunity of conferring with him on the footing of one gentleman with another ; and of asking him for an explanation of his injurious and unjust inveteracy against me ; and perhaps, too, of convincing him how little I deserved it. The proverb says, “ *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*” Yet I am compelled to declare, that as far as respects myself and the Mission with which I was charged, I can say of Lord Minto, “ *nil nisi malum;*” and, therefore, in this memoir, I will say of him as little as I can help.

The reader will, perhaps, recollect what took place at Ally Changee with Mohammed Nebee ; and the information I drew from him in our evening conference ; if he does, he will not wonder that I now looked for the return of the messenger from Meerza Bozurg with considerable impatience. I am glad to find, however, from Mr. Sheridan’s Journal, that in all this agitation of mind, I did not forget my old friend, the Reis.

“ Sir Harford, in his conference this morning
“ with the Minister, took occasion to mention the
“ situation of the old Reis, and his apprehensions
“ for his safety ; and Bruce afterwards was sent
“ for, and told to tell Sir Harford that the Minister
“ had ordered commands to be issued, in the
“ Prince’s name, to Mahommed Nebee Khan, di-
“ recting that the old Reis should be at perfect
“ liberty to do whatever he pleased, and to go

“ where he wished.” What follows in the Journal
“ will, no doubt, make the reader smile. “ Jaafer
“ Ally Khan told us that it had been intimated to
“ his wife from the interior of the palace, that the
“ Queen (*i. e.* the Prince’s mother, who resides
“ with him) has resolved to send the Ambassador
“ various dishes of the very best cookery, *pre-*
“ *pared by her own hands.*”

On the 3d January, I rejoiced to receive the intelligence, that that most able and amiable diplomatist, Sir Robert Adair, was arrived at, and received as British Ambassador at Constantinople; and I see from the Journal, that I immediately sent off, in cypher dispatches, acquainting him with the situation of our affairs in Persia. But the day was destined to produce me a still greater pleasure, for, in the evening, whilst sitting by myself, in my private apartments, it was announced to me, that a person, calling himself Hajee Eusoof, in company with another person, who had the appearance of having newly arrived from a journey, desired to speak with me. I gave orders for their admittance. Reader, judge of my surprise and delight, when I beheld my old and excellent friend Hajee Eusoof, the head jeweller to his late Majesty Lutf Ally Khan, accompanied by the person whom Abdullah Aga had sent with my message to Meerza Bosurg. As Hajee Eusoof had neither come out to meet me, nor come to me since my arrival, I concluded him to be dead. Those to whom it has

ever happened, after a very long and distant separation, to meet a friend, and that friend one who had thoroughly proved himself to be such, will easily conceive the feeling with which I met Hajee Eusoof. All ceremony was set aside—we ran to each other and embraced, the old man sobbing out, “*Al Hamdullah toura baz deedam*”—God be praised I see you again.”

After such greetings, which lasted some time, were finished, the old man said, “Your messenger “to Meerza Bosurg has just arrived at my house, “and has brought me a letter from him, in which “he desires me to wait on you, in company with “the messenger.” The man then gave me a letter from Meerza Bozurg, which was very cool and very short, the purport of which, after a profusion of compliments, was, “I have received your letter, “and you must not give credit to all the idle tales “you hear.” I told the messenger to go and rest himself, and that next day I would dispatch him to Bushire with a letter for his master, Abdullah Aga.

The messenger had scarcely quitted the room before Hajee Eusoof pulled out a sort of little blue purse, from which he took a letter, which, the instant I saw it, I knew to be the Meerza’s own hand-writing. This letter was addressed to me, and to the following purport:—

“My dear friend—You did perfectly right in “applying to Abdullah Aga, and in sending me a

“ verbal message, instead of writing to me. I have
“ seen the whole of your correspondence, to the
“ present time, with the Ministers at Tæheran,
“ and if I had been at your elbow it could not
“ have been better. What Mohammed Nebee
“ told you is true, and how he came to tell it you
“ I cannot imagine. I have no doubt you will take
“ the proper method *to disperse the cloud* when
“ you get to Schyras, and you may be as impor-
“ tunate as you please with the Prince : if, after
“ all, you should find any *suspicious delay*, write
“ *strongly* on the subject to Meerza Sheffee. The
“ French at Tæheran are moving heaven and earth
“ to prevent your coming to the presence—but
“ come you will, *and come you shall*. Meerza
“ Sheffee will be appointed to negotiate with you,
“ and he will not stir a step without me. I give
“ you joy ; your Ambassador has been received
“ at Constantinople, and all matters between you
“ and the Turks are settled. This is well for us,
“ and well for you. Whatever private commu-
“ nication you have to make from Schyras, make
“ it through Hajee Eusoof, my old worthy neigh-
“ bour, and your old and true friend. Remember,
“ the fire tells no tales ;* you know what I mean.
“ —Adieu.”

* “ *Autish derroug neme guoyad*,” “ Fire tells no lies,” a Persian proverb, meaning fire proves all things, either their worth or worthlessness—and that nothing once committed to it, can afterwards rise in accusation against you.

The old jeweller and I sat long together, for I found he had much to say to me from Meerza Bozurg, and I had much to say to him of former times, and much to ask of him concerning the present. I was very sorry to learn from him, that when Aga Mohammed Khan captured Schyras, he had been heavily fined and personally ill-treated. The old man said, "Enough, however, is left me
" to live very comfortably, the Prince is very kind
" to me, and things in Persia now look so settled,
" that I think they will, at all events, last my time." Before we parted, I said, "My dear good old friend,
" I have not had time to say one-half of what I
" wish to you ; I hope, whilst I am here, you will
" come and visit me often, for my dinner hour is
" now approaching, and I cannot very well excuse
" my not appearing at it." "I will visit you
" again," he said, "but it cannot be often, for
" reasons I will communicate to you when we
" meet again. I would willingly ask the favor of
" you to come once more and sup with me, in my
" little room, where we were formerly so merry
" and happy ; but your present rank forbids this,
" unless I were to ask the Prince's permission to
" give you a public entertainment, which would
" only raise against your old friend the jealousy
" and envy of his equals. The Meerza," continued he, "will expect an answer, *to his communications,*
" *from yourself*: that part which you have told
" me shall be faithfully written to him ; and you

“ had better do to him as he does to you, confine
“ your letter to an acknowledgment of his letter,
“ and some few words of general import. I shall
“ have a messenger ready to-morrow.” There
was a chafing-dish, with fire, in the room. “ There
“ is one thing more,” said I, “ that you must tell
“ him—*that you saw his second letter burnt* ;” and
I put it on the top of the charcoal. I then added,
“ Hajee, I know, by experience, the abundance
“ and elegance of your table too well to think that
“ one guest coming in unexpectedly can put you
“ to inconvenience ; and, depend upon it, before
“ I leave this city, I will take some favorable
“ opportunity to come privately, and alone, and
“ renew our ancient compact of bread and salt.”
And I kept my word.

From this dull detail I will relieve the reader,
by turning again to Mr. Sheridan’s Journal :—
“ This day, January the 4th, we dined with the
“ Minister, who had made great preparations for
“ our reception. We mounted our horses, to pro-
“ ceed to his house, just before sunset ; and at the
“ door of the house we found an immense crowd
“ assembled, through which we did not pass with-
“ out difficulty, nor until our Mehmandar had
“ dealt his blows around him with proper liber-
“ ality. Abdullah Khan, the Minister’s son, re-
“ ceived us at the door ; and our entrance was the
“ signal for the entertainment to begin. We were
“ ushered into the same room in which we had sat

“ on our first visit ; and in the centre of the gar-
“ den before it, a tight rope was erected, on which
“ a dancer began to exhibit, and beneath him,
“ tumblers of various descriptions were perform-
“ ing different feats ; some turning rapidly round,
“ with naked daggers stuck in their girdles, others
“ with them in their hands ; but neither the per-
“ formances of the rope-dancer, nor of the tum-
“ blers, were worth much notice. The first, how-
“ ever, hanging from the rope by his feet, with his
“ head downwards, shot off a musket, and broke
“ an egg placed under him on the ground.* Im-
“ mediately in the front of the windows were
“ fifteen musicians, with different instruments, but
“ from which no very melodious sounds proceeded.
“ We had, on entering, all been ranged according
“ to our rank ; but now some of us got up to have
“ a nearer view, and approached the window, out-
“ side of which we saw Abdullah Khan, very at-
“ tentive to our wants, if we had any, and pointing
“ out to us the different feats of the rope-dancer,
“ which he thought worthy of notice. In Persia,
“ a son never presumes, in public, to sit down in
“ the presence of his father. Refreshments were
“ now brought in ; first coffee and kaleans ; then
“ different trays of various sweetmeats, pomegra-

* It is necessary I should explain, that this feat was performed on the slack, and not on the tight rope, as my friend states, and that it took place when the rope was on full swing. But I am quite sure that the egg was broken by the explosion of the powder alone, and not by a bullet, as the Persians wished us to believe.



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A Calankee, or Calan-Bearer.

Sketches from Life by Sir J. Sutherland.



“ nate and other ices, comfits, sugared almonds,
“ and a variety of other things of the same sort.
“ It is indeed incredible, the quantity of confec-
“ tionary that is consumed in this town. Trays
“ upon trays are daily sent to the Ambassador, as
“ presents; not, I should say, in abundance, but
“ in the most unbounded profusion. Very shortly
“ after the sweetmeats, a very extraordinary per-
“ former made his appearance. A water-spouter
“ commenced operations, and contrived to spout
“ water from his mouth to a considerable distance,
“ for at least a quarter of an hour without inter-
“ ruption. The power he must possess over the
“ muscles of his stomach, is very astonishing; for
“ he can retain the water as long as he pleases, and
“ can eject it as often, as much or as little of it,
“ as he pleases. He swallows only two bowls of
“ water before he begins, whilst double the quan-
“ tity appears to be returned. Mohammed Zikia
“ Khan assures me, he can swallow three different
“ kinds of food, and, separating them in his sto-
“ mach, can bring forth that kind which shall be
“ called for.* Next appeared the fire-eater, and,
“ from a large chafing-dish which he held in his
“ hand, he began to help himself to his fiery re-
“ past, cutting, at the same time, many capers;
“ but whether these were from the gratification
“ afforded by the viands, or from finding they
“ were dressed too hot, I cannot tell. After he

* None of us were desirous to witness so disgusting a performance, the reality of which I more than doubt.

“ had satisfied his hunger, he amused himself with
“ bringing up the cinders of the greater part of
“ what he had swallowed. Fire-works were now
“ let off. They were certainly superior to any
“ thing of the kind I ever saw. The rockets were
“ thrown to a prodigious height in the air, and,
“ bursting, seemed to spread the whole sky with
“ stars of the finest lustre. Other combustible
“ preparations were thrown into the basin where
“ the fountains were playing; these they illumi-
“ nated most beautifully, and continued for some
“ time struggling with the liquid element, and
“ throwing forth stars of different colors; but
“ whether the preparation was exhausted, or whe-
“ ther the water extinguished it, became matter of
“ doubt to us all, as some played much longer than
“ others. After this, from the two opposite walls
“ of the garden, commenced, what I must call a
“ regular engagement of liquid fire, darting a profu-
“ sion of stars from side to side, and seeming to set
“ the whole atmosphere in one blaze of flame. It
“ was certainly, of the kind, the most superb exhi-
“ bition that can be imagined. It had now been
“ dark for some time, and all the out-door exhibi-
“ tions were finished. We returned to our places.
“ The windows were now shut down, and lights
“ brought in. In the centre of the room were
“ placed, on different trays, eight of those very
“ large candles, which the Persians make of oil
“ and wax, six in a row down the room, and two

“ placed on each side of the one which stood first
“ at the upper end of the room. Between these
“ monsters were placed twelve common wax can-
“ dles, standing in European candlesticks, and de-
“ fended by glass shades. Kaleans were again
“ introduced, and all began to smoke and talk.
“ That which now annoyed me most, was, to see
“ the Persians sitting on their heels, with their
“ legs under them, with the utmost ease and com-
“ posure, whilst all the Europeans (except the
“ Ambassador, who, in this respect, is a true Per-
“ sian,) were in torture, from sitting so long, even
“ in the position in which a tailor works, which
“ is a comparatively easy one. The Court mode
“ of sitting, is on the heels ; but this was too ar-
“ duous for any of us to attempt, except the Am-
“ bassador.

“ Four or five musicians, said to be particularly
“ accomplished ones, were now introduced, two
“ with instruments, something between the shape
“ of a guitar and a fiddle ; others, with a diff, and
“ small drum ; and another with a wind instru-
“ ment, much deeper than the flute. The notes
“ of the stringed instrument were not disagree-
“ able ; and when one of the men accompanied
“ with his voice, the whole was agreeable enough.
“ I think the voice of the man was an improve-
“ ment on one of our best Irish howls. This I
“ by no means say in ridicule. The concert
“ finished, a person (the same who had spouted

“ water, I believe) appeared with his face whitened,
“ to represent the Devil ; for in this country, as,
“ I believe, all over Asia, his Infernal Majesty
“ is depicted white, though we, in Europe, uni-
“ formly make him black.* He sung, however,
“ two or three songs, which I did not understand ;
“ but I took them to be about his amours, and,
“ on the whole, I thought he acted well.

“ When he retired, a little Georgian boy, be-
“ longing to our Mehmandar, began to sing, which
“ he continued doing for upwards of an hour. His
“ voice, however, was much too strong for the
“ room in which we sat, though it was tolerably
“ large ; for it is quite astonishing the distance at
“ which he had the power of making himself
“ heard, as we had frequently witnessed on the
“ road. In general, it was a kind of warble, rather
“ harsh to my ears ; but the voice of such boys as
“ these, who have no idea of music, would, was
“ it cultivated, be most wonderful. Before he
“ finished, he gave us an imitation of an Hindoos-
“ tanee song. The Persians have lately become
“ very partial to the Hindoostanee songs.

“ Most great men in Persia have boys of this
“ description attending them ; but the King has
“ lately confined this privilege to noblemen
“ of the first and highest rank. When the boy

* My friend's knowledge of Persian literature was at that time but scant. This person was designed to represent the Deev-e-sefid of Rustam, and his chaunts were verses from the Shah Nameh.

“ ceased to sing, to my great joy,—for I suppose
“ we had been sitting for upwards of four hours
“ in the uncomfortable position I have formerly
“ described,—sweet coffee was announced, which
“ is always produced immediately before the meat
“ commences, and is a prelude to laying the cloth.
“ It is nothing more than a syrup, strong of dif-
“ ferent spices, and served up quite hot. The
“ Persian table-cloth is of Masulipatam chintz, and
“ very narrow, and very long. One of these was
“ placed across at the head of the room, and two
“ others along each side. We sat down, about
“ twenty-two persons, and before each was placed
“ a round, flat, bread cake, about as large as a
“ middling-sized dish. Dinner was now brought
“ in, and it consisted of all manner of things—
“ fish, flesh, and fowl—with large plates of boiled
“ rice, piled up in a sugar-loaf form. Some of
“ these were of their natural color; others were
“ stained yellow, purple, and red. Under the rice,
“ but completely hid, were pieces of boiled lamb,
“ kid, or game; some plain boiled, others highly
“ seasoned. The roasts, as well as the other
“ meats, are served up what we should call much
“ over-done, in order that little or no force may
“ be necessary in separating any part of it, as the
“ Persians, in eating, make use of their fingers
“ only. The Persians use a great deal of sugar,
“ raisins, other fruits, and sweet ingredients, in
“ their cookery. Salt is but little used at table,

“ though it is always placed there. The dinner
“ was served in the greatest profusion ; and I am
“ confident that, after we had dined, enough was
“ carried out, to satisfy the appetites of fifty of the
“ most hungry men that could be found in the
“ city. It is also the custom in Persia, on occa-
“ sions like this, for the master of the house to
“ feed all the attendants on his guests ; so that I
“ am convinced, that five times more was pro-
“ vided for those out of the room, than for those
“ within. It is considered, at a Persian entertain-
“ ment, a compliment, for a person to offer you a
“ piece out of the dish which stands before him,
“ which he does with his hands ; and this you are
“ expected to receive and devour with particular
“ satisfaction—to do otherwise, would be held as
“ a great piece of incivility and rudeness, if not
“ insult. Nasr Oollah Khan favored the Amba-
“ sador with this unenviable mark of his respect ;
“ and the latter, with a coolness that surprised us
“ all, set about eating it immediately. At this
“ dinner, amongst the other guests, there was the
“ person who had been sent down from Schyras,
“ to seize Shaik Abdul Ressoul ; and who on visit-
“ ing the Ambassador had received a severe re-
“ buke for his improper behaviour, which, by some
“ means or other had come to the ears of the
“ Minister.* It so happened, that when the com-
“ pany were placing themselves, some civilities
“ passed between this person and his neighbour,

* *Vide* Page 40.

“ on the point of precedence, which Nasr Oollah
“ Khan observing, called out to him :—‘ Nasackjee
“ ‘ Bashi ! you ought to be much obliged to the
“ ‘ Ambassador for the lesson he gave you at
“ ‘ Bushire, he has taught you that which we
“ ‘ never could—that is, to behave like a gentle-
“ ‘ man.’ The Minister then quietly said to Sir
“ Harford :—‘ I hope you will esteem this suffi-
“ ‘ cient reparation for the affront he was block-
“ ‘ head enough to be guilty of towards you at
“ ‘ Bushire.’ We did not remain long before the
“ dinner was removed, as wine is never produced
“ at any respectable table in Persia.”

On my return home I found an express had arrived from Bushire, and with other letters and papers, had brought a dispatch from Lord Minto. Tired and fatigued as I was, I was glad to get to bed, and to defer opening any of them till the next day, the 5th of January, a day most memorable to me, for then began my unfortunate discussions with the Governor-General.

I will once more refer to my friend's Journal.
“ Sir Harford shewed me a letter he had received
“ from Lord Minto, last night, directing him to
“ retire from the Persian territories, acquainting
“ him that *precautionary measures* would be im-
“ mediately taken, and that the Governor-General
“ intended to seize on the island of Carrack, in
“ the Persian Gulf. After I had finished the letter,
“ Sir Harford said very coolly :—‘ Sheridan ! this

“ ‘ is provoking enough—what can have induced
“ ‘ the Governor-General to act in this manner?
“ ‘ but I trust, before this rash, this unjustifiable
“ ‘ expedition sails from India, my dispatches to
“ ‘ his Lordship will put a stop to it, and thus
“ ‘ save the Company the immense expense,
“ ‘ and the British nation the dishonor which it
“ ‘ will otherwise create. I gave his Lordship
“ ‘ ample proof at Bombay, by my conduct to-
“ ‘ wards Malcolm, that before I really commenced
“ ‘ the duties of my Mission, I was most willing,
“ ‘ and most ready to make all my proceedings
“ ‘ square with his—but now my position is ma-
“ ‘ terially changed, I am in Persia, and I am not
“ ‘ only in Persia, but I am the king’s accredited
“ ‘ Minister in Persia, I have my Sovereign’s
“ ‘ honor and name to support, and these are
“ ‘ things, which, if necessary, I will support with
“ ‘ my life and fortune—besides which, have I not
“ ‘ the fairest prospect of completely executing
“ ‘ my Sovereign’s commands? I will not retire
“ ‘ from Persia, for many reasons, but principally
“ ‘ for this, that by doing so, at this moment, I
“ ‘ should proclaim to the Persians, that the
“ ‘ Governor-General is superior in power to the
“ ‘ King; and this my Welsh blood will never
“ ‘ suffer me to do.’ Here then is Sir Harford
“ ‘ fairly pitted against the Governor-General of
“ ‘ India, and I fear the Governor-General is little
“ ‘ aware of the man he has to deal with, and that

“ his character and abilities have been much misrepresented to him. Sir Harford’s resources, in all difficulties, appear to me wonderful, and his political and physical courage, equal to carry him through any thing that can happen.”

Reader, forgive me for troubling you with some part of this extract. I beseech you attribute it not to vanity ! I hope you will consider it fair, and acknowledge it to be right, that I should, when abused and traduced by Lord Minto, put before you the opinion entertained of me by my countrymen on the spot. Good God Almighty ! seize on the Island of Carrack ! for what ?

“ ———— O ! but man, proud man,
 “ Drest in a little brief authority—
 “ Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven—
 “ As make the angels weep—who with our spleens
 “ Would all themselves laugh mortal.”

I will reserve all I shall think it necessary to say of Lord Minto’s proceedings for a future page, simply stating, that I instantly dispatched to him, in as respectful terms as I could use, my determination to proceed to Court, and my conviction that, under present circumstances, I could not, with prudence and honor, adopt any other course.

The reader, I think, will anticipate my telling him that I sent to my friend, Hajee Eusoof, desiring him to come to me as soon, and as privately as he

could, which summons he very obligingly obeyed. I commenced our long and most interesting conference by saying, “ Something has happened in
“ India which materially affects my position here,
“ and will, very probably, increase my difficulties
“ at Tæheran, if I am now permitted to go there.” To my surprise, he instantly said, “ I understand
“ you ; I knew this last night ; and I should have
“ come to you, if you had not sent for me. Your
“ Government in India has determined to go to war
“ with Persia, and they mean to set about it *like*
“ *very wise and very honorable men* ; they mean
“ to seize on the Island of Carrack, whilst we
“ have an Ambassador here, from their King,
“ preaching peace and friendship. The English
“ character, for honor, wisdom and good sense,
“ has hitherto, in Persia, stood high ; what it will
“ do from henceforward, I leave you to guess. I
“ pity you most sincerely ; at the same time I
“ must tell you, if there is any man in the world
“ who can set all this embroglio to rights, it is
“ yourself. The thing cannot be concealed ; it
“ was known last night at the palace, where two
“ very long councils have already been held upon
“ it. Expresses have been sent off to Tæheran—
“ the French will have the news of it in five days ;
“ and though we had very nearly turned them on
“ their backs, I fear they will now regain their
“ legs, and knock us down. Not a scrap of paper
“ must pass between you and Meerza Bozurg on

“ this subject. I have a man and horse at my
“ house ready to start, and the rider has an order
“ from Meerza Bozurg for relays on the road, and
“ to him I must commit, *verbally*, what you wish
“ to impart to the Meerza ;” and then he play-
fully added, “ put it in as few words as possible,
“ that it may be the less liable to jolt out of his
“ head on the road. The great thing you have to
“ do, is to prove to the Meerza, and let him prove
“ to his brother Ministers at Tæheran, that you
“ do possess a power independent of the Gover-
“ nor-General.” “ This, my dear friend,” said I,
“ you shall immediately see ; and, having seen it,
“ I hope you will tell the Meerza you have done
“ so, and that it may be relied on.” The case I
considered as justifying the disclosure, and I there-
fore took out my full powers, shewed him the
King’s signature, the Great Seal of England, and
translated to him the general contents of that most
honorable document. I never shall forget the joy
which beamed in the old man’s face, when he ex-
claimed :—“ *Wallah*, (*i. e.* by G—d) you shall pro-
“ ceed to the King, but you will, I fear, have
“ much to fight against here, and unless things
“ are better than I think they are, you must not
“ expect to move from hence before the Prince
“ receives an answer from Tæheran, to the des-
“ patches sent off to day. The merchants inter-
“ ested in the trade to India, have considerable
“ influence here and at Court ; you are known

“ and well known to most of them, and I will
“ take care, if occasion calls, that they shall
“ exert themselves, for any purpose for which you
“ may want them.” My friend, at the close of this
speech, left me, and in half an hour’s time afterwards, the messenger was on his road to Tauris.

In respect to what was necessary immediately to be done at Schyras, I considered it as the wisest, most straight-forward, and honorable plan, to send the Minister a translation of the Governor-General’s letter to me ; and so leave him either to come to me, or express a wish to see me, just as he pleased. This was done as soon as a translation could be made. I see my friend in his Journal remarks thus :—

“ Sir Harford had a long interview, by himself,
“ with the Minister in the Prince’s garden, respecting Malcolm’s coming up the Gulf, in a hostile
“ manner ; it is a most unpleasant circumstance,
“ but I have no doubt that it will be settled
“ so as not to detain us at Schyras ; the conduct
“ of the Indian Government betrays the greatest
“ ignorance of this country, and would weary out
“ any man’s patience but Sir Harford’s—his object
“ at present is, in case Malcolm should enter Persia,
“ to get him received as a friend.”

It is sufficient for the reader to know, that although the Minister at this conference was at first very violent, it broke up with an impression on my mind, that I had effected with him every

thing which at that time I could reasonably expect. —Previously to the receipt of the dispatches from India, this day had been fixed for me to receive an entertainment from Meerza Abd-ul-deen, the Prince's private Secretary, of which I perceive my friend in his Journal gives a very copious detail; it would be tedious and useless to extract this; though, in some respects, it was on a larger and more liberal scale than the one I had received from the Minister. I find the fire-works noted as superior; and although the body guard of fifty troopers, and ourselves and servants, must have been upwards of 100 horse, when we proceeded to the Meerza's, yet he would not suffer me to send any part of them home, to return for us in the evening, as I had done at the Minister's; but had “ordered his stables to be cleared and cleaned out, and new head stalls and heel ropes to be provided for each horse.”

Perhaps the following extract of the Journal may amuse. “Here I saw an instrument very like the Irish dulcimer, it was two feet long or more, and in shape a hexagon, divided and played on in the same manner as the Irish dulcimer. Indeed, I see every day striking similarities between the Persians and the Irish.

“The Irish are a most polite people—so are the Persians.

“The Irish are poetical—so are the Persians.

“The Irish are fond of drinking to excess—so are the Persians.

“The Irish quarrel in their cups—so do the Persians.

“ The lower Irish delight in frays—so do the lower Persians.

“ The Irish are a very amorous people—so are the Persians.

“ The Irish are very hospitable—so are the Persians.

“ The Irish are quick in repartee—so are the Persians.

“ The Irish play on the dulcimer—so do the Persians.

“ The Irish warble a kind of howl—so do the Persians.

The two last similarities, will, I think, shew with what intention my friend penned the whole.

This day, the 7th of January, I was surprised, though I took it for no bad omen, to receive a message from the Prince, desiring that the Indian cavalry guard might exercise before him. I made no hesitation to comply with his request, and to make the thing more conspicuous, I determined to attend myself, and to desire all the gentlemen of the Mission to accompany me.

Without the walls of Schyras, Kerim Khan had caused a long straight road or walk, about 120 feet wide, nicely gravelled, and planted on each side with chunar trees, (a species of the sycamore) to be laid out. This place was used for various purposes on days of ceremony, rejoicing, or other festivities. Here it was that the cavalry were to perform their manœuvres. As we entered at the bottom of it, that is at the end next the city, we perceived the prince, and his train at the top, putting themselves in motion to meet us. Had I met the Prince by his desire, I should have made some difficulty in dismounting when he approached, but here I had put myself in his way without an invitation, and therefore had no business to begin

a squabble ; besides, to tell the plain truth, I was extremely anxious for an opportunity of speaking *directly* to the Prince, in respect to my position, to procure which it was amply worth my while to wave an adherence to strict etiquette—the account Mr. Sheridan gives of the exhibition, is as follows :

“ When the Prince approached within one hundred yards, the Ambassador and suite dismounted, but almost instantly remounted, by the desire of His Royal Highness. The Prince was dressed in sky blue velvet and silver, cut in a most elegant taste, and the whole front of the dress was covered thickly with an embroidery of fine pearls. He is an uncommonly handsome youth, looked like a Prince, seemed perfectly at his ease, and conversed with the Ambassador with the utmost familiarity and affability. Sir Harford, who never, by any means, loses an opportunity, contrived some how or other to draw him a little aside from his attendants, and then I saw the conversation became very animated between them, the Prince every now and then smiling, and Sir Harford bowing ; but Sir Harford’s horse, at times, as the cavalry charged, annoyed him. At last the Prince put his hand on Sir Harford’s shoulder, and laughed heartily ; and we could distinctly hear him say, *baricullah*, (*i. e.* well done.) Sir Harford then galloped up to Willock, and directed him to draw up the troops, to whom he made a speech, in Persian,

“ to the following purport:—‘ Gallant companions
“ and friends! the Prince of Persia has com-
“ manded me, in his name, to thank you for the
“ trouble you have just taken, to express to you
“ his admiration at your equipment and manœuvres,
“ and to assure you of his favor and good will.’
“ The troop then saluted the Prince, and we re-
“ turned home.”

Mr. Sheridan judged rightly; I had contrived to draw the Prince into a very long and very interesting conversation, on the conduct, towards me, of the Governor-General, which his Royal Highness blamed in no very measured terms. He told me I should next day be invited to renew my conference on this subject with his Minister, and made use of some terms which gave me the strongest hopes every thing would be settled to my satisfaction. As soon as I found I could not with propriety detain the Prince longer, I said “ *Shah Zadeh!* (*i. e.* Prince) the moment my
“ country commences hostilities against Persia, I
“ will deliver myself to your Highness, as a pri-
“ soner, and I will beseech you to chop off my
“ head, for I neither could, nor would, wish to
“ survive so lamentable, and unnatural a warfare.” It was on saying this that the Prince gently laid his hand on my shoulder, and said, pretty loud, “ *Barricullah!*”

The 8th of January the calaats, or court dresses, were sent for the gentlemen, of which I was glad,

particularly as they were brought to my house, by Eusoof Beg, the Georgian, the Prince's great favorite. Towards the evening I met the Minister in conference, at his own house, agreeably to his invitation. I opened the conference by saying:—

“ My dear Sir, I trust we are now met not to
“ be angry with one another, but candidly, and
“ like brothers, to consult what, at the present
“ moment, is best to be done for the interests of
“ our respective countries. Circumstances, I admit,
“ are untoward; but it is in the arrangement
“ of such circumstances that the wisdom of a great
“ Minister, like yourself, becomes conspicuous ;
“ let both of us, therefore, will the *common good*,
“ and where there is a *will* there will always be a
“ *way*.” The Minister said all this might be very
fine and very true, but though the Prince was independent, and had no occasion to consult the Ministers at Tæheran on matters respecting the Government of his province, still this was a high matter of State, and of Foreign Policy, and he could neither advise the Prince to act in it, until he received an answer to the dispatches he had sent to Tæheran, nor to suffer me to proceed to the capital, without the King's express order; and concluded by saying:—“ we have ordered Mohammed Nebee Khan, and all the Governors on
“ the coast, to prepare to resist an attack on
“ Carrack, by sending troops, provisions and stores
“ there. You made a great impression last night
“ on the Prince, but it is my head that will go,

“ and not his, if he acts wrong.” I said, “ God
“ preserve *both your head and your body*, but
“ I must say I am sorry the Prince should put
“ himself to the trouble and expense of sending
“ troops and provisions to Carrack, which, take
“ my word for it, if they have not yet sailed, had
“ better be countermanded.”—“ What!” said he,
“ do you think we mean to give you the island,
“ or that we have not the courage to defend it,
“ and support our King’s honor, as well as you
“ talk about supporting your’s?”—“ My dear Khan,
“ no one doubts your courage, nor how well, if
“ occasion required, every Persian will support
“ the honor of his king—you mistake my meaning
“ —which is, that in common prudence, in com-
“ mon policy, the English can have no wish for
“ the island of Carrack, and this comes with some
“ propriety from me, because, some years ago,
“ General Malcolm endeavoured to persuade the
“ Governor-General to *purchase* of the King of
“ Persia the island of Kishmé; my opinion was
“ then asked, publicly, by Malcolm,* on the sub-
“ ject, and I have some reason to imagine that
“ the opinion I then gave to the Governor-General,

* Sir John had a furious passion for the possession of an Island in the Gulf. On his return from his first Mission to Persia, he wanted Marquis Wellesley to purchase the island of Kishmé; on his second, he wanted to seize the island of Carrack by force; and whilst he was Governor of Bombay, he was anxious the East India Company should obtain possession of that island, and form a large establishment there; but the Court of Directors had sense enough to see this would have been a mighty expensive and foolish affair.

“ against such purchase, was received with much
“ attention. The English *want your friendship:*
“ *they want your commerce; they want your*
“ *prosperity*; what in the name of God has the
“ possession of the island of Carrack to do with
“ all these? let us talk no more about this foolish
“ island, but examine how matters stand at pre-
“ sent, and what is best to be done.

“ I differ from you entirely about my not pro-
“ ceeding to Tæheran. I consider it to be of the
“ utmost importance *to us all*, that I should get
“ there as soon as possible; and therefore I be-
“ seech you and the Prince, to give me every
“ assistance in your power, for that purpose. If
“ Malcolm arrives in a hostile manner, and com-
“ mences hostilities, what can it signify, whether
“ I am clapped in prison here, or at Tæheran?
“ But if we can any way manage, before all this
“ happens, that I am acknowledged, and admitted
“ by His Persian Majesty, as the accredited Mi-
“ nister to him of my King, my power in Persia,
“ from that instant, becomes superior to the Go-
“ vernor-General's; and I will undertake to keep
“ the peace between England and Persia; or if,
“ contrary to any engagement that I may make
“ with the King of Persia, Lord Minto, or Mal-
“ colm, should be rash enough to infringe it, they
“ will draw upon themselves a fearful responsibi-
“ lity indeed. Now, the first thing, therefore, to
“ be done, is, that the Prince should address a

“ firman to General Malcolm, to be delivered to
“ him at the instant when intelligence shall be re-
“ ceived of his arrival in the Gulf, stating to him,
“ that ‘ *the King’s Ambassador* has proceeded to
“ Tæheran; *that he has given a bond, to be*
“ *answerable with his life and fortune*, that no
“ hostile measures shall be undertaken against
“ Persia, provided hostilities are not commenced
“ by the Persians; and then add, these we have not
“ only strictly forbidden, but we are willing to re-
“ ceive you as a friend; and, if you are accom-
“ panied by troops, they shall receive such re-
“ freshments and supplies as they stand in need
“ of, until something concerning their future
“ destination shall be settled between the King
“ and the British Ambassador, at Tæheran.”

The old Minister seemed thunder-struck. The first words he uttered, were—“ But will you give such a bond, that we may send it to the King?” —“ Draw it up in your own terms; and, by G—d, I will instantly set my seal to it.”—“ Well,” replied he, “ I must leave you a few minutes, to consult the Prince, and my brother Ministers.”—In about a quarter of an hour, the Minister returned, with a paper drawn up in strict terms, though conformably to what I had advised; to which I instantly set my seal, and gave it into his hands, to be made any use of he thought proper; and so ended, for the present, this very disagreeable affair.

I know that severe strictures were made on my proceedings with the Schyras Government, by some persons, and conveyed to others, with whom they did me an immense injury ; and I trust, therefore, that I shall be pardoned, if I put forth the judgment made of them by those on the spot, and who were witnesses to, and acquainted with the difficulties I had to struggle against.

“ Sir Harford, on his return from his conference
“ with the Minister, acquainted us, that he had, at
“ length, succeeded in prevailing on the Minister
“ to send down a firman to Malcolm, in case he
“ should come up the Gulf, inviting him up the
“ country, and assuring him of the most honorable
“ and friendly reception ; but to effect this, Sir
“ Harford has given the Prince a bond, by which
“ he puts his life and fortune at his Royal High-
“ ness’s disposal, if Malcolm, after the receipt of
“ the firman, commits any act of hostility against
“ Persia. Sir Harford rises superior to every
“ thing ; and, what a man of less firmness than
“ himself would consider as a situation too re-
“ sponsible to continue in, he has had the address
“ and ability to turn to his advantage. Any other
“ man, either alarmed at the responsibility he has
“ taken on himself, or disgusted with the unjust
“ and ill treatment he has received, would imme-
“ diately yield to the Governor-General’s desire,
“ throw the whole responsibility on him, return to
“ England, and leave his Lordship to get out of

“ the mess, how he could. On the contrary, Sir
“ Harford, aware of the immense evil, which must
“ result to the Company, and his country, from a
“ war with Persia,—which, as things stand, must
“ be the case, if he were now to return,—takes
“ the whole on his shoulders, and smothers his
“ disgust. Surely, services like his, will be re-
“ warded at home. His high rank in the civil ser-
“ vice at Bombay, gives him a fair pretension to
“ succeed Mr. Duncan* in the chair of Bombay,
“ in which his firmness, integrity, intelligence,
“ and activity, would prove highly beneficial to
“ the settlement.”

January the 9th.—My excellent friend, Hajee Eusoof, paid me a visit. He came, he said, to congratulate me on having surmounted all my difficulties; adding—“ I see you are just the same
“ man, as when you were negotiating with me
“ about His unfortunate Majesty Lutf Ally Khan’s
“ jewels. No European that has ever been in
“ Persia, understands the Persians like yourself;
“ and Meerza Bozurg will be delighted to find all
“ this done without his assistance. The Prince
“ sent for me this morning, about some jewels he

* Mr. Duncan himself, in a private letter to me, stated this as a thing that would be very agreeable to him—since, from various long conversations which passed between us, during my residence at Bombay, he found my views of the position and affairs of that settlement, coincide exactly with his own.

“ wanted to have reset ; and I had a long
“ private audience of him. He said, ‘ You
“ knew this Ambassador in the black time of
“ the Zunds. He contrived, the other day, to
“ get a private conversation with me on horse-
“ back, for near an hour, and I thought he
“ talked more sensibly about our affairs with
“ England, than Nasr Oollah Khan ; and this
“ the Khan now acknowledges. I will do all I
“ can, to speed his departure to the presence.’ ”
—All this was extremely gratifying to me to
hear ; and it was circumstances like these, which
enabled my mind to bear up against the constant
and increasing load of anxiety which was press-
ing on it.

I considered this to be an excellent oppor-
tunity, to ascertain from so good a judge, at
what price I might fairly, in the present to
the King, rate the diamond I had brought with
me from England. The instant I showed the
stone to my old friend, “ Oho ! ” cried he, “ this
“ is an old acquaintance of mine ; and one for
“ which I was often, during the reigns of Ally
“ Morad Khan, Jaafer Khan, and Lutf Ally
“ Khan, desired to look out. Kerim Khan wore
“ this stone as a ring ; and that was the means
“ by which, through the hands of some of the
“ women, it was conveyed out of the palace, on
“ his death. The King has refused to purchase
“ stones of great magnitude. No one else in Per-

“sia would choose to buy this stone—first, be-
“cause, if the purchase were discovered, the King
“would claim the jewel, and seize it;—and, se-
“condly, because the purchase of such large dia-
“monds never can answer to individuals, unless
“immediately resold; for the interest of the
“money eats up all the profit. In the present
“you will have to make to the King, I think you
“may fairly rate it at 20,000 tomans;”* that is
about £20,000 sterling.—I said, “My friend, I
“am satisfied; but I have a favor to ask of you,
“which is, never to mention that you have seen
“this stone, or that it belonged to Kerim Khan.
“Of this latter circumstance, they must be igno-
“rant at Tæheran; or, if there is any person that
“knows any thing about the matter, it must be
“Meerza Bozurg, and I can easily procure his
“silence.”—The old jeweller voluntarily bound
himself to this by an oath the most sacred
amongst the Persians; and then said, “Well, I
“have now a favor to ask of you in return. It is
“probable I shall not see you again before your
“departure for Tæheran; therefore,”—taking a
very fine emerald from his finger, and putting it
on mine, he added,—“wear this for old Eusoof’s

* Some credit, perhaps, is due to me, that no five per cent. was incurred by me on any part of the presents I made; nor did I employ a relation of mine to provide them. I so managed, that at the expense of ten thousand pounds to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty’s Envoy.

“sake; and remember the little chamber, in which
“we so often, and so happily, supped together.”—
I wished much to make the old man a present,
in return; but he would not hear of it, saying,
“I possess several notes in your own handwriting,
“when you were, as I may say, a prisoner in Schy-
“ras; and these are keepsakes enough for me.
“*Khoda hafez*,” that is, “God remember you!”—
Trust me, reader, I do often look at this jewel;
for the old man’s virtues were great, and his kind-
ness to me, unbounded. I never saw him after-
wards!

Per il suo contrario, I find, from Mr. Sheridan’s Journal, that this day I paid a visit to two great Khajar noblemen, related to the King;—and that one of them wanted to force down my throat the present of a horse, for which he expected to receive five times the value; but I was obdurate.”

On the 11th, a Mehmandar was appointed to attend me to Isfahaun; and I received a visit from him. On the 12th, I caused our tents to be pitched about a mile out of Schyras; and, accompanied by most of the gentlemen, I privately repaired to them, as we were to commence our journey next morning, in order that everything might be looked over, and, if any thing was found to be wanting, it might be provided.

I had scarcely reached the tents, when an agent from Mohammed Nebes Khan was introduced to

me; who brought letters from his employer, to say, that he had sent up to Schyras, under my name, and under the description of articles designed for presents, India goods, to the value of about £14,000; which, the agent verbally informed me, that, at the different raiedaries (that is, toll-houses) on the road, he had passed free of toll; and that, in consequence of asserting them to be goods for presents, he had with difficulty prevented them from being carried into the custom-house at Schyras, and had brought them direct to my camp. I can safely say, that all that I had suffered in Schyras did not give me so much concern, as this most unwarrantable conduct of my old friend; especially as he had the impudence, in his letter, to state, that, in consequence of my present situation, I should find it necessary, perhaps, to increase my presents; and that I might depend on his services and influence with the Government in India.

I called the agent into the public tent, and said to him:—"Sir! your master has been guilty of a
" most unwarrantable action,—he has made use
" of my name in a manner completely disgraceful
" to him. I am very, very sorry for him—for the
" sake of long and old friendship. I will expose
" him as little as possible, but it hurts me to find
" that he knows me no better than to suppose,
" that, because I am at present a little awkwardly
" situated, I shall therefore increase the presents

“ I had previously designed to make.* With such
“ an opinion of me, I must beg to declare, I will
“ not, I cannot, accept any service he could afford
“ me,—though I fancy it is beyond his power
“ either to injure or assist me. Your goods must
“ instantly be returned into the custom-house at
“ Schyras. The truth must be told; but, for
“ your master’s sake, I will not tell the whole
“ truth. I shall write to Nasr Oollah Khan, that
“ the goods were sent up to me, to look at,—that
“ I have not thought it convenient to take any of
“ them,—and that therefore, if Mohammed Nebec
“ Khan wishes they should be returned to Bushire,
“ I trusted, (if it were possible) they might be
“ allowed to be returned, considering the motive
“ of his sending them, without payment of duties.
“ But that I must add, in justice to myself, that
“ they were sent without being ordered by me.—
“ If this, Sir,” said I to the agent, “ suits your
“ purpose, well. If not, I can do no more. I
“ move to-morrow.”—The agent then begged of
me, to let him move the bales off in the night,
towards Bushire, and he could easily settle with
the raiedaries, going down.—“ What! use my
“ name again! I do not choose to trust my credit
“ and honor with the Persian Government, in
“ either your master’s hands, or your own.”—The
goods were carried to the custom-house; but in

* Compare this with Lord Minto’s accusation that it was by
corruption that I found my way up to Tæheran.

what manner the business was afterwards arranged, I neither cared, nor wished to learn.

Mr. Sheridan states: "*January the 13th.*—Commenced, at eleven, A. M. our journey to Isfahaun. All the principal persons of Schyras, previously to our moving, arrived in camp, and accompanied the Ambassador for some distance on the road." Although it scarcely comes within the scheme of what I propose to myself in this Memoir, yet it may amuse the reader to be told, that, about three miles on the road, we came to a place, where ice was collected for the summer supply of the city of Schyras. The apparatus for this purpose was a high wall, fronting north and south; on the north side of which, immediately at the foot of the wall, a very deep trench was dug; and not far from this, the little stream of Rokhnabad was diverted into various shallow trenches. The water thus admitted, was frozen over in the night; and in the morning, the ice, thus formed, was shovelled into the deep trench, which, when filled, was to be covered over, and secured from the action of the atmospheric air. Frozen snow, which is kept in caverns in the surrounding mountains, is the common medium by which fruits and liquids are cooled in the summer, at Schyras; and ice is only made use of by persons of superior rank, and more refined taste, and sells for nearly double the price of frozen snow.

The next day we encamped in the plain of

Merdasht, nearer to the ruins of Nakshee Rustom, than to those of Persepolis. Of these ruins so much has been said—the description of them has been so often repeated, by various persons—that I shall make only one remark ; which is, that Sir James Sutherland, by my desire, attempted to enter, and did enter, the opening, which stands like a door-way, about two-thirds up the front of the superbly engraved mountain at Nakshee Rustom. To effect this, was a matter which required great personal strength and agility ; nor could it be done without considerable risk. I had never heard or read of any one having examined this chamber (for so it proved to be) ; and, consequently, my expectations were greatly raised, that, on examination, something would be found, curious enough to reward the great pains, trouble, and risk, my friend so obligingly took. Sir James was drawn up by ropes, lowered from the top ; and he reported, that he found a room excavated in the rock, twenty-nine feet long, by nine feet broad ; and, at one extremity of it, three arches, in each of which was a tomb, partly covered with a stone, but neither of the tombs then contained anything within them. To such as are curious of information on the subject of ruins in Persia, I strongly recommend the perusal of Hoeck's *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*,—a work which has but lately come into my hands, though printed at Göttingen in 1818.

Both here and at Persepolis, I endeavoured to restrain, as much as I could, all spirit of defacing the ruins, for the sake of carrying away some bit of them, as a curiosity. The plain, broad line, on these occasions, has always appeared to me to be this :—whatever you find displaced, and on the ground, and can carry away, if you are permitted, you may fairly do so, and appropriate to yourself; but to wrest by force certain articles out of their places,—and thereby deface, and, as much as in you lies, destroy the noble remains of antiquity,—is a childish passion,—unjustifiable, and truly Gothic. I believe, however, that this was not the doctrine of the day, after I left Persia. Few, except artists, perhaps, more admire the spirit and beauty of the figures stolen—or taken, if you please—from the Parthenon, than I do; but with me, they lose all their interest, and a considerable portion of their beauty, where they now stand; and he must be desperately greedy of posthumous notice, who is willing to purchase it at the expense of being the person alluded to in the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th stanzas of the second canto of *Childe Harold*. It was neither by my wish, nor with my consent, that my humble name stands cut, and deeply cut, on the beautiful stones in the walls at Persepolis. It was, no doubt, designed as a compliment; but it was a compliment which only made my nothingness more conspicuous. I will close the subject, by using the

words of Lord Byron, in a note :—" I am not a collector, nor an admirer of collections ; consequently, no rival ; but I have some early prepossessions in favor of *Persia*, and I do not think the honor of England advanced by plunder, either of Persia or Attica."

January the 15th.—To-day I received a confirmation of the report, which had already reached us, of peace being concluded between England and Spain,—of a glorious victory obtained over the French in that country, by Sir Arthur Wellesley,—and of Mr. Adair's being still in the Dardanelles. This intelligence came to me by way of Bagdad, in various Gazettes and papers ; all of which I set about translating, and dispatched to Tæheran. General Gardanne had set me an example for so doing, by the following bulletin, which my friend Meerza Bozurg had sent me from Tæheran :—

" BULLETIN.

" *Tauris, Avril, 1809.*

" Les armes de mon auguste maître ont obtenue en Espagne les succès les plus éclatans. Le grand Napoleon, le 4me Decembre, est entré victorieux à Madrid, la capitale des Espagnes. Toutes les armées, Espagnoles ou Portugaises, ont été détruites ou dispersées.

" La Suède, abandonnée par les Anglais, vient de déclarer contre eux.

" A l'ouverture du corps législatif, le 20me Oc-

“tobre, S. M. I. et Royale a dit, et l'Empereur
 “de Russie l'a répété à St. Petersburg—‘ Nous
 “nous sommes vus à Erfurt, notre première pen-
 “sée a été une pensée du paix; nous sommes d'ac-
 “cord, et invariablement unis pour la paix comme
 “pour la guerre.’

“Dans l'Inde, Scindea et Holkar se sont réunis
 “de nouveau contre les Anglais. Les Anglais
 “ont maltraité un Gouverneur du Deccan; il s'est
 “retiré chez les Seiks, pour les engager à leur
 “déclarer la guerre. Six batimens viennent d'être
 “pris dans le Bengale, et conduits à l'Isle de
 “Maurice.

(Signé) GARDANNE.

On this text, my present dispatches formed, to the Ministers, a very pretty commentary.

On the 17th of January, I moved from the plain of Merdasht, and in a little time came on the ground where His unfortunate Majesty Lutf Ally Khan would have regained his throne, but for the treacherous suggestions of his Minister, Meerza Fath Ally, and prevented all the horrible calamities, which subsequently befel his family, and his former subjects at Schyras. To pass over this ground, without a thousand recollections forcing themselves on my mind, was impossible; and if the greater part of these were melancholy, it was that sort of melancholy, which soothes, even when it pains, by showing us the instability and uncer-

tainty of human grandeur, and human actions, and affording a lesson, to those who will read it rightly, of the wisdom, good sense, and truth, contained in the advice which Robinson Crusoe received from his father :*—

“ He bid me observe, I should always find that
“ the calamities of life were shared among the
“ upper and lower part of mankind ; but that the
“ middle station had the fewer disasters, and were
“ not exposed to so many vicissitudes, as the
“ higher and lower ; nay, that they were not sub-
“ jected to so many distempers and uneasinesses,
“ either of body or mind, as those were, who, by
“ vicious living, luxury, and extravagance, on the
“ one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessa-
“ ries, and mean or insufficient diet, on the other
“ hand, bring distempers upon themselves, by the
“ natural consequence of their way of living ; that
“ the middle station of life was calculated for all
“ kinds of virtues, and all kinds of enjoyments ;
“ that Peace and Plenty were the hand-maids of a
“ moderate fortune ; that temperance, moderation,
“ quietness, health, society, all agreeable diver-
“ sions, all desirable pleasures, were the blessings
“ attending the middle station of life ; that in this
“ way men went silently and smoothly through
“ the world, and comfortably out of it ;—not em-
“ barrased with the labours of the hands or head ;

* Compare this with the 16th Ode, Lib. II. of Horace, Ad Grosphum.

“ —not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread,
“ nor harassed with perplexed circumstances,
“ which rob the soul of peace, and the body of
“ rest ;—not enraged with the passion of envy, or
“ of secret burning lust of ambition of great
“ things ;—but in easy circumstances, sliding
“ gently through the world, and sensibly tasting
“ the sweets of living, without the bitter ; feeling
“ that they are happy, and learning by every day’s
“ experience, to know it more sensibly.”

This quotation from De Foe has always been a great favorite with me ; and I hope, if it is not already, it will be so with my reader. There are parts of it, according to my judgment, so tenderly, so pathetically, so appropriately worded, that it would be difficult, perhaps, to find a passage in the English language, which surpasses it for elegant construction or for moral beauty.

I had protracted my stay in the plain of Merdasht, in order to give time to Mr. Bruce, who had been left at Schyras, to arrange several little unfinished matters, to join me at our encampment of this day, which was at Sywend. I received a letter from this gentleman, of which Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, makes mention as follows :—

“ Sir Harford showed me Bruce’s letter, which
“ says that, notwithstanding Mohammed Nebbee
“ Khan, in the firman which Sir Harford had pro-
“ cured at Schyras, had been ordered to receive
“ General Malcolm in the most friendly manner,

“ still, Mohammed Khan Khesthtee had been sent
“ down to Bushire, with orders, that the island
“ of Carrack should be put in the best state of
“ defence.”

The next day we moved to Kummeen, from whence I addressed Meerza Sheffee, on the subject of Mr. Bruce's letter, mentioned above. In my letter, I find, I gave the Minister strong hints, rather indeed in the shape of complaint, how ill I considered the orders given to Mohammed Khan, to accord with the serious bond which I had given to the Prince at Schyras ; and entreated him to send orders immediately to Bushire, and Carrack, which might, if General Malcolm did arrive with troops, prevent any thing unpleasant happening between our troops and the Persian garrisons.

On the 19th of January we encamped at Morg-haub, and I find Mr. Sheridan in his Journal remarks :—“ that at this time of year the snow at this
“ place is sometimes six feet deep on the ground,
“ and then the road becomes impassable, and
“ travellers are detained many days ; we are lucky
“ in having fine weather ; it has rained only once
“ since we left Bushire, and that was at Schyras.”

The next day we reached Dybeed. This plain is said to be sometimes covered with snow to such a degree that travellers have been detained for a great length of time before they could proceed. We had a very fatiguing day's journey, and got no dinner till it was nearly time to go to bed. In

addition to this misery, the sky, as the evening closed, became very heavy and black; and put forth all the signs, which those who pretended to be weather-wise, assured us portended a deep fall of snow: signs which, however, gave great uneasiness to the Mehmandar, and very justly alarmed us all. The stock of provisions for ourselves and cattle was not more than enough for the day's consumption, and the Mehmandar said there were neither tents nor villages, from which we could procure a supply, nearer than twenty miles. And, therefore, if a quantity of snow had fallen in the night, the probability was, that if we ourselves contrived to escape, the baggage and the cattle would remain buried under the snow. A year or two ago, some merchants halted for the night at the caravanserai which stands in the plain; a fall of snow came on in the night; they could neither return nor proceed, and consequently lost their lives. Mr. Sheridan states that,—“Coindet, (my French head servant) “as usual, got desperately drunk, and made such “a noise that Sir Harford was obliged to go out “to quiet him.”*

The night fortunately passed without any fall of snow, and on the 21st of January we reached Khoneh Kowra, where I received another letter from Mr. Bruce; and the intelligence that my excellent and much lamented friend, the late

* After my return home, I received a letter from a foolish lawyer, about this fellow.

Surgeon Campbell, had arrived at Cummeen, to join the Mission. I shall now relate, from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, a circumstance which may appear trivial, but I do it for the purpose of afterwards mentioning the foolhardiness of a man whom I had received from H. M. ship Sapphire, to act as tailor to the Mission. "In the very narrow passes
" between the mountains, through which our road
" lay to day, Sir Harford's dog, Ranger, allured
" by the scent of some game, jumped out of the
" pannier in which he was carried, and ran off
" pursuing it. We stopped near an hour in the
" hope that the dog might return, but finding he
" did not, Sir Harford's head-groom, with whom
" the dog was a great favorite, accompanied by
" several Persian horsemen, set out in quest of
" him. It seems to me scarcely possible, as the
" dog must have wandered very far in the pursuit
" of the game, that he should either regain our
" track, or that the horsemen should find him; and
" the chance therefore is either that he will be
" devoured in the night by wolves, or die with
" hunger and cold in the mountains. Some time
" after we came to our ground, the groom and his
" party returned, without having seen Ranger.

" January the 22nd. This morning, Chambers,
" the tailor whom Sir Harford had from Captain
" Davies, inconsolable for the loss of Ranger, who,
" as he said, had been his old shipmate and play-
" fellow on board the Sapphire, set off at eight this

“ morning, unknown to Sir Harford, in quest
“ of his favorite, taking along with him another
“ dog, belonging to the Ambassador, called Care-
“ less. But there were, when we went to bed, no
“ tidings of either dog or man ; the chance then
“ is, that Chambers has lost his way, and if his
“ horse fail, or snow fall, he will lose his life.”
Indeed, my alarm for the probable fate of the poor
man, who, had I been acquainted with his inten-
tions, should never have been permitted to have
undertaken such a wild-goose chase, became very
serious indeed, and I expressed myself, to the
head groom, as being exceedingly displeased that
he should, without my knowledge, have allowed
the tailor to take a horse from his picket.

January the 23rd. To my great joy, when my
servant came into my tent this morning, he told
me that Chambers and the two dogs had come
into the camp a little before the break of day, and
the account Mr. Sheridan gives of the tailor’s
proceedings is as follows :—“ On going out of my
“ tent this morning, the first thing I saw was
“ Ranger, eating some bread, with which the in-
“ defatigable tailor was feeding him, and *several*
“ *Persians standing round*, and greeting Ranger
“ with expressions of joy and kindness. The tailor
“ says that he got sight of the dog running over a
“ mountain, near Dybeed, that he followed him
“ for near two hours before he could come up
“ with him ; that the dog seemed not to hear

“ when he called to him, nor to regard him in any
“ manner, but kept moving on. He then thought
“ of putting down Careless, and Ranger happening
“ to perceive her, stopped, and at last came up to
“ her; and then he returned with both. Now the
“ tailor could not have ridden less than forty miles,
“ and how he found his way back to our camp, he
“ can neither tell, nor any one imagine.” The
reader will please to recollect the alarm, in respect
to snow, which the Mehmandar expressed at
Dybeed, and that he there informed us that there
were neither tents nor villages within twenty miles
of the place; and then he may form some idea of
the peril and risk to which Chambers exposed
himself, for the love of his old shipmate; but this
man was a *sailor* as well as a *tailor*.

I omitted to mention, that at Khonah Kowra I
received a letter from Mr. Bruce, at Schyras, ac-
quainting me that it was currently reported, and
believed there, that I should be detained a month
at Isfahaun. Two circumstances of much interest
at the time took place to day; the first was, that
the Mission made a great acquisition in Surgeon
Campbell, who joined us this day; and next, that
very shortly after the tents were pitched, Meerza
Abdull Hassan, who afterwards figured away in
England, as Persian Ambassador, arrived in charge
of a firman, addressed to me, from the King, and
with dispatches to me from Meerza Sheffee. Mr.
Sheridan speaks of these as follows:—

“ A firman arrived from the King to Sir Harford, acquainting him with the farther particulars of the late battle between the Persians and the Russians, and also letters to him from Meerza Sheffee, in which the Meerza tells Sir Harford, that in approaching the capital, he will have the satisfaction to find that the French Ambassador will not be there, as General Gardanne is on the point of leaving Tæheran.”

The 24th found the Mission at Abudah, the sky still continuing to threaten snow. The 25th, we reached Shoonastron, having stopped on the way to enable Sir James Sutherland, and Mr. Morier, to take an observation of the sun's altitude. The 26th the Mission rested at Yezdekast, famous for being the place where the inhuman Ziky Khan Zund met with his death. We travelled this day, near the whole of the march, through heavy rain, which cleared up about eight p. m., and the night then set in with severe frost.

On the 27th we broke ground at a quarter after ten, but were not able to strike the tents, in consequence of their having been saturated with rain water, on which came the frost, and rendered them as stiff as boards. The Mehmandar, therefore, lodged us in a small house in the little town of Mucksood-e-Beggee. The 28th, we moved to Koomeeshah, and on the way thither, a circumstance happened of which I was obliged to take a very painful notice. One of my Persian *jelowdars*

(*i. e.* grooms) took it into his head grossly to abuse one of the Indian officers of the troop. Of this I made a strong and formal complaint to the Mehmandar, desiring also that the man should receive, in my presence, (which he did) a severe punishment. Besides, I took this opportunity distinctly to state to the Mehmandar, that though the man was my servant, he was a Persian, and one of the Shah's subjects, whom, in Persia, I would not presume to punish, but, when it was necessary, deliver over to the proper authorities, that they might inflict it. I stated also that if any of my own people misbehaved, I would, on no occasion, allow them to be punished by any other person than myself. It never afterwards occurred, but once, that I infringed this rule, and the case put me so much off my guard, that I broke a strong and most severe jockey whip about the back of one of my own Persian jelowdars; and my passion was certainly aggravated by the fellow's attempting to draw his sword; perceiving which, I gave him a cut of the whip over his hand, which deprived him of the use of it for near a month, and was so very severe, that I was at one time afraid it might deprive him of the use of it for ever; for, in the lash of the whip was inserted brass wire, and the wound festered, I presume, from that cause. The case was this; about the month of September, in the following year, I was proceeding to the Prince Royal's camp, and the day was dreadfully hot.

We passed through several plantations of melons and water melons, which, no doubt, were extremely tempting, but as the owners of them were not present, I gave strict orders that none of the people with me should touch them. An officer of Government, however, who was with me, was not so scrupulous,—made pretty free use of the fruit,—and brought several of them to me ; but though I was thirsting to taste them, I refused to do so ; and what is very comical, the officer, seeing this, from shame, I believe, threw down, himself, and made his servants throw down, the melons they were eating. I now thought the matter was settled, but on looking back, I perceived one of the jelowdars had rode his horse into the very middle of a beautiful water-melon field, and was as fast as possible loading himself with the fruit. I galloped back, and punished him as has been mentioned ; and shortly after had the pleasure to see the owners of the plantations, driving before them a little troop of donkeys, heavily laden with the produce of their fields, and designed as a present to me. We all dismounted to enjoy the banquet, which I prefaced by calling aloud : “ Eat away, my boys, they are now *hellaul*.” (*i.e.* lawful) This little affair made more noise to my advantage amongst the Persians, than the thing deserved, and I had the satisfaction to be told that the King, on hearing of it, said : “ If the Ambassador had used his sword instead of his whip, he would have done right.”

The town of Komesah, and its district, is at present given up to the Prince's mother, who resides with him at Schyras, and most of my readers, no doubt, know that this sort of tenure, by the wives of the king, is of very ancient date in Persia, from whence, perhaps, the modern Turks adopted the same custom. This last day's journey was exceedingly troublesome, owing to a very hard frost having succeeded the rain.

The 28th, after prayers, we continued our march, and on the 30th of January arrived at Mahjar. Here, in addition to many other vexations, I found reason to suspect the propriety of Mr. B's. conduct. Mr. Sheridan thus mentions the circumstance :—"Jaafer Ally Khan told me he had received a letter from his brother, with whom B. is living at Schyras, in which he says, B. told him that he had no intention of following Sir Harford, nor can he think of giving up General Malcolm for him. If so, B. has behaved to Sir Harford with as much duplicity as ingratitude, especially after the letter received from him last night, in which he says he never can forget the kindness he has received from the Ambassador. If, therefore, Jaafer's information be correct, surely he acts as contemptibly as short-sightedly. Jaafer also told me many other things which took place at Schyras; particularly of the gentleman who returned from thence by Sir Harford's desire, having endeavoured to dissuade him,

“Jaafer, from accompanying Sir Harford any farther. I told Jaafer by all means to make these things known to Sir Harford.”

I mention these circumstances to shew the reader the constant state of doubt and anxiety in which I was placed, not so much from the proceedings of the Persians, as from those of my own countrymen, many of whom seemed to forget that it was their first duty, as Englishmen, to support the honor and character vested in me, (no doubt unworthily) of our common sovereign; and how very ready, on all occasions, those persons were, to embarrass rather than assist me. I had one comfort, however, that come what would, I was pretty certain that the Persian Court would receive and acknowledge me as the King's Minister in Persia. Hajee Eusoof's messenger, to Meerza Bozurg, dispatched from Schyras, came to me to day, on his way to Schyras, and both by a short letter, and a verbal message, brought me the most important and flattering intelligence of the reception I was to obtain on arriving at Tæheran, though it gave me reason to expect some difficulties and delays at Isfahaun.

But here, fatigue of body and mind had their effect, and I became exceedingly unwell; so much so, that very much against my will, I was obliged, next day, the 31st of January, to travel to Isfaunck, in the *tacterevan* or litter, with His Majesty's letter, and to take another road from that which

the bulk of the Mission pursued. I therefore directed Mr. Morier to meet the Istakbaul, and to explain to the chief man of it, through Jaafer Ally Khan, the cause of my absence.

On the 1st of February we were to enter Isfahaun. I still continued extremely unwell, but Isfahaun being a place of such consequence, I must either halt, (which I determined not to do as long as I had strength left) or meet the procession from the city, to compliment me on my arrival in person. I mounted my horse, therefore, this morning, with every prospect, if able to hold out the ceremony of the day, of being obliged to take to my bed as soon as it was over. In addition to this, I found the Governor of Isfahaun declined to come to meet me. Considering this, as matters stood, to be of some consequence, I halted, and dispatched a letter to him, in which (from Mr. Sheridan's journal) I find "I told him he might do as he pleased, but " if he did not come out to meet me, I should " take no notice of him." I then moved on, continuing extremely weak and languid, and as we approached the city the crowd increased, and became immense, which incommoded me exceedingly. Mr. Sheridan observes that he computed that there were not less than 50,000 persons assembled; and as we approached the suburbs, the tops of the houses and walls were filled with spectators. I now return to the Journal:—"Abdullah Khan had not yet made his appearance,

“ though we were now within a mile of the garden
“ in which our tents had been directed to be
“ pitched. The Khan however met us at last,
“ about an hundred yards from a tent he had pur-
“ posely pitched in the way by which the Mission
“ was to pass; and this, I am confident, he would
“ not have done, had not Sir Harford halted, and
“ given aloud a public order—‘ March on, enter
“ the city, and stop at the best caravanseraï you
“ can find.’ The Khan, or Beglerbeg, as he is
“ called, led us to the tent, which we found fur-
“ nished with chairs, which seemed to afford great
“ relief to the Ambassador, who was so weak as
“ to be obliged to receive assistance to dismount
“ from his horse. A splendid collation was laid
“ out, and every thing was as comfortable as
“ possible, except that Abdullah Khan gave him-
“ self many ridiculous airs. After the ceremony
“ of reception was finished, and we had rested
“ some time, we recommenced our march, and
“ proceeded to the Chehar Baug, in which our
“ tents had been pitched.” In the midst of this
garden stood a large building, which was given
up for the use of the Mission. It had been an
edifice of considerable beauty and magnificence,
and there were still, in many parts, remains of
both; but as the snow was on the ground, and the
cold intense, I should have preferred to occupy
apartments more suitable to the state of the
weather, and of the season. The room in which,

immediately after our arrival, we received a superb collation of sweetmeats, &c. and afterwards a very ample and delicate dinner, was lined or wainscoated with the purest white marble, on which various flowers were raised in exquisite relieve; and what the Persians beheld with much delight, but what I, in my present situation, beheld with as great horror, was that on one side of the room, where the cornice joined the ceiling, water was contrived to be let in so as to make a continual trickling, accompanied by a low murmuring, as it passed over the unequal surface of the flowers cut on the marble. There appeared, however, to my great satisfaction, a spacious fire-place, in which a miserable fire was burning, which I soon increased to one that might roast a sheep; and prevailed on my Mehmandar to order the water-works to be stopped, and the room soon became tolerably comfortable.

Notwithstanding the information Mr. Sheridan received from Jaafer Ally Khan, respecting Mr. B., he joined us to day. His excuse for so long remaining behind, was not such as would bear strict scrutiny; but considering the need I had of him in the commissariat department, (if I may be allowed the expression) I considered it wiser to receive it, than to sift the matter more minutely. But I see Mr. Sheridan seems aware of this, for in his Journal he remarks,—“but this will not end here.” This day, the 2nd of February, the Governor of Isfahaun paid me a visit, at which

Mr. Sheridan says; "he behaved better than he
" did yesterday." A circumstance now came to
my knowledge which was not much adapted to
promote my convalescence, I give it in the words
of my lamented friend. "In consequence of the
" report of General Malcolm's coming up the gulf
" in a hostile manner, all the *lacks*, relations of
" the Zunds, have been turned out of Schyras.
" As many of Sir Harford's servants, in various
" departments, among others, Peer Mohammed
" Beg,* are Lacks, Sir Harford directed an express
" to be dispatched, early this morning, with a letter
" to Nasr Oollah Khan, the Minister at Schyras,
" to request that the wives and children of the
" persons in his service, should not be turned
" adrift; stating also that the men being with him,
" he should consider any severity exercised to-
" wards the families of these persons, as pointed
" against himself, esteeming it his duty, as long
" as they acted loyally, to take every means in his
" power to protect them in comfort and tranquillity."

On the 3rd of February I returned the Begler-
beg's visit, at which as I was anxious to obey Meer-
za Bozurg's advice "to push on," I arranged that
Messrs. Sutherland and Morier should remain a
few days behind for purposes connected with the
public duties of the first, and private pursuits of
the latter.

Nothing material passed on the 4th, and on the
5th of February: the Beglerbeg gave the Mission a

* One of the Persian secretaries.

grand dinner, at which Mr. Sheridan says, “ we
“ were agreeably surprised to find tables, chairs,
“ and other articles of European accommodation.

On the 6th, in prosecution of my determination to lose no time in reaching the capital, we removed to our tents, which I had ordered to be pitched in a garden a short distance from the city. This was a memorable day indeed ! and I prefer to relate, in Mr. Sheridan’s words rather than my own, a part of what took place :—“ A dispatch arrived
“ from Mr. Duncan, (the Governor of Bombay)
“ and from General Malcolm, in which the latter
“ writes Sir Harford word that he will leave
“ Bombay in twenty days, his letter being dated
“ the 29th of December, for the Persian Gulf, with
“ 2000 men under his command, to take possession
“ of the island of Carrack. Sir Harford, with his
“ usual candour, immediately informed the Gover-
“ nor of this, and they are now in conference
“ together.” Before I relate the substance of this conference, I cannot think that I betray private confidence, (especially as my Mission from the lapse of time, has become matter of history) when I tell the reader what was the nature of Mr. Duncan’s private letters to me ;—they expressed regret and astonishment at the measures which the Governor-General was adopting ; reprehension, in the most unmeasured terms, of the manner in which I was treated, and compliments the most flattering as to the manner in which I had acted throughout ; ending with these words, which I

consider myself at liberty to quote:—"My dependence for putting all this to rights, is on you; because I conceive, from your firmness, resource, and activity, you will be with the King, and we shall hear that you are there before this ill-judged, unjustifiable, rash expedition, can sail, which, if it once starts for the gulf, will cost *the Company crores and crores of rupees, and produce results I tremble to think of.*"*

Now for the conference.—I opened it by saying, I had done in this instance, as I had uniformly since my arrival in Persia endeavoured to do, that is to act with candour and openness, and that therefore as soon as it could be made, I had sent him a translation word for word of every thing in the dispatches I had just received, which related to the designs and intentions of the Indian Government towards Persia; that I regretted exceedingly that they were so little agreeable, and so very unlike what I expected,—indeed, they were so extraordinary, that I could scarcely bring myself to believe they were seriously entertained. I then begged of him to put me in a condition to move forward the next morning. This he immediately declared it was completely out of his power to do, as I should require at least five hundred mules or other beasts for that purpose, and that

* The same thing was afterwards repeated to me, but in stronger terms, in a Letter from England, from a most dear, most lamented, and most honored friend, who, when I came home, held the highest situation at the India House.

this number could not be collected in less than a fortnight. “Come, come,” said I, “let us have
“no nonsense about the mules; tell the truth,
“the news I sent you to-day, makes you unwilling to permit me to move until you have dispatched an account of it to the King, and received
“from his Majesty’s Minister an answer to your dispatches, but this, let me tell you, appears to me
“a mighty foolish resolution; first, because you
“will be just as sure of me at Tæheran, as you are
“here; secondly, because when I get to Tæheran,
“I can be useful in preventing many evil consequences of this sad and rash expedition. And
“thirdly, because if you stop me here, you will
“prevent my delivering to the King of Persia the
“magnificent diamond with which I am charged
“from my sovereign. Now Abdullah Khan, do
“you choose to take so weighty a responsibility
“on yourself,—for I do assure you, the first affront
“I receive,—and I shall construe my detention
“here as a very serious one,—I will lay down my
“public character, and neither prayers nor entreaties shall prevail on me to resume it, and
“then you and the Governor-General may fight
“it out how you please. My head may go in this
“business, but depend on it, yours will not remain
“long on your shoulders afterwards.” These expressions, I perceived, made considerable effect on the Khan. At this period of the conference, I produced the Hornby diamond, at the sight of which Abdullah Khan, as the French say, *faisait*

les grands yeux. Well did I know this exposure would be immediately reported at Tæheran, but to my great delight, the Khan asked me, if I would permit him, as a private memorandum for himself, to take the size of the stone on paper? By all means, I said; so out he takes from his inkstand a clumsy pair of scissors, lays the diamond on paper, and begins cutting round it. Now any one accustomed to jewels knows, that even the most expert person, must, in this manner, give a superficies very much larger than that of the gem itself, and God knows, my friend Abdullah Khan, by the clumsiness of his tool, and want of skill in the work he was about, did produce a magnificently sized *sketch* of the diamond. However, this was no concern of mine; I knew, indeed, that immediately after he left me, it would be sent off to Tæheran, but it was his representation, not mine; so that had he made it as large as the largest of the jewels which the Genius of the lamp presented Aladeen, he alone was answerable for the mistake. Although rather out of its place, I will just say, that after the diamond had been presented to the King, Meerza Sheffee shewed me this individual piece of paper, and said: "though your present
" has not disappointed the King, yet when we
" came to lay the stone upon the paper, the King
" said: ' Abdullah Khan is almost as great a fool
" as his father.*'" After this, the object of the conference was resumed, and I said, if there be

* The famous Ameen-ed-dowlah.

really any difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of mules or other beasts to move us and all the baggage, I shall be glad to set off for Tæheran express; the occasion is pressing, and every moment of delay dangerous. After some hesitation, Abdullah Khan said, if you will give me the price I require, I will make up from my own mules any deficiency in the number the muleteers may not be able to furnish, and they shall be all ready to-morrow at one o'clock.

I see from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, that very shortly after the Khan left me, an express arrived from the King, bringing me a firman, in which his Majesty assures me, orders have issued to afford me every means of reaching the capital as early as possible; and Meerza Sheffee, in a private letter, gives me to understand, that my assistance in the way of advice is wanting in their present transactions with the Russians. The Journal then goes on to state:—"The conference between Sir Harford and Abdullah Khan lasted several hours; the result is that we are to move to-morrow at twelve o'clock, and to travel with such speed, as to arrive the seventh day at Tæheran. Sir Harford's object appears to me, to be, to conclude as soon as possible some treaty, by which the mischief which is threatened from India, may be prevented. Orders have been sent into the city for Sutherland to join to-night, and Morier's plan of staying behind is knocked on the head."

I soon found the communication to Abdullah Khan of the contents of the King's firman, wonderfully strengthened his good intentions towards the Mission, and very much quickened his readiness to take measures for its departure for the capital.

Now, I cannot leave Isfahaun and its neighbourhood, without mentioning the confirmation which an idea I had long entertained received during my stay here. The idea is, that the author of many of the tales in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, was either a Persian, or an Arab, who had not merely travelled in Persia, but made a long residence in it. The localities described in many of these are Persian localities only,—the manners described in them are Persian manners; and on approaching Isfahaun from Schyras, it is impossible not to be forcibly struck with the face of the country, as so exactly answering to that described as surrounding the city in which Aladeen's father lived, and in which the treacherous African magician, who pretended to be his uncle, found him. Besides, during my long residence at Bagdad, I had innumerable opportunities of observing how immediately the real Arab was fascinated with those tales in which Haroun al Raschid, and his renowned Grand Vizier, Jaafer (Giafer), and the country about Bagdad, were introduced; and how little, in comparison, they were interested in the Persian scenery, of which it seemed difficult for them to form a correct idea.

The proceedings of the 7th shall be copied entirely from the Journal :—

“ This morning Sir Harford invited Morier and
“ myself to breakfast with him in his private tent ;
“ after which, the dispatches prepared yesterday
“ having been read, were closed, and delivered to
“ the messenger appointed to take charge of them.
“ Sir Harford, in answer to Malcolm, told him,
“ that he should have supposed his dispatches
“ of the 22nd November would have induced him
“ to suspend all farther operations until the con-
“ tents of them had become known to the Gover-
“ nor-General, and he had received farther orders
“ from his Excellency ; but, as this was not the
“ case, and it now seemed probable that even Sir
“ Harford’s subsequent dispatches would make no
“ alteration in his (Malcolm’s) proceedings and
“ plans, it became his (Sir Harford’s) indispensable
“ duty, to inform him, that the Ministers at Tæ-
“ heran, and himself, were now on such a footing,
“ that all obstacles to the reception of His Ma-
“ jesty’s Mission were completely at an end ;—
“ that, therefore, by the authority vested in him
“ (Sir Harford) from the crown,—an authority,
“ which no inferior authority could *annul*,—he de-
“ sired him (General Malcolm,) on no account
“ whatever, either to commit an act of hostility
“ against the Persian Government, or to hold any
“ communications with the different Shaiks of the
“ Dushtistan, by which its jealousy might be ex-

“ cited, or reasonable alarm created as to the
“ nature of our future proceedings,—inasmuch
“ as it was now most evident such steps would be
“ highly injurious to the best interests of His
“ Majesty’s Government, and of the India Company,
“ at the Court of Tæheran,—that repeated orders
“ had been issued, if he arrived with troops, to
“ allow those troops to land in a friendly manner
“ at Carrack, and for their being treated in the
“ handsomest manner as friends ; that Sir Harford
“ expected to arrive in seven days more at Tæ-
“ heran, and Meerza Sheffee had officially ac-
“ quainted him, that he should the next day, if he
“ desired it, have an audience of the King,—that
“ General Gardanne was still at the capital ; which
“ however it was probable he would leave before
“ Sir Harford entered it, and that the success
“ which had hitherto attended Sir Harford’s
“ Mission, was not only satisfactory on its own
“ account, but might eventually be useful to Mr.
“ Adair, who at that moment was probably pre-
“ paring to reside in the British palace at Pera.

“ His letter to Lord Minto was short, and
“ chiefly consisted of an extract of a private letter
“ which Sir Harford had received from Schyras ;
“ stating the circumstance of all the Lacks* con-
“ nected with the Zunds, being turned out of the
“ city, and describing the misery and distress this
“ had occasioned to many innocent families. He

* One of the *Eels* or tribes.

“ likewise informed his Excellency that he had
“ requested General Malcolm to forward to him
“ copies of the dispatches which Sir Harford now
“ addressed to the General. At one P. M. the
“ bugle sounded, and the Mission was put in
“ motion. Sir Harford appears extremely weak
“ and unwell, and he went to bed as soon as we
“ came to our ground; from which, however, he
“ dictated dispatches to the Ministers at Tæheran.
“ I begin to fear, that unless he is soon permitted
“ to enjoy some rest of body and mind, his health
“ will be materially injured.”

On February the 8th the Mission halted at Moorchakoor, a place rendered remarkable in Persia, by the great and decisive victory which was here obtained by Nadir Shah, then Thamas Kouli Khan, over the Afghans, and which in the end led to their complete expulsion from Persia. The remarks of this day, worth noting from the Journal, are;—“ We have now with us 300 spare
“ mules, in case any of those which carry the
“ baggage should fail on the road, as we are to
“ make very long stages, and, in fact, perform
“ more in one day, than ever yet has been per-
“ formed by so great a number of people moving
“ together, and with such a quantity of baggage.
“ Sir Harford is unable to appear at dinner.”

On the 9th, at daylight, we commenced our march to Khorood. Our lodgings here were wretched, and on our arrival I found my indispo-

sition seriously increased; indeed, all the day, I had the greatest difficulty to keep on horseback. Our march was long and difficult, and Mr. Sheridan computes it to have been thirty-eight miles.

On the 10th I rose with a very sharp attack of dysentery, accompanied by a considerable degree of fever, and severe pains in all my bones; and my worthy and skilful friend, Surgeon Campbell, expressed uneasiness as the present state of my health. I was again reduced, though very reluctantly, to have recourse to the tackterevan. In the course of this day's march, we were to pass close to the city of Kashan, from which an *istak-baul*, or procession, was to meet the Mission on its approach. It was impossible, however, for me to mount my horse, and therefore, as before, I deputed Mr. Morier and Jaafer Ally Khan to apologize for my absence. Between Khorood and the plain of Kashan, there is a very long and a very narrow pass, or gorge, in the mountains, through which the road leads in a tolerably straight line, and at some distance, before the gorge opens into the plain, there is a *bund* or dam, which impounds a stream of water to a prodigious depth, and considerable extent. Now if an army from the northward was on its march through this gorge, to invade Isfahaun, or the southern provinces of Persia, and had, from the plain of Kashan, fairly entered it, the bund might be broken, and men, artillery, baggage, &c., in consequence of the great

inclination of the ground, must be carried away, and hurried along, like chips or leaves, through a flood-gate, when it is drawn up. Our halting place is called Nasr-abeed ; the march is computed to be thirty miles, and I was now so very weak, languid, and ill, that Surgeon Campbell strongly remonstrated against my proceeding next day, even in the litter. I omitted to mention that there is much reason to believe it was in this very pass that Bessus put an end to the sufferings of Darius, and that Alexander overtook him just as he was expiring.

February 11th. We moved an hour before daylight, myself obliged to continue travelling in the litter. Our halting place for the night was at Kom, which every one knows is a place esteemed by the Persians as particularly sacred, in as much as Fatima,* the daughter of Mousa Kazem, the seventh Imaum, is buried there. The town, therefore, is full of mollahs, pilgrims, and fanatics ; and the consequence was, that several gentlemen of the Mission, on approaching it, had cause to complain of having been pelted and otherwise insulted. For myself, I confidently expected that the fatigue and wetting I suffered in this day's journey, would have rendered me quite helpless.

As you approach Kom from Kashan, irrigation of the land, which seems fat and excellent, is carried on to a considerable distance from the

* See Note, Page 70, of the Dynasty of the Khajars.

town, the canals for this purpose, are, many of them, broad and deep, and the roads or causeways between them in some parts very narrow, and not being pitched or stoned, rain renders them deep and slippery. When the litter arrived at the beginning of these canals, it was pitch dark, rained as hard as it well could, and the wind blew so strong, that it was with difficulty the mules could prevent the litter from being blown over. We were now distant about two miles from Kom, and the hinder mule slipped off the causeway, and drew the litter and front mule after her into the canal. The litter instantly filled with water, and I had the greatest difficulty, not only to prevent His Majesty's letter in the box from being damaged, but from being floated out at the door of the litter, in which case, it was highly probable, dark as it was, that it might either have been lost, or if recovered, recovered in such a state, as to render it illegible, and consequently unpresentable to the King of Persia. Such indeed was my situation inside the litter, that nothing but the attachment to me of the muleteers attendant on the litter, preserved me from either being drowned or suffocated in the mud. I have said before it was quite dark, therefore none could see or know whither the next plunge of the mules might carry us; but the whole thoughts and efforts of these faithful servants, seemed to be bestowed on me. The mule, poor beast, which had slipped, was so

nearly dead, that when we got her out, and the takterevan on the causeway, it was impossible she could be harnessed again; and wet and half dead as I was myself, I was obliged to perform the remainder of the way to Kom on the back of a riding mule belonging to Jaafer Ally Khan, which happened to be with us. From Mr. Sheridan's Journal I see that I reached the tents which were pitched a little distance from the city, a full hour after every one else. The baggage it seems had been strangely dispersed, and much of it had not yet arrived, though it was near ten p. m. I found only one tent pitched for all of us, and another small one, which had fallen into some of the canals on the road, and was quite wet through, and therefore unuseable, for myself. The troop, sepoy, and servants, were to the full as ill-accommodated as ourselves, yet the only complaint I heard, and that was quite reasonable and proper, was from the gentlemen, of the insults which they had received on approaching the city. Notwithstanding it was so late, I lost no time in sending to the proper authorities in the city, a message on this subject, assuring them, that the next morning at daylight, I would dispatch a messenger to Tæheran, with an account of the indignities with which the Mission had suffered, and require a striking satisfaction for them. This, I see, from my friend's Journal, brought the wildest of the offenders to their senses; and after some blustering on my part, on the

intercession of several mollahs of distinction, I promised to overlook what had happened. All this kept me up very late, and I became so ill, that I had not the smallest hope of being able to move the next day. However, Mr. Sheridan, or some of the other gentlemen, (I cannot now recollect with certainty which) happened to have some rum shrub, and I kept drinking this, mixed with water, as hot as I could swallow it, contrary to the advice of my friend Campbell, till (I must tell the truth) I was drunk. I then got all the bed clothes, fur cloaks, carpets, and every thing else that was dry, placed over me, and told one of the servants *to pound* rather than champoo me. Lying down thus clothed, all I remember was, that the fever ran very high, and that for a minute or two I was much inclined to talk, but I must have soon fallen asleep, and so soundly, that the sun had risen sometime, when I awoke, greatly refreshed, but weak,—and every thing, over and under me, wet, from the profuse perspiration I had suffered in the night,—but well inclined and able to pursue the journey. My personal Persian servant, when he came to me in the morning, saw such an alteration in my appearance, that he said, “ Sir, you must be a good man, for nothing but
“ the blessed angels which constantly inhabit the
“ sacred dome, which covers the blessed Fatima,
“ could have done this for you.”—Whilst I, infidel as I was, attributed the change to the very

copious doses of hot water and shrub which I had taken.

From the state every thing was in last night, it was impossible to move from our ground before midday; and then, as my entry into Tæheran, and General Gardanne's departure from it, had been fixed for the 13th, arrangements were made to enable the Mission to perform the remaining part of the journey in two days. Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, says: "Moved at twelve o'clock, leaving
" all our baggage on the ground, and carrying with
" us only our beds. After getting something to
" eat at the caravanserai of Pool-e-dolauk, which
" is about fourteen miles from Kom, we set out
" again at ten p. m. intending to travel all night,
" and hoping to arrive at Keenaragord early
" enough to be able to set out from thence, so
" as to meet the Istakbaul, and enter Tæheran
" about twelve the next day: agreeable to an
" arrangement Sir Harford had made with Meerza
" Sheffee, Lieutenant Willock and the troop moved
" about half an hour before ourselves; and in about
" half an hour after, when we moved, it was found
" that the guide had lost his road, and we continued
" wandering about an apparently unbounded plain
" for four hours, neither able to find the road
" leading to Tæheran, nor to retrace our way to
" the caravanserai at Pool-e-dolauk. At length,
" however, Sir Harford's head shotter, or estafette,
" contrived, by means of a lantern, to find our

“ road ; but it being still dark, it was thought wise
“ to lie down on the ground where we were, and
“ sleep till the morning broke.” Thank God, I
had no return of fever.

When the sun rose we recommenced our march, and I borrowed Jaafer Ally Khan’s mule, as her paces were easier than those of a horse. Mr. Sheridan observes, “ that this animal on the walk
“ kept all the horses at a brisk trot.” The Meerzas, and men of the law, throughout Persia, when they travel, generally ride mules, but it is considered a mark of effeminacy for the Khans, or men of the sword, to make use of them for such purposes. Fine mules, well broken in, sell therefore for very great prices in Persia ; and I remember Meerza Hossein, Meerza Bozurg’s uncle, purchasing one at Schyras for £150. Those who have not experienced it, can scarcely form an idea of the ease and speed of their paces, which are always accompanied by, what I believe is common to all mules, great safety of foot. Night had been sometime set in before we reached Kunaragord, and here we found Sir James Sutherland and Willock, who had arrived about two in the evening. During the march, a messenger arrived, who acquainted me, that General Gardanne had left Tæheran yesterday, agreeably to the arrangement with Meerza Sheffee, and that the istakbaul or procession sent to meet the Mission, after awaiting its approach till evening, had returned to the city.

14th February, moved towards Tæheran, and met a very numerous istakbaul, sent to compliment me, entered the city, and repaired to a large house, some parts of which were ruinous, but on the whole accommodated the Mission with a very tolerable degree of comfort. After the compliments, messages, and other ceremonies, necessary on the arrival of the Mission, had been gone through, we were all of us glad to sit down to an ample and good dinner, sent us by the second minister, whose title is Ameen-ed-Dowlah, or the Trust of the State.

15th. Mr. Sheridan observes, "Sir Harford passed nearly the whole of this night in conference with Meerza Sheffee."

16th. The Journal states: "Sir Harford gave me to copy his project of a preliminary treaty, and told me, that our audience of ceremony of the King would take place to morrow."

On the 17th, the audience of the King accordingly took place; and for the amusement of the reader, and to relieve the dull detail which has latterly been offered to him, I will copy from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, an account of this audience, as he has noted it down:—"The officers appointed to attend and conduct us to the audience of the King, having arrived at our lodgings, a very numerous procession to the palace was formed; and on our arrival there we were shewn into a room where we waited some time, till an officer

“ of the household came to inform us the King of
“ Persia was ready to receive us. Sir Harford then
“ took the King’s letter to the King of Persia in
“ his hands, and holding it above his breast, he
“ directed Morier to precede him with the pre-
“ sents, which consisted of a very large diamond,
“ which Sir Harford valued to the Persians at
“ £25,000 ; a gold-enamelled snuff-box, on the lid
“ of which was the king’s picture set round with
“ large brilliants ; and a small ebony box, on the
“ lid of which a representation of the Battle of
“ Trafalgar was beautifully cut in ivory ; and some
“ other smaller things which I forget. On entering
“ the audience chamber, the way to which was
“ through winding, narrow, and dark passages,
“ we beheld the King of Persia seated on his
“ throne. He was reclining or rather leaning
“ against a red cushion richly studded with pearls ;
“ but the room was so much purposely darkened,
“ and his dress so nearly black, that I could not
“ distinctly examine either the one or the other.
“ He had a crown on his head, and his beard
“ reached lower down his waist than the rails of
“ the throne permitted me to trace it. A chair
“ was placed for Sir Harford, who presented the
“ King’s letter to Meerza Sheffee, who then called
“ out aloud ‘ *Korbaun it berovam*,’ (*i. e.* may I be
“ a sacrifice for your Majesty !) ‘ Sir Harford Jones
“ ‘ is come to the foot of your throne with a letter
“ ‘ and presents from your brother the King of

“ ‘ England. The Meerza then laid the King’s
 “ letter on the edge of the throne,—he then re-
 “ ceived the presents from Mr. Morier, and laid
 “ them on the first step of the throne. This ended,
 “ Sir Harford addressed the King in English, in a
 “ set speech,* which, when finished, Jaafer Ally
 “ Khan repeated in Persian, having previously
 “ learnt the translation of it by heart. The King
 “ then said,—‘ Elchee! (*i. e.* Ambassador) you and
 “ the gentlemen with you are welcome.’ Sir Har-
 “ ford then sat down, Morier standing on his right
 “ hand, Jaafer on his left, and the rest of us ranged
 “ at a short distance behind him. The King was
 “ very affable, and told the Ambassador he derived
 “ great satisfaction from the union and friendship
 “ which were now about to take place between
 “ Persia and England. He then asked after the
 “ health of his good brother the King of England,
 “ and enquired particularly whether His Majesty
 “ George the Third was still reigning, or whether
 “ his son had succeeded to the throne. Sir Harford

* The Editor of a Review permitted himself not only to sneer at this speech, but at the appointment to the Mission of the person by whom the Speech was made. The only punishment I wish him, if it were possible, would be, to place him precisely in the same situation in Persia as I was ; and then, as a wounded officer, whose commander had led his troops into a scrape, said, “ Before I die, I should like to see how this blundering rascal will get out of it.”—“ *Ne Sutor ultra crepidam,*” on which Doctor Bland says, “ Men should not attempt to discourse on matters they do not understand,—they will then be listened to with no more attention than would be given to a blind man discoursing on colours.”—“ *Cada qual trablé en lo que sabe.*”

“ replied, ‘God be praised ! His Majesty King George
“ the Third is still on the throne.’—‘ What !’ says
“ the King of Persia, turning to Meerza Sheffee,
“ ‘ Have the French told us lies in this respect
“ also ? you know they said that King George the
“ Third died in June last year.’ Soon after this
“ we were dismissed, and observed pretty much
“ the same ceremony as we had done in withdraw-
“ ing from the Prince at Schyras. On mounting
“ our horses to return home, three guns were
“ fired from the palace, as a salute ; and in passing
“ through the different courts, the troops, dressed
“ in a very poor imitation of European uniforms,
“ were drawn up, and going through such exercise
“ as the French had taught them.

“ The reason why the King of Persia appeared
“ with so little splendour to-day, is that it is the
“ second day of the Moharrem, or mourning for
“ the death, or rather murder, at Kerbela,* of Imaum
“ Hossein, one of the sons of Aly, by the Prophet’s
“ daughter Fatima. This mourning lasts ten days,
“ during which the Persians ordinarily decline to
“ undertake any kind of business. The King
“ of Persia’s consenting to receive the Mission
“ at this period, and to order that negociations
“ for a treaty should immediately commence, is
“ regarded as something very wonderful and un-
“ common. But Sir Harford observes to me, that
“ he considers this to be Meerza Bozurg’s doing.
“ He also told me, in strict confidence, that since

* Vide Appendix to the Wahauby.

“ his arrival at Tæheran, Meerza Bozurg’s private
“ secretary has arrived, and waited upon him, by
“ order of his master, with messages of the very
“ utmost importance.”

Having now brought the reader and myself *fairly* into the presence of the King of Persia, I shall discontinue the Journal style I have hitherto pursued ; first, because for some reason or other, (probably from the quantity of public writing which now became necessary—for the Mission had no less than six regular and distinct correspondences to sustain) my friend finds it inconvenient longer to attend to his private diary ; and, secondly, because that form of communication, when continued too long, becomes dull and tedious. I have used the word *fairly*, for a reason which will appear by and by,—and it will be seen my design was to use it *ad literam*.

It seems necessary, however, that I should once more return to my friend’s Journal, as being the easiest and best way of communicating the opinion the King of Persia entertained of, or rather the impression the Mission made on, His Majesty. On the 18th, I paid a visit of ceremony, accompanied by the gentlemen of the Mission, to the Ameen-ed-dowlah,—and I see Mr. Sheridan observes—“ He told us that the King was quite
“ pleased yesterday with all the gentlemen, and
“ delighted with the presents,* and that His Majesty

* By and by the reader will see this Minister held a different language concerning them before they were made.

“ swears he will never again have any thing to do
“ with the French, who, he says, come from the
“ desert, whilst we come from the city.* Now,
“ this is of course owing to Sir Harford’s know-
“ ledge of their customs, and the respect he pays
“ to their prejudices, for he will not even suffer
“ (and very rightly too) any wine to be drank in
“ the Deevan Khona, or room appropriated for
“ public reception.”

It will easily be conceived how anxious I must have been to conclude some compact or treaty, by which the rash and unwarrantable proceedings of the Indian Government might be prevented from producing the whole of the mischief with which they were fraught: and I had the good fortune to find what I scarcely expected, that on this subject Meerza Sheffee was nearly as anxious as myself. For in a visit which I paid him the next day, he told me, that himself and the Ameen-ed-dowlah were to be the Persian Plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with me, and that their full powers were to be made out as soon as possible; but that though the King of Persia had consented to receive the Mission, nothing could be passed through the Persian Chancery, if I may use the expression,

* General Gardanne was lodged at Meerza Sheffee’s: the old man was extremely delicate and nice about his rooms and carpets, and he repeatedly complained to me of the annoyance he suffered from the General’s custom of spitting on the carpets; and I can hardly imagine any thing more offensive to the feelings of the Persians than that, which even to us appears a very nasty and dirty trick.

during the ten days of national and religious mourning. This led me to make a proposition to the Meerza, which I was pleased to find he willingly adopted ; which was, that conferences for a preliminary treaty should immediately take place between himself, the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and myself ; so that when their full powers were made out, we should have little more to do than exchange them mutually, and sign the preliminary treaty.

The regulated attendance of the Persian Ministers on the King, during various periods of the day, the business of the State which they have to transact when absent from the presence, made it necessary to hold these conferences always at night ; and they generally lasted till near day-break in the morning. The two Ministers, when they were tired, constantly fell asleep, with their hands on their knees ; and Meerza Sheffee, when any thing was proposed which was not agreeable to him, invariably pretended to do so ; and afterwards, when he thought my patience had been sufficiently tried, he either returned to the charge, or tried it further, by the recital of some cock and bull story, which had no end. Although this was vexatious and provoking enough, thank God, I never lost my patience, and I once paid the old Minister in his own coin. The morning was breaking, and I perceived him wishing to close the conference and to dose ; I got, however, the word, and I began to entertain him with a geographical account

of all Europe, the names of the kings and queens, and how many children each had, &c. ; but the time for morning prayer (that is, when a white thread can be distinguished from a blue one) arrived, and we broke up, the Meerza saying, *Mah-sha-lah*,—i. e. “well done,” and accompanying the words with a very significant motion of his head. How this nobleman went through the immense quantity of business he did, and how, at his great age of seventy, incommoded by a troublesome complaint, he contrived to stand so long in the King’s presence, as the etiquette of the court required him daily to do, I was always at a loss to imagine. However, I frequently saw him return from court, either to his own room at the palace, or to his own house, quite exhausted,—throw himself down on a mat-trass, and have immediate recourse to opium.

From Mr. Sheridan’s Journal, I see that on the 26th of February, the troop were drawn up in the court-yard of our lodgings, to do honor to the King of Persia’s full powers, which were then sent for my examination and acceptance,—and that those powers were on the same day returned to Meerza Sheffee,—carried to him by Mr. Morier, —and accompanied by a note to him from me, stating, that I considered them to be ample and sufficient for the purposes they were intended ;—mine had been previously submitted to the Persian Ministers, examined, and approved by them. The next day, at our meeting, these powers were

regularly exchanged, and, very shortly after, the preliminary treaty was signed. An article was inserted in this treaty,—I think, as far as I recollect, it was the third,—by which the Persians bound themselves, in the event of General Malcolm (but his name was not mentioned) arriving in the Gulf of Persia with a body of troops, that they should be received in the most friendly manner, all their wants (being paid for) supplied, and allowed to remain on the Island of Carrack, subject to ulterior arrangements.

I have not a copy of the treaty by me, and if I had, I know not that I should be justified in the insertion of it in this *mémoire* ; nor do I feel myself called on in this place to canvass the necessity and propriety of the stipulations it contained ; but, perhaps, it is allowable for me to request the reader to reflect on the very difficult and delicate circumstances under which it was negociated and concluded. I shall, however, always feel proud when I recollect that it was approved by that great statesman, Marquis Wellesley, that it was ratified by my Sovereign, with, (however) to me, the very honorable alteration, that the amount of the assistance to Persia which I had held out, and with which the Persian Government were perfectly contented, was augmented nearly by one fifth. I know that those who were afterwards called to His Majesty's councils, and some of those for whose benefit and security the treaty was made, considered it

right to abrogate this treaty by such means as were in their power ; but, for my part, I shall always think that those who undertook to change or abolish a point of Oriental policy, approved and adopted by Marquis Wellesley, though they might thereby become entitled to be considered as very *bold*, did not thereby entitle themselves to be esteemed very *wise* statesmen. When I left Persia, there was not one affair, from the smallest to the most important, on which I was not consulted, and my advice adopted ; —in a few months after my departure, another power had gained the ascendancy, and entered into stipulations with Persia, the effects of which sooner or later we shall be made to feel. The gentlemen who were with me, several of whom are alive, best know whether what I have stated in this last paragraph is *true or false* ; and if they esteem it to be the latter, I beseech any one or all of them to proclaim it to the world to be so. That great sums of money have been spent in Persia, there can be no doubt ; that we have derived little advantage from those expenditures, is equally certain :—where has been the fault ? Partly, from the feverish state of our intercourse with Persia ; partly, from want of system in our councils ; and more, from the rash exposition made by Lord Minto, of the conflicting authorities of the Crown and the Company. Our intercourse with Persia should never have been carried on but through

the Crown, and under its sacred name. These are subjects on which I could dilate at much length, but a publication of this sort is not the medium through which so important a matter should be discussed ; nor is the present a moment in which, *me judice*, our future policy in respect to Persia, should be made generally public. If the Turk receives an ambassador from the throne, why refuse it to the Persian ? Does any one think the good-will of another will be secured, by declaring that you think him a man worthy of less respect than his neighbour ?

We are now fast approaching to scenes, which, when related, will no doubt astonish the reader, for, on my conscience, I believe no such ever before took place in the annals of diplomacy. When we come to the minutes made by Mr. Sheridan in his Journal, of the general answer I made to Lord Minto's accusations against myself and my proceedings in Persia, it will be seen for what purpose I disclose the following most extraordinary circumstance which took place on signing the preliminary, treaty. The transaction is become matter of history, Meerza Sheffee is dead, and the story may now be told.

In the preliminary treaty, there was one article left *indefinite* ; but it was well understood between the plenipotentiaries, in what manner, on the ratification of the treaty, that article was to be made definite by His Majesty's Government ; and I had

throughout the whole of the negociation insisted on maintaining as a *sine quá non*, that this article should, in this respect, be left to the decision of His Majesty's Government. I had delivered to Meerza Sheffee, as the principal Persian plenipotentiary, the treaty signed by me, and he had in his hand the counterpart signed by the Persian Ministers, apparently ready to deliver to me. But all at once he laid it down on the carpet, and took it into his head to begin talking on the indefinite article, and insisted on its being made definite, before the treaty was sent to England for the ratification of H. M. Government. A little debate ensued, which of course ought not to have been the case, and which, as may be easily imagined, I was anxious to put an end to; when most unexpectedly, and perhaps fortunately for me, he so far forgot himself as to say,—“do you come here to cheat us?” The terms of this speech are in Persian so dreadfully gross, that they cannot be rendered into English by any decent words; on hearing which, I snatched up the counterpart treaty lying on the carpet, gave it to Mr. Morier, rose up, and addressed the old Minister:—“You stupid old blockhead, do you dare to use these words to me, who in this room represent the King of England; if it were not for the respect I bear your master, the King of Persia, I would knock your brains out, if you have any, against the wall!” and suiting the action to the word, I

pushed him with a slight degree of violence against the wall which was behind him, kicked over the candles on the floor, left the room in darkness, and rode home without any one of the Persians daring to impede my passage. The instant I arrived at my lodgings, I retired to my private apartments, which were in a small court separate from those of the gentlemen, and caused the outer-door to be shut. I was scarcely seated, before several persons came thundering at that door; I went to it, and asked them who they were, and what they wanted; they answered they came from Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, that they had brought with them the treaty, with my signature, and were ordered to demand from me the counterpart, signed by those Ministers. To this I answered, "I cannot be disturbed now, go and tell your masters this is a matter which will keep till morning very well, and by that time, perhaps, Meerza Sheffee will recollect himself." They became extremely loud and importunate, and said "it was as much as their heads were worth to return without the treaty." I said, "I will tell you what it is, my worthy friends, by G—d; if you stay here making a noise and a riot, I shall soon make *that* as much as your heads are worth." After a little pause, I heard them, on going away, *very distinctly* say, "by G—d, this Fringee is either drunk or mad."

I requested the next morning to be admitted to

a private audience of the King of Persia ; my request was granted, and as soon as I had made my obeisance, his Majesty said, “ so Elchee ! I suppose “ you are come to make an *apology* for your un- “ heard of behaviour last night to my Vizier.”—“ I “ am come,” replied I, “ as my duty requires me “ to do, to explain my conduct to your Majesty ; “ and that done, if you judge I have acted wrong, “ I am willing, as a private person, to submit to “ any censure your Majesty may esteem proper ; “ but I must declare to your Majesty, the King “ of England does not allow his Representative *to* “ *apologise* without his royal and special orders, “ and I need not tell your Majesty, that in this “ room, and in your presence, I am representing “ that great and powerful sovereign.” I then repeated to the King of Persia the words the Minister had made use of to me ; and added : “ Suppose I had so far forgotten myself, as to have “ made use of such words to any person deputed “ to the high honor of representing your Majesty, “ would you have been well pleased if that person “ had been base enough not to have noticed them “ in the way they deserved ?” The King of Persia laughed, and said ; “ *Hak daree*, you have right on “ your side, the old man should have recollected “ what Meerza Bozurg told him about Europeans, “ and especially about yourself ; that in his conversation with them he must take care not to “ use words to them which he frequently uses to

“ persons of great rank here ; but I must call my
“ old Minister in, and you must make it up.”
Meerza Sheffee soon appeared, and the King said,
“ Meerza Sheffee ! *Asof-ud-dowlah*, (*i. e.* Vizier of
“ the Empire,) here is the English Ambassador,
“ come to say *he is sorry for what has happened.*”
“ —Stop there, please your Majesty ; *I come to say*
“ *I am sorry for the occasion of it ;* but further
“ I will not say.”—“ Well, well,” said the King ;
“ it is for the advantage of my service that you
“ two should be friends ; and now, Ambassador, I
“ tell you I am well pleased with the treaty as it
“ stands, since I am sure, from what I see of you,
“ that whatever you have held out to us will be
“ performed by your Government.” I shortly afterwards left the palace, and in the evening I made a point of appearing at Meerza Sheffee’s Meglis or levee, and from his politeness and attention, it appeared he thought no more of what had happened.

Now all this, even to me, appears almost like an Eastern Tale ; but there are persons at this instant in England who know that every circumstance happened as I have related it.

I could not rationally have wished that the difficulty, delicacy, and anxiety of my situation should receive any increase. I had signed a treaty for some articles of which I had no authority in my instructions ; but the proceedings of the Governor-General, and what I saw going on in Persia,

forced me; or, rather, made me think it right to do so; I had reason to expect that in a few hours more I should receive an account of a British armament arriving in the Gulf of Persia, for an avowedly hostile purpose; and I had had the *singular good fortune* to be obliged to put myself, with the prime Minister of Persia, in a position which, though the wound at present appeared healed, yet according to any estimate of human nature I could make, and more particularly of *Oriental human nature*, the scar would long remain; and that if any circumstances of an untoward nature happened to me, the wound might break out a-fresh, and the crafty old statesman not be sorry to make me feel, (however he might have been wrong) that I had offended him.

The ink with which the treaty was written was scarcely dry, when a circumstance took place, the difficulties of which, at the first view of them, might have appalled a very stout heart, and raised a doubt as to the possibility of their being surmounted. Before day-light one morning, an express arrived from Bushire, and brought dispatches from India. My servants awoke me to receive them, and brought me candles by which to read them; and, courteous reader, what do you think I did read? Why, that the Governor-General of India had directed the bills I had given to the Persian merchants on Bengal, which *his masters*, the East India Company, had ordered him to pay,

to be protested ; and that he had taken on himself to annul a Mission proceeding direct from his Sovereign, over which, in a public letter, he had once confessed that he had no control ; and to dismiss, with as little ceremony as if he had been his valet de chambre, a gentleman acting under the sign-manual of his Majesty, and his accredited Plenipotentiary at a foreign court ; and all this based on interested and unfounded representations made from different quarters ; and not only without paying the slightest attention to the nature of the dispatches forwarded to him by that person, but absolutely daring rather more than to hint at their containing gross misrepresentations, if not falsities.

It is true, he might perhaps imagine that he had a precedent for protesting the bills, as in the case of Mr. Manesty, who had proceeded in a most expensive manner into Persia, I cannot say against (for he had none) but without the order and permission of the Marquis Wellesley, who therefore ordered the bills he drew to be protested ; but I do most sincerely pity those brains which could jumble my case and Mr. Manesty's together ; and I do most sincerely despise, with whatever titles he may be decorated, with whatever power he may be clothed, that man who wantonly, rashly, and perversely attempts to degrade or lower the name and character of his Sovereign in a foreign land !

But, as Othello says : “ no more of that,” let us proceed to view what evils these unlooked-for measures produced, and how they were remedied. It appeared to me necessary, that without the smallest concealment, they should as soon as possible be made known to his Persian Majesty and his Ministers ; and it at first flashed across my mind that the absurdity of the measures themselves, like some animals which carry the poison and the antidote in the same body, would rectify all their bad effects. This, however, was not the case.

I called up Jaafer Ally Khan, and after succinctly communicating to him the substance of what had happened, I desired him, before the day broke, to go to Meerza Sheffee, in the hope of catching that Minister alone, and before his proceeding to court, and inform him of it also, adding, that as soon as translations of those parts of the Governor-General’s dispatches to me just received, which related to the Governor-General’s resolves could be made, they should be sent to him for the information of his Persian Majesty. I also desired Jaafer to tell Meerza Sheffee that I wished to wait upon him at his very earliest convenience.

When Jaafer returned, he told me that he had caught the Meerza just as he was coming out of his harem ; that after the Minister had listened to what he had to say, he threw himself back against the cushion behind him, and said, “ Jaafer Ally

“Khan, do you see this old head of mine? it will
“be off these shoulders before this time to-
“morrow; you may go and tell this pretty tale to
“the King yourself, if you please, and see what he
“will say to you. As for me, tell the Ambassador
“I will have nothing more to do either with
“himself or his business; General Gardanne
“cannot yet be passed the Persian frontier, I will
“advise the King instantly to recall him, and form
“so strict an alliance with France, that shall
“amply protect us against the designs of that
“fool in India.” This was awkward enough, and
I sent to the lodgings of Meerza Bozurg’s private
secretary, to ascertain whether he had or had not
left Tæheran on his return to his master. My
messenger returned very shortly afterwards, with
this gentleman accompanying him. When I told
him the situation in which I was, he instantly
exclaimed, “My God! my God, what will become
“of my poor master?”—“Why,” said I, “the same
“that will become of me, we shall all stand or fall
“together. Meerza Sheffee I find is weak enough
“to be wailing when he should be acting; but
“this must not be our case; sit you down, and
“write a note to Meerza Sheffee, which I will dic-
“tate to you, and which you must carry to the
“palace and deliver to him in his private room.”
The note, as near as I can recollect, was to the
following purport:—

“Jaafer has returned to me. I am sorry to

“ find your Excellency does not wish to see me:—
“ it will be to your advantage and mine that you
“ should do so ; but if this is disagreeable to you,
“ I desire you will ask his Persian Majesty to
“ grant me an audience as soon as possible ; it is
“ indispensably necessary I should speak to him
“ in person ; accusing one another can do no good
“ —acting in concert may.”

Meerza Bozurg's secretary said, “ Sir, you seem
“ to treat this affair very lightly, but I assure you
“ it is a very, very serious one, and will probably
“ produce the disgrace if not the punishment of
“ all your friends.”—“ I do assure you, my friend,”
replied I, “ I do not treat the affair as a very light
“ one, and to no one can it be more serious than
“ it is to me, but your own proverb says, ‘ *Kesse
“ ke az gourg me tersed goosfund nagah neme-
“ dared ;*’ (i. e. he that fears the wolf will soon
“ have no sheep.) Away went the Meerza with
the note, and at breakfast I explained to the
gentlemen of the Mission what had happened.

About five in the evening I received a note from
Meerza Sheffee, stating that the King was in
great wrath ; but that he, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah,
would see me in the evening, at his house. On a
review, as near as I could take it, of my pecuniary
situation, I found there were bills granted by me,
on India, which were probably then under protest
to the tune of 60 or 70,000, that is, £65,000, and
in the interval of the note being carried to the

palace, by Meerza Bozurg's Secretary, and the receipt of Meerza Sheffee's note, several of these bill-holders, or their agents, who had furnished me with money, had presented themselves at my lodgings, though I had declined to see them. I found also that I had nearly 300 human mouths to feed, and near 500 beasts to provide with provender. I was indebted in the Bazar about 4 or 5000 piastres, to inferior shopkeepers, and I had about 12,000 rupees in the treasurer's hands. Now all this produced as fine a tintamarre, as my countryman, Fluellen, says, "as you shall desire to see in a summer's day."

The time appointed to see Meerza Sheffee came, and on my arrival at his house, I found him and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, sitting together, and looking more miserable than I could have imagined. They told me the King had abused them, in the most violent manner, and had said all sorts of harsh things against Meerza Bozurg. They advised me, by all means, to avoid, for the present at least, an audience of the King. I told them my view of what was necessary immediately to be done, differed entirely from theirs; that it was not only my wish, but my duty, to see the King of Persia as soon as possible, and that, in fact, nothing could be done effectually to remedy the evil, till I had seen and spoken to his Majesty. The Meerza said:—"the King will probably talk very loud, " and use many hard words, which you will not

“like.”—“He may use as many as he pleases,” I replied, “I give you my word I will make no reply till the King becomes calm; but see him I must, for your sakes, for Meerza Bozurg’s sake, and for my own sake.” They then asked me what I designed to say to the King—“What God shall put into my mouth when I am before him,” said I; for I had no mind at that period of the business, to tell them what I did intend to say; thinking it more than probable, if I did so, that they would carry an account of it to the King, before my audience, and that it might thereby fail of producing the effect I wished and expected. Supper was now brought, and both these noblemen declared they had no appetite for the meal; and Meerza Sheffee, as was usual with him when any thing vexed him, began sucking a prodigious quantity of sweet oranges, and repeating aloud, over and over again, “*Kheree zan, Kheree reed, Kheree mord,*” (*i. e.* Asinus natus est, asinus vixit, asinus mortuus est,) whether he designed to apply this proverb to himself, to the Governor-General, or to me, I leave the reader to determine. I began, however, to eat the supper which was put before me, very heartily, for I had taken nothing all day, and I had been dreadfully plagued and fatigued. “Come, come,” said I to Meerza Sheffee, “your Excellency has given me a proverb, it is now my turn to offer you one; *tubbe be-lund banek der bátun heech,* (*i. e.* a large drum,

though it makes a great noise, has nothing inside.) By degrees I got both Ministers into tolerable good spirits, and I left them early, Meerza Sheffee promising to send me word in the morning, if the King consented to give me an audience the next day.

The next morning about ten o'clock, Meerza Sheffee's personal servant arrived at my lodgings, to acquaint me that the King of Persia was ready to give me an audience. I repaired to the palace, and was ushered into a sort of cabinet, where the King was sitting, and Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah standing beside him. As I approached, the King appeared to me to raise his voice ; at all events, he was speaking very loud and quick, and I was soon near enough to distinguish the purport of his discourse,—it turned on the ill usage he had received from the English, and the mighty things he had lost by dismissing the French Embassy, whose praise he kept chaunting *alto voce*. I made him the customary obeisance, of which his Majesty seemed to take no notice, but continued flourishing away upon the subjects already mentioned, and every now and then making a kind of interrogatory, "*Shah raust me goueed ?*" (*i. e.* does not the King say right ?) to which the Ameen-ed-dowlah, bowing profoundly, always answered, "*belee, belee, Korbaun,*" (*i. e.* true, true, O King, for whom, may I be a sacrifice.) I observed Meerza

Sheffee kept silence, and never took his eyes from the carpet. After this scene had been acted for near twenty minutes, the King, as if he had just recollected I was in the room, said to me :—" Well, " Sir Ambassador ! what excuses are you come to " make now ?"—" None, please your Majesty.—I " desired to have the honor of being admitted to " your presence, for the purpose of asking your " Majesty one or two questions ; and, accordingly " as you shall be pleased to answer them, I shall " resolve either to remain here, and devote my " best attention and abilities to your Majesty's " service, or request your permission to return to " my own most gracious Sovereign and master, " and explain to him all that has happened." The King appeared disconcerted, and evidently had not expected to be addressed in this manner ; when, after a silence of more than a minute, I continued :—" Please your Majesty, do you believe " the letter which I had the high honor to deliver " to you, from the King of England, and the full " powers which he was graciously pleased to confer " on me, and which have been examined by your " Ministers and acted on,—does your Majesty, I " venture to ask, consider these to be true and " genuine, or do you regard them as an impudent " forgery ? if the latter, you will do well to send " for the splendid brilliant which I presented you " from my Sovereign, and cause it to be carefully

“ examined by your jewellers, for, perhaps, that
 “ may be false also.”*—The King still said nothing.
 “ Please your Majesty,” continued I, “ give me
 “ leave now to ask you, if it is your wish to abide
 “ by the preliminary treaty I have just signed
 “ between England and Persia, or whether you
 “ wish to cancel and annul it ?” The King replied,
 with considerable quickness,—“ I am perfectly
 “ content and satisfied with it, and will abide by
 “ it to the last ; but your King in India will not
 “ let me ; he will go to war with me.”—“ Very
 “ true ; but I must now ask your Majesty’s permis-
 “ sion to put another question to you : Suppose
 “ your Majesty had sent an Ambassador, provided
 “ with proper credentials, and charged with a
 “ letter from your own gracious self to the Turkish
 “ Emperor ; and he had been received at Constan-
 “ tinople, and negociated a treaty in your Majesty’s
 “ name ; and after that, one of your Beglerbegs,†

* On perusing Mr. Sheridan’s Journal, I find this was no very bad hit. “ Jaafer, that is Jaafer Ally Khan, mentioned the astonishment of the King at the diamond which was sent him by the King of England, and his surprise, as well as admiration, that Sir Harford, when there was nobody to detect him, had not substituted another in its place.” I am sorry to remark, that this observation of the King’s, in my opinion, is a more serious attack on the national character of the Persians, than all the absurd stories of Hajee Baba put together : but then, to me, it confirms the remark, that the greater part of their vices are generated by the vices of their Government,—can a rapacious Government expect faithful and high-minded servants ?

† This was my scarlet sin, never forgiven, nor ever forgotten, in a certain place ; and this, after that great statesman, Marquis

“ started up, and wrote a letter to the Ministers at
 “ the Porte, saying to them—you must not credit
 “ nor conclude a treaty with the fellow sent by
 “ the King, because, in a few days, I shall send
 “ you a much greater and cleverer man than he is,
 “ *who shall be accredited to you from me*, and
 “ shall begin his negociations with you according
 “ to the latest rules of established diplomacy ; that
 “ is, by bringing a large military force with him,
 “ and seizing the castles of the Dardanelles ! What
 “ does your Majesty imagine your good brother
 “ Sultan Mahmoud would say to this ?”—The
 King scarcely permitted me to finish, before he
 said,—“ Well, well, I am satisfied, go and arrange
 “ the whole with Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-
 “ ed-dowlah.”—“ No, please your Majesty,” replied
 I, “ the thing is gone past those gentlemen, it must
 “ be now settled between your Majesty and my-
 “ self: besides, I do not see how one of those
 “ gentlemen, after so warmly expressing his opi-
 “ nion of the great advantages which your Majesty
 “ might draw from recalling the French Embassy,
 “ is very likely to act cordially with me ; and
 “ though, no doubt, your Majesty finds him a most

Wellesley went out of office in 1812, lost me the fruit of near thirty
 years arduous service, just at the moment in which I might have
 rationally hoped to gather it. I was told indeed, the service in
 India was open to me, and I might pursue it,—*pursue it !* yes
 indeed, like Cain, with a mark set upon me, by which the *crime* I
 was supposed to have committed, *of lowering the estimation in*
which the Supreme Government in India had, hitherto, been held
in Persia, might be for ever remembered against me.

“able and useful minister of finance, and in that
“line he renders your Majesty important services,
“I must venture to assure you he knows no more
“of foreign politics and policy, than a kitten.”
The King burst out into the most uncontrollable
laugh that can possibly be imagined, and the
Ameen-ed-dowlah beginning to defend himself, he
said :—“Hush, hush, cat’s child.”*—“There is,
“however,” said I, “a part of the business in
“which I shall feel obliged to your Majesty to
“command the Ameen-ed-dowlah to render me
“his services, and in which I shall be most thank-
“ful to receive them. I have received from the
“Persian merchants, money, for bills on India, to
“the amount of 60 or 70,000 tomans, and these
“bills are now reported to me as having been
“protested. The merchants are naturally under
“alarm, and the matter, in fact, interests your
“Majesty, because the amount of these bills, was
“their remittance to India of the funds for the
“provision, next year, of merchandise, on which,
“when imported into your dominions, your Ma-
“jesty levies customs. Will your Majesty, there-
“fore, be pleased to command the Ameen-ed-
“dowlah, to call a meeting, at his house, of these
“merchants, as soon as possible, and permit me

* *Batcha Goorbeh.* Now this nobleman had a very round face, and round eyes, which I suppose was a considerable inducement to me, to make use of the word I did ; but I was exceedingly irritated by seeing him so stupidly encouraging the King of Persia in what was neither for his interest nor his honor.

“ to address them in his presence. Besides the
“ merchants, I owe, perhaps, 5 or 6,000 rupees, to
“ different shopkeepers in the Bazar ; and even
“ to these, I think it right that the turn which
“ things have taken, should be communicated as
“ soon as possible. In the evening I will deliver
“ to Meerza Sheffee, in writing, for the informa-
“ tion of your Majesty, what more appears to me
“ necessary to be done.” I think I must have
made some sign of wishing to withdraw, for His
Majesty said :—“ I see you wish to go ; you have
“ leave,—but be assured, I am better pleased with
“ you than ever, and that the King’s favor will
“ always be upon you,”—which, considering that a
few days afterwards, His Majesty told me, now
that he had withdrawn it from Bonaparte, that
personage would be completely ruined, I could but
estimate as a thing most valuable.

Shortly after I left the palace, the merchants,
holders of my bills on India, were assembled at the
Ameen-ed-dowlah’s house ; and when I met them,
I said ;—“ Gentlemen, if, when you came to my
“ house, I refused to see you, it was not because
“ I was either afraid, or ashamed to admit you,
“ but the circumstances of the case required that
“ before speaking to you I should have the honor
“ of an audience of the King of Persia ; besides,
“ before such an audience took place, it was im-
“ possible for me, even to guess at what might be
“ the nature of the communication, it would be

“ proper for me to make to you. I am just now
“ come from His Persian Majesty, and I am able
“ to tell you, that by his desire, I continue to
“ exercise my functions here as the Representative
“ of the King of England, and therefore, whatever
“ may happen, you cannot, and you ought not, to
“ have the least doubt that the bills which I have
“ granted you, will be paid. I regret exceed-
“ ingly, though I have nothing to accuse myself
“ of, that, in the interim, you should suffer incon-
“ venience, which is both unjust, and unexpected;
“ but if the discharge of the bills should be post-
“ poned beyond their respective dates, I here
“ promise you, before the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and
“ I think myself obliged, as an honest man, to
“ make this promise, that interest shall be paid to
“ you, for such time as they are suffered to remain
“ unhonored. Besides, gentlemen, to convince
“ you that my credit in India is not quite so low as
“ you might perhaps be inclined to imagine, here
“ are letters to me from several great Persee mer-
“ chants, in India, offering to allow me to draw
“ upon them for such sums as I may stand in need
“ of.” The merchants departed perfectly satisfied;
and as I came home through a part of the Bazar,
several of the shopkeepers, with whom my ser-
vants had dealings for our daily wants, came up
to my horse, and said :—“ Sir! anything you want
“ in our way, we will furnish, as long as we have
“ it, without requiring payment, but at your con-

“venience.” But what pleased me more than all, was, that as soon as my situation was known at Schyras, several of my old friends there came forward to assist me, and none with greater or more liberal offers than my old friend Hajee Eusoof.

In the evening I repaired to Meerza Sheffee’s, whom I found quite gay, and recovered from his fright, very much inclined to compliment me on my conduct ; and with every symptom and profession of being most cordially inclined to act in concert with me ; but what afforded me more pleasure, was the information he gave me, that he had already communicated, by express, to Meerza Bozurg, every thing that had happened, and the result of it. The Meerza said he had never left the King in a gayer humour, and that he had constantly joked the Ameen-ed-dowlah, by calling him “Cat’s child.” I have seldom or ever spent a merrier evening than this proved to be ; the old Minister acknowledged to me, over and over again, that he had no idea the business could have been so terminated. Before I took leave, I put into his hands a paper, to be delivered to the King of Persia. It proposed, that as soon as the documents could be prepared, a Persian gentleman, to be nominated by His Majesty, should accompany one of the gentlemen attached to the Mission, to England, for the purpose of laying before the King and his Ministers, and also before the East India Company, an account of my whole proceedings in Persia,

and of affording every explanation which might be required or desired ; that I should be immediately advanced, and hereafter supplied, with such sums of money as I might require for the purposes of the Mission ; and that the Mission should attend the King of Persia to his proposed encampment in the Chemen Oujoon.

It now became necessary to give a sort of general reply to all the accusative dispatches I had received from the Governor-General of India, to whom, previously to these last received from him, I had already sent a copy of the preliminary treaty. This reply, I see, from Mr. Sheridan's Notes, commenced with a sort of appeal to his Lordship, whether the conduct I had adopted on arriving at Bombay, *only a few hours after General Malcolm had sailed, and with a part of his fleet actually within sight*, had not been an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my wish, not only to treat his, the Governor-General's, character and authority with the utmost respect and delicacy, but to spare his Envoy the disagreeable circumstance of being superseded either at sea, or at the instant when he put his foot on shore, in Persia ;—that I had proceeded to open His Majesty's Mission at the earnest and express desire of his Lordship himself ;—that the King's name and commission, having been once put forth to the Persians, common sense told me that things of such high dignity and importance, were not to be treated lightly—nor to be brought for-

ward one day, and withdrawn the next;—that though I did not scruple to admit my inability, perhaps, to execute perfectly the important and high trust committed to my charge, yet it should not be by my means, that any thing was done, nor would I be the person to lower the dignity of my Sovereign in the eyes of the Persians; and that, as to leaving Persia, as his Lordship had taken upon him, to command me; had I been so inclined, I considered it to be impossible, after I had once landed there; and indeed his Lordship's measures were better adapted to effect my imprisonment in Persia, than to produce from the King of Persia and his Ministers, a permission for me to retire from the country.

I hope I shall not be blamed for extracting the following minutes, which I see Mr. Sheridan, in his Journal, has preserved, of this letter.

“ It is painful to me, my Lord, to dwell on circumstances which may affect the merit of any individual, or to place my own conduct in comparison with that of another—but justice to myself calls on me to say, that from my first arrival in this country, the measures I have adopted have been directly opposite to those pursued by your Excellency's Envoy. The gracious instructions I received from the King for my conduct towards Persia, breathed peace and friendship, and these are the principles on which I have acted; your Excellency's Envoy held the language of war and defiance, and

“ those are the principles on which your Lord-
 “ ship’s dispatches acquaint me you now mean to
 “ act. *I hope not.*

“ I know not from what part of my dispatches
 “ to your Lordship, you collect that *I have pur-
 “ chased by petty or corrupt intrigue permission
 “ to approach the Prince at Schyras*; if this
 “ opinion is formed from other sources of informa-
 “ tion than my own dispatches, that information is
 “ false, and consequently, I may say without of-
 “ fence, that your Lordship’s opinion is incorrect ;
 “ if from sources which your Lordship should have
 “ listened to with some caution, you have been told
 “ I have been guilty (as you assert) of lavish and dis-
 “ reputable prodigalities,* your Lordship has been
 “ deceived; and when you accuse me of dispensing
 “ with receiving from the Persians, in my inter-
 “ course with them, common and proper obser-
 “ vances and accommodations, your Lordship is
 “ equally mistaken. His Majesty’s Mission has
 “ been received everywhere in Persia, where it
 “ has passed, with the greatest honor and respect;

* Disreputable prodigalities quotha !—General Malcolm’s second and third Travels in Persia, cost the Company about £262,000. I suppose he was accompanied by about 350 persons. Now if the beautiful expedition to seize Carrack had sailed from Bombay, he would have been accompanied by 2,000 troops, which, by a common rule-of-three sum, must have cost the Company £1,506,742; and all this, by their own shewing, must have taken place, but for my “lavish and disreputable prodigalities,” and petty or corrupt intrigues. “I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.”

“ and I must beg to say, if your Lordship had
“ been a Persian nobleman, I do not think I should
“ have left you much room to complain of my
“ want of sturdiness.

“ Your Lordship next accuses me of lowering the
“ estimation in which the supreme Government of
“ India has hitherto been held in Persia.* I have
“ now, my Lord, served the East India Company
“ in active service upwards of *twenty-five years*,
“ therefore the greater part of my life has been
“ spent in their employment; and I can safely say,
“ I have never omitted anything in my power to
“ promote their interests, or support their credit.
“ I am, my Lord, still in their service, but if I am
“ *their servant*, I am *the King's subject*, my alle-
“ giance is due to him, I am bound to love, honor,
“ and obey him; and beyond all this, in the pre-
“ sent instance (unworthy as I am of it), I have
“ the high honor to represent His Majesty at
“ this Court. If there arose, therefore, a necessity
“ of explaining to the Persians the powers of my
“ Sovereign, as contrasted with those possessed
“ by yourself and the East India Company; it was
“ not very likely, with such sentiments as I have
“ expressed above, I should put your Excellency
“ and the Company, before, or even in the same

* If Lord Minto were alive, it might be worth while to ask him, why a troop of His Majesty's Seventeenth Dragoons were pitched upon to accompany General Malcolm, in his second unjustifiable Mission to Persia, whilst I was accompanied by a troop of native Madras Cavalry? Had this no meaning?

“ rank, with my King. Your Lordship’s mea-
“ sures, and not my folly, produced the neces-
“ sity of this cruel explanation, and produced it
“ whilst a French Mission was still exercising its
“ functions at the court of Persia. I had in honor
“ no choice of path left. I may stand on a very
“ slippery footing in this dreadful breach,—power
“ will be exerted to crush a person humble as I
“ am,—I may be on the point of being hurled into
“ the ditch,—but when lying there lacerated and
“ wounded, I will still cry out,—‘ I have main-
“ tained the honor of my King, I have saved my
“ country from committing an act of faithless ag-
“ gression ! ”

Such was the nature of my replies to Lord Minto’s accusative dispatches ; a more detailed account of them would be improper, even if I had papers in my possession, which I have not, to give it.

There were still two gentlemen belonging to the French Mission, MM. Jouannin and another, left at Tæheran, to settle the remaining concerns of the late French Embassy, and I have no doubt the first project of the Shah and his Ministers was to acknowledge the first of these gentlemen as *Chargé d’Affaires de France* ; and, indeed, it was communicated to me, that he was giving himself some movement for this purpose. I therefore insisted, not only on his being immediately checked, but desired, that both these gentlemen should be

plainly told, that their stay at Tæheran was limited to a certain number of days.*

I repeat my conviction, that all the gentlemen who composed the Mission of General Gardanne in Persia, were persons of ability and science, at least all those who had the charge of any departments of importance, proved themselves to be so, from what they put on foot : some of them, indeed, since their return to Europe, have been concerned in publications, which have done them great honor ; and all of them, by the trouble they gave me, left no doubt on my mind, of their serving their country with great zeal and spirit. But although the Persians have been quaintly called the *French of Asia*, I am satisfied no French Mission can ever keep its ground in Persia against an English one,—I mean as to personal estimation. At the best period of their credit, their personal estimation was but low ; their levity, their hastiness, their disregard of Persian manners, and their contempt of them, was a most serious drawback, with the Persians, to the amiable and valuable qualities these French gentlemen otherwise possessed. The Persians, from hearing it often, found out, at last, what the

* “ On the departure of General Gardanne, Khan, Mons. Jouannin continued at Tæheran ; but as Sir Harford Jones, Bart., looked on this arrangement as improper, he therefore, pursuant to the royal orders, removed to Azarbarjeen ; and when the royal standard was afterwards pitched at Oujan, Mons. Jouannin was there honored with an audience, and commanded to depart from thence to Paris.”—*Dynasty of the Khajars*, p. 377.

word *bête* meant, and they very often took comical methods to shew the French they were not quite so great *bêtes* as they thought them. Meerza Sheffee, who was the cunningest old fox I had ever anything to do with, told me, that he once caught General Gardanne applying, in conversation with one of his suite, this word to him, and you may easily conceive, said the old man to me, I did not consider this as very “*ser feraux*.”*

The reader may feel inclined to ask me what was the opinion I formed of the French designs in Persia. There is a line in Horace, which expresses exactly what I conceive them to have been :—

“*Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim.*”

The scheme commenced under the Directory ; and M. Olivier and his companion were the precursors of General Gardanne and his Mission. At the time when General Gardanne was dispatched from Europe to Persia, Austria, and most of the other European powers, were at the feet of France, and Russia was connected with her, according to the declaration of Bonaparte, (which the Emperor Alexander did not contradict) in the most intimate manner :—“*Nous sommes d'accord, et in-*
“*variablement unis, pour la paix, comme pour la*
“*guerre.*” I have not the smallest doubt, therefore, but that Bonaparte designed to form (if I may use the expression) a *point d'appui* in Per-

* Exalting the head, (*i. e.* flattering).

sia, from whence, when the time came, he might either persuade or force another great power to join him in the invasion of British India, and our allies there. For what other purpose can it be imagined, that General Gardanne carried out with him cannon founders, military artificers of all sorts, and inferior officers to drill and instruct the Persians in the military tactics of Europe? To those also were added engineers of some rank and celebrity in the French service. Besides, if the reader will please to turn to page 337 of the translation of *The Dynasty of the Khajars*, he will see that the Persians tell us, General Gardanne officially, though prematurely, broached this very scheme to His Persian Majesty and his Ministers; and the note contained in the page which follows, reports an interesting communication made to me by Meerza Bozurg on that subject; which shows that, though the Persians were, from their national character, willing and ready enough to be taught, they were not quite so willing and ready to give their teachers the benefit of their learning. Now, it may be worth while to enumerate what, if Bonaparte had come to make use of it, he would have found ready for him in Persia:—a most ample treasury, from which he would have been able to beg, borrow, or steal, without much resistance, and certainly with no reproach, that he would have cared for;—a most ample supply of provisions for any expedition which could have been collected;—the means of providing and

preparing all kinds of military stores, to a great extent and amount; — beasts of burthen, to transport and convey the *matériel* of a large army;—sixty thousand, at least, excellent irregular cavalry; and a large population, ready and eager to run to a second plunder of India,—the first, with all the glorious circumstances (according to the Persians) attending it, being almost within the recollection of the old, and deeply imprinted on the minds of the young. What shall we say to all this, if Bonaparte and Alexander had continued, as he asserted, “d'accord, et invariablement unis?” Here was a mass, not indeed intended to be put into instant motion, but preparing, and which, whenever it was put into motion, would assume a most fearful and terrific character.

I know that there are many at this moment, “whose valor plucks dead lions by the beard;” who, because it did not move when they expected it, consider it impossible it ever should have moved. The reader may perhaps wish to know my opinion as to what prevented the attempt being made. I answer, the serious embarrassments, not calculated upon, which Bonaparte experienced in Spain,—the effect these had on a temper hasty and rash,—his own haughty and intolerant conduct towards Russia, which produced a quarrel between them,—and perhaps, in some degree, the acknowledgment and reception

by the King of Persia, of His Majesty's Mission. I think I can prove to a demonstration, that, if the wise and vigorous measures of the Marquis Wellesley broke up and destroyed the Mahratta confederacy, and so saved India in that way, the glorious victories achieved in Spain by the Duke of Wellington, as certainly prevented its invasion in the other.

It may be the fashion amongst certain persons of the present day, to count Persia as nothing ; it may be the present policy, (though I have reason to think, that with one great Personage this is not the case) to let other powers form connections, contract engagements, and establish a footing in Persia, as if such things were of no consequence to *us*. I see also it is very much the fashion to hoodwink ourselves to the effects which, sooner or later, must follow the gigantic strides which a northern power is incessantly making, and (very philosophically, no doubt) to console ourselves with the belief that she must tumble to pieces *mole suá*. But her schemes have been long planned,—they have been slowly, silently, perseveringly, (without turning to the right or to the left,) and, as far as they have yet gone, *most ably*, executed.

If history is worth any thing to us,—if it is not a thing like one of our modern novels, only useful to enable fine ladies and fine gentlemen to get rid of a certain portion of time, without exercising

either their minds, or their heels, or their hands, or their tongues,—why, then, let us attend to her grave and solemn page; and, when it points out what has already happened in the course of human affairs, let us at least suspect it to be possible that something of the same sort (though, perhaps, in a different shape) may happen again. And if, in the recital of the past, it affords us soundings, and sea-marks, by which we may steer clear of those shoals and false lights which have wrecked others, can it be wise to despise such a monitor? The Roman Empire did crumble to pieces, but not before it had destroyed the free states of Greece, and the Macedonian Empire, and made Asia tremble to her centre.

If our possessions in India are (as I believe them to be) most important to us to hold; if Persia is (as I believe her to be) one of the greatest outworks of that precious citadel, will any man, in his senses, say that our interests at the Court of Tærehan, are not as well worth—do not as much require—the superintendence of a Minister from the Crown, as our interests at Constantino-ple? And will any man, in his senses, pretend to say, that the King of Persia will be equally pleased with, equally inclined to respect, equally inclined to listen to, the representations of a Minister whose credentials and powers run in the name, and by the authority, of a commercial company and their

Governor-General, as to one, whose powers and credentials run in the higher name of the Crown, the sacred, dignified, and ostensible representative and executive power of the nation. Alas ! Persia has already but too much to do with one European power. Does any man believe that the Russian Minister, agent, or whatever he is, at Tæheran, fails to explain to the Persians the difference between himself and the East India Company, or the Governor-General, (if you will) resident there ? Is it because some persons have been permitted to fool away immense sums of money in Persia, that we, like peevish children, are to say, we will have nothing more to do with you ? Is it because we cannot or we will not redress such things, that we are to abandon an out-post of such consequence, or to keep a weak and inefficient garrison in it ? If we have acted foolishly, does it follow that we should for ever continue to do so ? I say, and I think I can prove, that the *politics* of Persia are more intimately connected with those of Europe than with those of India, and even the *trade* of Persia is much more so than many people imagine.* If she is ever compelled to move against us or India, it will be by European, not by Asiatic powers. A book, on which I set a

* Although I had for many years, in the early part of my life, traded largely to Persia, and pretty successfully, yet on no one occasion, either before Parliament or at the India House, has my opinion on the trade to the Gulf of Persia been asked.

high value, being nearly the first put into my hands, early told me

Nunquam sera est ad bonos mores via.

There is no man who understands the interests of his people and his kingdom more clearly and more fully than our present most gracious Sovereign : his Ministers are persons anxious to promote the good of their country : therefore we may hope the position of England and Persia will be soon attended to.

It became necessary for me now to arrange who should proceed to England. I was by no means insensible of the advantage it might be to me to proceed thither myself, and tell my own tale ; but then there was not one of the gentlemen of my suite to whom, for various reasons, I could deliver over the charge of a Mission, in such a state as His Majesty's Mission then was. Both the Governor-General and General Malcolm had acquainted me that the latter would soon sail from Bombay, with 2000 troops, to seize on the island of Carrack ; a measure which, if it took place, would alone render my deserting my post with the King of Persia, an unpardonable fault. Besides, the accounts and pecuniary concerns of the Mission were, by the Governor-General's having protested my bills, thrown into such a state, that no person but myself could either arrange or manage them. And what, moreover, very greatly weighed with

me, was, that as I had not yet seen Meerza Bozurg I was but very imperfectly acquainted with several designs of the very utmost consequence, which I knew he entertained. He had generally communicated to me that there were arrangements in which both the Prince Royal and himself wished my assistance, and he had expressed the utmost anxiety and impatience that we should meet. Now, if the reader believes, that to this point of my negociations in Persia, I was as much indebted to Meerza Bozurg as I have endeavoured to shew,—and if he does me the favor to believe that I am possessed of any thing like a grateful spirit—he will perceive (even if other circumstances had not forbade it) how impossible it was for me, unless I was actually forced to do so, to proceed to England, without the consent and concurrence of that most able and virtuous Minister, and sincere and affectionate friend.

These things considered, I (most fortunately for him) made up my mind to appoint Mr. James Morier to proceed to England. The Persian appointment became matter of intrigue at the Persian court, and, like all other things there, would have become matter of pecuniary speculation, if I had not interfered, and put an end to it, by insisting that Meerza Abdul Hassan, who had joined me at Khona Khowra, and who, from a residence at Calcutta and in India, was in some measure acquainted with our manners and customs, should be nomi-

nated to accompany Mr. Morier. Meerza Abdul Hassan met with a very favorable reception in England, both from the King and from Marquis Wellesley, and His Majesty's other Ministers; and he certainly, as far as the business of his Court went, conducted himself in such a manner, as on his return to receive the approbation of his Sovereign. The consequence of all this to Mr. Morier was, that he, who before he went out with me had never been in any public employment, was all at once, from being my private secretary, taken into His Majesty's regular diplomatic service, and appointed Secretary of Embassy in Persia; and the consequence to me was, that I who had been near thirty years in a regular service, and employed in several arduous and delicate affairs, was ultimately compelled, from a sense of honor and decency, to abandon that service, and was taken——into no service at all.

“ Can such things be,
“ And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
“ Without our special wonder ?”

In a short time afterwards, I presented Mr. Morier to the King of Persia, as the gentleman appointed to proceed to England in company with His Majesty's Envoy; and as soon afterwards as the necessary arrangements could be made, and the dispatches prepared, they both began their journey to England by way of Constantinople.

Mr. Adair had been made acquainted with my proceedings at Tæheran; and, as soon as it was possible that he could communicate with me in return, I received from him the most satisfactory and flattering opinions on what had been done; so much so as to amply make amends for the abuse and virulence the Governor-General had so lavishly bestowed upon me.

I now enjoyed, what on my honor I can say I had never done during the last eight months, that is, a small portion of time which I could dedicate to quiet, or to recreation and amusement. In company, therefore, with the gentlemen of the Mission, I visited the ruins of the ancient City of Raic, and such other things in the neighbourhood of Tæheran, the King's palaces and gardens, as were worth looking at. A little before the departure of Mr. Morier for England, I was greatly gratified by having a letter put into my hands, of which the following copy is extracted from Mr. Sheridan's Journal, the original having unfortunately been lost, with many other papers belonging to me, when I was wrecked in La Pomone.

" Tæheran, 2nd April, 1809.

" SIR,

" We, the undersigned, who have witnessed the many difficulties which have attended
" your Mission to this Court, and the signal success which has at length crowned all your mea-

“sures,—in commemoration of so happy an event,
 “—in admiration of your ability,—and in grati-
 “tude for your attention to our comfort and hap-
 “piness,—have requested Mr. Morier, on his ar-
 “rival in England, to cause a vase to be made, of
 “which we now take the liberty to request your
 “acceptance.

“We have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) “JAAFER ALY. JAMES SUTHERLAND.

“JAMES MORIER. ST.-J. BLACKER.

“T. H. SHERIDAN. HENRY WILLOCK.

“D. CAMPBELL.

“*To Sir Harford Jones, Bart., K.C.,*

“&c. &c. &c.”

Previous to the King of Persia's marching from Tæheran, we were invited to be present at the horse-races which take place every year at that capital, in the presence of the Shah. These races are on a different plan, and for a different purpose, from ours, which are designed principally to try the speed of our horses,—theirs principally to try their bottom and stamina. Ours are kept up very much for the purpose of gambling,—theirs for a purpose connected with their irregular military excursions. The distance which the horses have to run, according to what I was told, is about thirty miles. They start long before day-break, and the winning-post being the tent in which the King of Persia sits to see them come in, which

they reach a little before seven in the morning. The race, in fact, is against time, till the horses that have been able to keep time arrive within sight of the royal tent, and then a start is made, who shall reach the goal first. The horses themselves are of the very largest and stoutest Turcoman breed, and for some time before the races took place, we had frequently seen several of them training. The horses were rode by the merest urchins of boys, who certainly appeared to have no command of them, particularly as they were all ridden with simple snaffle bridles. It appeared wonderful to us, how upon horses, the most of which were nearly, and some quite, seventeen hands, these little fellows, whose legs could do little more than span the back of the animal, kept their seats, and the alacrity with which, after passing the King's tent, they *tumbled off*, to run and claim the prize which the animal had merited. These prizes are all given by the King, and, as far as I recollect, that year they were placed in bags, all marked, both in value, and numerically, —No. 1, 300, No. 2, 200, No. 3, 150, No. 4, 100, No. 5, 100 tomans, or about as many pounds sterling. These were placed immediately before the King, as he sat in a kind of *koucey*, or chair; and the children-jockeys, after kissing the border of the King's carpet, and receiving a gracious nod, word, or smile, from His Majesty, touched the bags, made a profound reverence, and departed, with a

person carrying the bag they had respectively won for their masters. The King's own boys were very low-spirited and disappointed this year, as they neither obtained the first nor second prize. It is open to any nobleman, or man of the sword, to enter a horse for this race. In general, the King's horses carry off the two principal prizes; but this year they did not; and we saw the horses which won these prizes led in great state to the King's tent, to be presented to him. His Majesty, however, declined to accept them, and courteously observed, that it was as necessary for his officers to have good horses, as himself. Similar races take place nearly at the same time, in the principal cities of all the provinces. The same thing was practised in the time of the Zunds; and Koraun, Lutf Ally Khan's memorable horse, first established his fame at these games. This sort of race, there is no doubt, is of considerable antiquity in Persia, and must be of utility. The King's estafettes, shotters, or running footmen, are trained and chosen something in the same way; as may be seen by a reference to Sir John Chardin, whose work, after all, is incomparably the best that ever has been published on Persia.

After the race was over, the Shah ordered us to be called to him in his tent, and for some time conversed with us on what had been going on, with great affability and freedom. He then mounted an elephant, which was made to kneel

down to receive him into the *howder*, and returned to the city.

It is pleasing to find that there are times, sights, and circumstances, when the severest despotism finds itself obliged to allow the feelings of the people to have their free course and expression. I doubt whether there be a place in the world, where, generally speaking, when the people are collected in a mass, and in presence of their ruler, a more submissive and silent awe is exhibited; yet at the instant when the horses came in sight of the King's tent, and made their start, all order seemed at an end; ranks were broken, and shouts and cries were heard from one end of the line to the other,—now “Green!” now “Red!” now “Blue!”—according to the colours of the handkerchiefs, which the boys who rode the horses had tied round their heads; and not only this, but “Bravo, such a Khan!” as his horse was gaining ground; “How now, lubberly Shah!” when the King's horse was losing ground; “Holloa! snivelling Prince!” when one of the little Prince's horses was fast dropping behind. And all this uproar and motion went on, even to the annoyance, and almost danger of the race, notwithstanding the King's clerks of the course, or *feraushees*, never ceased playing away with their long sticks, to keep the course clear. The Shah himself, as the horses came in sight, stood before his tent, clapped his hands, talked loud to those about him, and evi-

dently showed us, that, when certain passions or feelings are excited, there is no difference in the clay of which the china is made, though there certainly is in the painting and gilding with which the vase may be adorned, as well as in the position in which the vase may be placed.

I omitted to mention that, in my dispatches to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which I entrusted to Mr. Morier, I requested of him to lay before the King my wish to return to England, and to solicit for me His Majesty's most gracious permission for that purpose.* I did this certainly much against what were my real wishes ; but there were strong and cogent reasons which made me think it not only my wisest measure, but perhaps almost my duty, to take this step. The violence and virulence with which the Governor-General had expressed himself against me, and the continuance of the unfavorable opinions which he entertained of me, even after several of my explanatory dispatches had reached his hands, convinced me, that the communications which he had received from others had made such an impression on his mind, that it became impossible that he should ever honor me with his confidence, or that our views of what were the real interests of England and the East India Company,

* I have already stated that Henry Lord Melville, my steady and excellent friend, on hearing of this, said : " This is the only false step Sir Harford has made in Persia."

in Persia, should ever agree. If the Governor-General of India was a very high officer, the concerns in which I was likely to be embarked, if I remained in Persia, as His Majesty's Minister, did not permit me to consider myself, nor to be treated, as a very inconsiderable one; and to effect the designs I entertained, and which I knew were contemplated by Meerza Bozurg, it was indispensably necessary that I should possess the confidence of all parties. To remain in Persia merely for the sake of holding office, or of drawing a salary, never entered into my head; and, therefore, it seemed to me, that the wisest course I could pursue, as well as the one which probably would be the most satisfactory and pleasing to His Majesty's Government, was, to tender to them my resignation,—never doubting that, if my proceedings in Persia were approved, and if the unusual and unexampled difficulties which I had encountered and surmounted, were considered, I should, in some shape or other, receive employment. If, on the other hand, it should so happen, that His Majesty should decline to accept my resignation, I should then know the exact ground on which, in future, I was to stand in Persia.

In May the Shah moved from Tæheran, and encamped for some time in the beautiful plain of Sultania, where myself and the Mission, early in the month of June following, joined the royal camp. A Persian camp was not a novel sight to me, for

whether the camp was that of a Zund or Khajar Prince, the form and arrangement of it were the same; and so little do I consider that the Persians have varied in this matter, either by way of improvement, or retrogression, that the description of Darius's camp, would almost serve for that of Fath Aly Shah. In proof of this, there is a strong species of silk, worked in clouds, called *Dara*, made purposely for the lining of the royal, or other splendid tents; the Persians admit that this beautiful article is named after Darius, and at this day it is employed for the same purpose as it was by the Sovereign whose name it was destined to bear.

The King's quarters are placed at one extremity of the encampment, and surrounded by red canvass screens, called *khonauts*, and sometimes *perdehs*. The form is always an oblong square, and the screens are so pitched as to represent the curtains and bastions of a fort. The public entrance to this enclosure fronts the general camp, and before this there are other *perdehs* pitched, through which those who enter the royal precincts have to pass, and at which the same guard and the same officers are stationed as are at the gate of the palace in the city. On each side of these *perdehs*, tents are pitched, in which select officers, and a select guard, are lodged. Within the first square of the *Khonauts*, and at about two hundred yards from the entrance, is pitched the large tent called the *Dewaun Khonch*, or audience tent, which is supported by three im-

mense poles, each surmounted by a very large gilt ball, and the fly of which covers considerably more than an acre of ground. The prodigious extravagance of the Persians in their tents, would seem to us almost incredible. I was assured, and I believe it, that some of the King's tents had cost him from 30 to 40,000*l*. I waited on him once in the *meaneh*, or second enclosure, when he was sitting in a tent, of no very moderate magnitude, lined throughout with Cashmire shawls.

Behind the tent of the Dewaun Khoneh, the royal enclosure was again separated by *perdehs*, or *khonauts*, running from side to side, and behind these were pitched several beautiful tents; and this portion of the enclosure was called the *meaneh*, middle or intermediate, as being between the public portion, and that which was again parted off, and appropriated to the private tents, the baths, the ladies' tents, and the office tents of the Shah's household. In the tents occupying the *meaneh*, the same kind of business takes place, as in the King's cabinet, or *khelwat*, in the palace; but to the private tents, I believe, no one is ever admitted, but the little Princes of the blood. Such is the passion of the Persians for fountains decked with flowers, that they always contrive, by some means, to make a temporary one in front of the royal tent; and if the Shah remains for some time in the same place, they contrive to make for him a little garden of sweet and flowering annuals.

Between the King's quarters, and the first line of the tents of the great officers of state, there is left a large open space called *meidan*, signifying an open space which may be applied to a variety of purposes. In the Persian camp it is employed for the Shah to review the troops, and sometimes, when he chooses to direct them, for parties to play at the *jereed*. And just within the entrance khonaut, and overlooking them, is erected a high stand, very much like our stands on race-courses, from whence the Shah can not only behold these reviews and games, but, with glasses, almost every thing else that is going on in the camp.

Quarters for the Mission were assigned very near to those of Meerza Sheffee, and, indeed, previously to his quitting Tæheran, the old gentleman had, in good humor, several times told me, that whenever I joined the camp, our tent ropes should be tied together. In the royal camp, no person, not even a Prince of the blood, is allowed to surround his tents with khonauts, or screens; or to hoist any thing whatever to mark his quarters. I had represented to Meerza Sheffee, before I joined the camp, and had desired him to lay before the King, the necessity there was of exempting me from both these prohibitions; not because I wished to use that which was the distinctive mark of royalty, but because, as the Mission had much to write, it was absolutely necessary that the tent in which that business was carried on, should be

secured in such a manner that the papers should not be blown abroad ; and that the second was requisite, because, as strangers in the camp, it was necessary, if we went out of the camp, either for amusement or exercise, that there should be some mark, by which ourselves, the sepoys, and troops, might find our way back to our own quarters, without being subject to making constant enquiry, and what was more likely, perhaps, subject to receive answers which might lead to unpleasant altercations. The Shah made not the smallest difficulty in granting both these requests, and accompanied his consent by a complimentary message to me, that other persons had demanded the same thing, without giving any reason for such a request, but that the reasons I had laid before him were acknowledged to be just and proper. The Union Jack therefore was hoisted in the front of the tent which was made use of for public purposes. I am afraid some of our Oriental diplomatists have (at least in my opinion) been inclined to push matters of this sort a little too far. I have never heard any one on whose judgment I could rely, nor have I ever read any thing which made me imagine, that a Minister, in a foreign country, could demand, as *matter of right*, to appropriate to himself distinctions, reserved, in that country, exclusively to mark the Sovereign of it. What would be said to an Ambassador at Constantinople, who should pretend to have a

fac-simile of any of the ensigns carried before the Sultan, carried before his Excellency, when he went abroad. I take Wiquefort to be sufficient authority to quote on this head. *Vide Sec. VIII. de la Modération.*

“ Je dis encore que puisque la modération doit
 “ entrer en toutes les parties des actions de l’Am-
 “ bassadeur, on luy peut donner la mesme esten-
 “ due, que j’ay cy-devant donné à la prudence, et
 “ on peut dire, que c’est une retenue, dont il doit
 “ accompagner toute sa conduite. Il doit être
 “ fort jaloux, et extrêmement scrupuleux, à l’égard
 “ des honneurs qu’on ne luy peut refuser comme
 “ au représentant d’un prince souverain ; mais il
 “ ne doit point donner dans l’extravagance, n’y
 “ prétendre des honneurs qui ne sont dus ny à sa
 “ personne, ny à son caractère.” Every body
 knows, that *perfect representation* belongs only
 to a full Ambassador ; and Wiquefort will tell any
 one, who wishes to know it, exactly what honors
 and privileges, the representation of a representa-
 tion, is entitled to demand.

The royal camp, after I joined it, did not remain very long in the plain of Sultania ; and, at that time, it might consist of from thirty to forty thousand souls. During this time, the King principally resided in a building, which he had lately erected on an eminence, but which was neither very grand nor very large. The Devan Khona was separate from the corp-de-logis, and stood so

high, as to command almost a bird's eye view of the plain and camp. When the camp broke up, and the King commenced his march, the sight was certainly a magnificent one, and those who wish to form an idea of it, may collect enough for this purpose, from the 1st Fasciculus of old Kæmpfer. *Relation 15, Pompa equitationis regiæ*; or, if they prefer it, they may consult the March of Darius, as given in Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Rollin: especially the latter, which, leaving out the silver altars and some other circumstances, will not badly describe the march of Fath Ally Shah. Indeed, when I read in Rollin the following description, I am almost inclined to doubt, whether the Frenchman does not mean to describe what I was witness to at Sultania.

“ Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the
“ King. He was clothed in a vest of purple,
“ striped with silver, and, over it, a long robe,
“ glittering with gold and precious stones, that
“ represented two falcons pecking at each other.
“ Around his waist, he wore a golden girdle, after
“ the manner of the women, whence his scimitar
“ hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over
“ with gems. On his head, he wore a tiara or
“ mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed
“ with white.”

Now, on the day when the Shah moved from Sultania, his dress, and that above described of Darius, were as similar as it was well possible that

they could be. The Shah had on a *purple velvet* coat, over which, instead of a cloak or chain armour, he wore a net work of small diamonds ; his kemerband or girdle, was a broad band of strong gold twist, embroidered richly with pearls, from whence hung his scimitar, the scabbard of which flamed with diamonds and rubies. The handle of the poignard, which was stuck in the girdle, was covered with precious stones of no common magnitude ; and on his head, he wore a tas or bright steel cap, the centre of which was raised to a point, ending in a prodigious fine diamond, and around it was twisted a dark blue and white cashmire shawl.

The Mission followed the Shah, as closely as it conveniently could, to the Chemen Oujan, where it was intended that the royal camp should remain, till the approach of winter should render it necessary that His Majesty should return to Tæheran. The reader will recollect that there were now perpetual petty skirmishes taking place between the Russians and the Persians along the line of frontier. At the time of our arrival in the Chemen Oujan, Persia had not entirely lost all her possessions on the right bank of the Arras, for she held Mogree and some other trifling villages ; and the boundary of the empire towards Georgia, was, in all places, the one bank or the other of that beautiful river, till near the spot where it unites itself with the Kar.

The camp of the Shah was augmented by the presence of Mohammed Ally Meerza and Abbas Meerza, the King's eldest sons, and the large bodies of troops under their command. Abbas Meerza is younger than his brother, Mohammed Ally; but his mother is a Khajar lady, nearly related to the Shah, and legally married to him, whilst Mohammed Ally is the son of a concubine; Abbas, therefore, is considered as heir presumptive, and acknowledged as Prince Royal of Persia. To the former was entrusted the government of the great and wealthy Government of the province of Azarbaijan; to the latter, that of Kermanshah, and the superintendence of the Persian part of Courdistan. I understood that both these Princes had been called to the royal camp, in order that the Shah might review their troops and equipments.

Such as have not read the Persian account, translated in the Dynasty of the Khajars, of this meeting between the father and the sons, may be amused with the perusal of the following extract.

“ When it became ascertained that the delightful
“ plains of Oujan were to become the abode of the
“ climate conquering monarch's victorious banners,
“ before the arrival of the auspicious retinue, the
“ Prince Viceroy, accompanied by the whole of
“ his triumphant force, with due preparations and
“ stores, exceeding all limits, the Serdars, Begler-
“ begs, Governors, learned men, and nobles of
“ Azarbaijan, took up their residence in the plains

“ of Oujan, eight parasangs from Tabrize; so that
“ the moment the fortunate train arrived in those
“ regions, they could perform the duties of a pro-
“ cession of honor, wheresoever they obtained
“ permission, or the confidential ministers of his
“ Saturn resembling Majesty should judge it
“ proper.

“ Although the Prince Viceroy desired permission
“ to form the procession of honor at Kapilan Koh,
“ which forms the limit between Irak and Azar-
“ baijan, permission was only granted to proceed
“ one parasang distant from his encampment: he
“ therefore halted, and kept the eye of expectation
“ on his Majesty’s approach. His Highness, Prince
“ Mohammed Ally Meerza, had also arrived at
“ Oujan in advance of the royal train, with a con-
“ siderable force of the undaunted soldiery, both
“ infantry and cavalry, and artillery, furnished with
“ all the stores and supplies required for military
“ operations. During two or three days, the
“ Princes enjoyed an interview with each other,
“ in perfect joy and prosperity; and from the
“ happiness of personal communication, effaced all
“ trace of complaint from the area of their friend-
“ ship-nourishing hearts. On the 22d of Jamady,
“ as Sany, the day on which the royal train arrived,
“ they drew out on the right and left, the troops,
“ splendid as the starry hosts: from the mixing
“ and blending together of the sea of Kolzum and
“ Oman, (that is, of the troops of his world-con-

“ quering Majesty, with the Prince Viceroy’s
“ infantry and cavalry) this verse of the Koran—
“ ‘the junction of the two seas,’ &c. was evidently
“ exemplified to the sight of all, and to the under-
“ standing of the sagacious. The glittering of
“ arms was diffused in every direction, the hoofs
“ of horses tore up the hard flints, the lightning-
“ footed steeds began to neigh, and the dragon-
“ like cannon, poured out in profusion volumes of
“ flame and peals of thunder: the clouds of dust
“ raised by the armies turned the bright day into
“ night; the expanse of the atmosphere, from the
“ loud resounding Zambooraks, became agitated;
“ the flashes from the star-eclipsing muskets, filled
“ the vault of heaven with smoke.”

“ When the Sun of Majesty arose above the
“ horizon of the road, the Prince Viceroy dis-
“ mounted; and scarcely distinguishing his head
“ from his feet, advanced to the imperial stirrup;
“ the fire of affection then burst into flames, and
“ tears of joy involuntarily flowed from his eyes,
“ an event which excited the sympathy of all
“ present, so that the eyes of great and small, who
“ witnessed this scene, were suffused with tears.
“ His Majesty, the shadow of God, having accu-
“ rately surveyed the lines of infantry and cavalry,
“ the soldiers and body guards, the engines and
“ military stores, bestowed exceeding commenda-
“ tion on all. On his arrival in the camp, splendid
“ as the heavens, the chiefs, Sardars, the distin-

“guished men among the soldiers, and the cultivators; the eminent men, nobles, judges, persons of merit and learning, seeking in crowds eagerly to pay their respects to his Paradise-like Majesty,—obtained the honor of notice and distinction by admission to the presence beaming with splendour.”

The object I have in making this quotation, is principally to put forth an opinion, that if the dress of the King of Persia, in the present day, so nearly resembled that worn so many centuries ago by Darius; if we find the march from Saltania to the Chemen Oujan much resembling in its pomp and circumstances that towards Issus; if we find the ceremonies used towards the ancient Kings of Persia, to be pretty much the same as those used towards the present Kings, it will not be very rash to imagine, that if the works of any ancient Persian historian describing Darius's actions, reign, military marches, achievements, and misfortunes, had come to our hands, we should have found the recital of them to be delivered in the same bombastical idiom which runs through the extract I have just quoted. In none of the countries which were compelled, by the sword, to submit to and adopt the severe and abstract religion of Mohammed, did the primitive and simple manners of their first spiritual instructors make less impression in the end than in Persia and on the Persians. In vain the Koran thundered against certain luxuries

of dress and living—the climate produced the last, and called for their use,—the former the people had been long accustomed to ; and though for a time obliged to lay them aside, they ultimately returned to them with eagerness and joy. Even language itself experienced something of this ; for when the precise and logical Arabic became, to a certain degree, incorporated with the Persian, it also became tainted (if I may so express myself) with glitter and periphrasis.

Notwithstanding that the author of the *Dynasty of the Khajars* states, that “during the two or “three days in which the Princes enjoyed an “intercourse with each other in perfect joy and “prosperity, and from the happiness of personal “communication, effaced all trace of complaint “from the area of their friendship-nourishing “hearts,” yet, with that dutiful regard to truth which is due from the historian, I am obliged to say, that this was by no means the case : and that the few days during which they did remain together in the royal camp, were days of considerable anxiety and vexation to the Shah,—not from the conduct of the Prince Royal, but from that of his brother, which was extremely intemperate.

Mohammed Ally Meerza, fortunately for himself, fortunately for his brother, fortunately for his father, and still more fortunately for his country, is since dead, and therefore the reader will feel but little interest in his character, which was

haughty and impetuous in the highest degree ; but the following anecdote of him, related to me by Meerza Sheffee, who always spoke of him with trembling, for he regarded him as a madman, may be considered as no bad index to the qualities of his head and his heart.

General Gardanne, on his introduction to Mohammed Ally Meerza, had presented him with a very fine pair of rifle-barrelled pistols, made at Paris, the barrels of which the General assured the Prince, were worked with such nicety, that a ball delivered from them, would fly to the distance of twenty yards, so true as to strike invariably the centre of a piastre, a piece about the size of our half crown. The Prince had received the General in a room which opened to a large walled court, and from the spot where his highness was seated to the wall, was pretty much the distance for which the General had vaunted the precision of his pistols. As soon as he was dismissed, the Prince, turning to his Secretary, who was standing by him, said, “ come, let’s try the Frenchman’s pistols ; go and “ hold out your hand against the wall.” The astonished and trembling Secretary, after some remonstrance, found himself obliged to obey, and stand the shot. The Prince fired, and fortunately missed the mark. The first time I heard this extraordinary story, Meerza Bozurg happened to be present, and when it was finished, he turned very gravely to me, and said, “ your’s is a happy

“ country, where no such order as this could be given, or if it were given, would not be obeyed.”

Of Abbas Meerza, the Prince Royal of Persia, I shall hereafter have occasion to say much, and considering my devotion and attachment to him, and the uniform regard he has always expressed for me, I should prefer that the reader, from what I shall relate, should draw his own opinion of that excellent and talented Prince, than that I should attempt to delineate or draw it. Of his person, however, I will say a few words. In this he certainly was much indebted to nature, for it was handsome, graceful, dignified, and easy in its carriage. His countenance bespoke a mind much at work, and possessing considerable powers of reflection and thought. His eyes were dark and rather large, but they powerfully put forth every expression conveyed to them from his soul. His complexion was that of those whom in this country are called dark. His voice had a remarkable combination of melody and strength, and his address, either when employed to reprove or to persuade, or in common conversation, had something in it peculiarly his own. Whatever he did he did well. In short, he was an amiable personification of royalty, and he acted it beautifully. Such was the Prince Royal of Persia when I left him. What the wear and tear of twenty-two years may have effected, I cannot tell. I have heard that he has had much to vex him ; he has had also

the misfortune, and a heavy one it was, to lose his most sage monitor, and most devoted and attached friend, admirer, and minister, Meerza Bozurg ; and his fine and robust constitution has, as Dr. Cormick informed me, suffered considerably from disease and illness. If, however, he outlives the Shah, his life, I cannot help thinking, will yet be a most valuable and important one to his country. He had then one brother, both by the side of the father and of the mother, of whom he was doatingly fond.

I estimated the united forces of the Shah and the two Princes, when encamped at the Chemen Oujàn, to have been little short of 30,000 men at the time when the Mission joined the camp. The Persian word *chemen* is generally rendered in English by the word *meadow*, but certainly the very largest meadow which exists in this country, would afford but a very imperfect idea of the Chemens of Oujàn and Sultania. They extend for miles in length and breadth, and before the spring and early summer growth of the grasses in them are touched, their extreme luxuriance, and, generally speaking, the fineness of their quality, are quite astonishing, and greatly exceed any thing of the sort I have ever had occasion to observe, either in this country or any where else, except in some of the small plains through which I passed on my way home between Erzeroum and Tocat. The Chemen Oujàn must, on an

average, have supported 20,000 head of animals, from the beginning of July to the end of September, and this affords a datum on which some opinion may be formed of its great fertility and resource. Unquestionably these encampments and marches of the Shah, which, from what I saw of them, I considered not only as useless, but even as dangerous, must be a very heavy tax on the country, and a great loss of revenue. What would the grass and produce of two such plains as Oujàn and Sultania be worth, if applied solely to the breeding and feeding of cattle, horses, &c., whilst for their security nature has provided by making the entrance to them at both ends through passes easily guarded and defended, and by hemming them in on both sides by ranges of very high and precipitous mountains.

I have applied the word *dangerous* to these encampments of the Shah, particularly that of Oujàn, because I am confident that from the want of proper and common military precautions, a comparatively inconsiderable body of Russians might, any night whilst it remained there, have thrown the royal camp into confusion, and dispersed it. It is true there was the Arras between the camp of the Shah and the Russian forces, but then there were no videttes stationed on its banks; there were various places at which it might easily have been crossed, left without any guard; and considering the immense plunder

the Russians would have obtained in the event of a successful attack on the royal camp, I often wondered General Tomasoff never attempted it. In addition to all this, I found, when I was desired to attend a council in the King's tent, the information which the Persian Ministers possessed of the nature and real force of the Russians on their frontier, and particularly of the position in which the force, whatever it was, was placed,—of its powers of motion, of its supplies, and of its character,—to be so vague, so imperfect, and on many points so contradictory, as not only to cause me great surprise, but also well-grounded alarm as to what might be the ultimate event of such ignorance, and such unaccountable neglect of the commonest military rules. I have not the slightest pretence to any acquaintance with military affairs, but common sense, I think, says, that when a night attack is made, and the party attacked has made no preconcerted arrangement, by which it can instantly collect and combine its force together,—has concerted no means of discriminating friends from foes,—where all is confusion, and order set at defiance,—common sense, I say, assures us, that in such a state of things, the arrangement most likely to be made on the spur of the moment, is the arrangement of running away, on the principle of *saue qui peut*. And this, from my soul I do believe, for some time after the Mission had joined the camp in the Chemen Oujàn, would have been the case with the Shah and his army,

even on a very slight night alarm; not because there was a want of courage—for he who accuses the Persians of this, knows nothing about them—but because there was a want of that, without which courage is seldom of much avail, and often becomes no more than *brutum fulmen*. The strong representations which were made to the Persian Ministers, on this important subject, and the representations which they made to the King, produced at last some effect, and put things on rather a better footing.

It will no doubt, be inferred, from what has already been said, that the Prince Royal, and his brother Mohammed Ally Meerza, differed in their opinions on most things—their relative situations led to this—but perhaps there was no point on which they more widely differed, than on the utility and necessity of introducing into Persia the military tactics and discipline of Europe.

“Castor gaudet equis—ovo prognatus eodem

“Pugnis.”

Abbas Meerza was for putting every thing, as far as he could, on the European system, which Mohammed Ally despised, and was satisfied to trust in the old arms of Persia, the sword, the mace, the lance, the musquet or carbine, used on horseback, and the *zamboraak*, or camel swivel. The troops under the command of each of these Princes were reviewed previously to their taking leave of their father.

The Prince Royal's infantry, which had been under the instruction of the French officers, put me in mind of the awkward squad of a newly raised regiment of militia, put to go through their exercise ; and the clothing of most of them, was not very much better than that of the company which Falstaff marched towards Coventry, and was ashamed to march at the head of into the town. His artillery, if not absolutely in embryo, was certainly in the very first stage of its infancy ; and the sight of the *tout ensemble*, made me tremble as to what might be the effect to the Prince Royal, and to his country, of one rash exposure of such troops against a regular Russian force, if even numerically so much smaller as five to ten. The Prince's cavalry, which might be from 700 to 1,000, as Persian cavalry, made a gallant shew.

The review of Mohammed Ally Meerza's troops presented a different spectacle ; one, indeed, of its sort, as fine as could well be imagined.—I mean that of the assemblage of an irregular body of horse—the men were strong-bodied, warlike in appearance, armed in general with a steel head cap, breast plates, or chain armour, swords, pistols, mace, lance, poignard, and musquets or carbines ; most of the horses were strong, active, and some beautiful ; and from the evolutions they performed, they gave me an idea that if they were put about

nothing but that which was compatible with their character, they would execute it well; and the Prince himself seemed to understand, and to be fully equal to, the management of the machine which was put into his hands. I must confess that at that time, had I been to choose with which of the two Princes I would have preferred to make my campaign against the Russians in Carabaugh, I would have chosen Mohammed Ally and his irregulars, with sword and lance, before the Prince Royal and his ill-managed cannon, newly levied, and half instructed musqueteers. Mohammed Ally Meerza is said to have had constantly in his mouth, the maxim of his great uncle, the Eunuch Aga Mohammed Khan:—"Never come within reach of the Russian guns, and never, by the celerity of the cavalry, allow a Russian villager to sleep in peace."

Here the most interesting circumstance (at least to my mind) of the whole Mission took place; I mean the meeting of Meerza Bozurg and myself. It is not worth my while to repeat, and less worth the reader's to peruse, the compliments he paid me, or the kind and friendly assurances I received from him. I found him the same warm friend I had parted from, many years ago, at the gates of Schyras, and he was pleased to say he found me unaltered except in age. I had seen his eldest son, Meerza Hassan, in the Chemen at Sultania, where he had arrived from his master, the Prince

Royal, to wait on the Shah. He retained a very perfect remembrance of me, when he was a child, and when I was his great uncle's, Meerza Mohammed Hossein's, guest at Schyras, and seemed to regard me more as a person to whom respect was due, as a member of his family, than as a foreigner of some distinction. He communicated to me, by his father's desire, the plan which Meerza Bozurg had formed of resigning the appointment he held, as Minister to the Prince Royal. He told me the Shah was extremely desirous that Meerza Bozurg should enter more into the general management of the affairs of the empire, and the Meerza's place with the Prince Royal should be supplied by himself, Meerza Hassan. This arrangement was not long afterwards carried into effect, but its duration unhappily was very short ; and Meerza Bozurg had to lament the loss, by fever, of his most accomplished son ; the Prince Royal the loss of a most able and devoted servant ; and his family and country the loss of one, who, if his life had been spared, would have been an honor and credit to both. Meerza Hassan possessed all the amiable and distinguishing qualities of his ancestor Meerza Mohammed Hossein, he was beloved in a very extraordinary manner by the Prince Royal ; the King was daily becoming more and more attached to him, and from the manner in which he received and treated him, when sent

to Court on business, His Majesty evidently manifested his design of hereafter advancing him to the highest dignities of the state.

In the *Dynasty of the Khajars* the death of this extraordinary young man, is recorded in terms, which the soberer chroniclers of Europe would scarcely dream of making use of; but this very hyperbole must be admitted as an unquestionable evidence, that Persia considered his early death as no common misfortune. “The aged sphere, in
“its lamentation over the decease of this youth,
“shed from its eyes lucid tears, like falling stars,
“and the Prince Viceroy’s splendid moon of
“spiritual and temporal power, from this grievous
“event, became totally eclipsed. His Excellency
“the Kaimacam, (Meerza Bozurg) on beholding
“his son’s inevitable doom, poured out floods of
“tears—in short, by this sad event, tyrannic
“fortune plunged the whole world into the fire
“of woe and affliction.” As far as my recollection and knowledge go, I can safely say, that in Persia, the death of no individual ever caused more regret and grief than that of Meerza Hassan. As soon as the account of it reached the Shah, he instantly, in order to console Meerza Bozurg, and to mark the esteem in which he held the deceased, dispatched to him, at Tauris, where the Meerza then was, the *fiançailles*, between one of the Princesses, his daughter, and Meerza Mousa, the youngest son of the Kaimacam, a child about eight years

old, whom, from that moment, his father most prudently destined to the study of the Mohammedan law, and the hope of one day enjoying the quiet dignities of the Mohammedan Church.

It was not long after my first interview with Meerza Bozurg, that he presented myself, and the gentlemen of the Mission, to the Prince Royal, and we were all greatly pleased with the affability of his behaviour, the good sense of the questions he put to us, and the manliness and dignity of our reception.

I found that there were still with the Prince Royal two French gentlemen, belonging to the late Mission under the charge of General Gardanne; but as the close of that Mission is related in the *Dynasty of the Khajars*, I shall no further advert to it. There was, however, at this time, in active service with the Prince Royal, placed there by General Gardanne, a person of the name of Raymond, who had some years before enlisted in the Bombay Artillery, and had risen to the rank of serjeant. When resident at Bagdad, I had, at the request of the Paçha, applied to the Government of Bombay, that a person might be sent up to assist the gunners sent to the Paçha from Constantinople, in instructing the Paçha's corps of artillery. Raymond was fixed on for this purpose, and sent to Bagdad under my orders. The choice of the Bombay Government on this occasion was by no means a judicious one; for Raymond was

much more a Frenchman than an Englishman ; and the account he gave of himself was, that his father, who was an Englishman and a Catholic, had run away with his mother from a convent in France, and married her. Not long after his arrival with me, I had reason to think his intimacy with several Armenians at Bagdad, notoriously in the interest of France, and with M. Outrey, the Paçha's French surgeon, was greater than was proper for him to cultivate, or me to suffer unnoticed. I therefore cautioned him on the subject ; and in return for this, he conveyed to the Government of Bombay complaints against my conduct, which, at my own desire, were investigated, and subsequently declared to be *false and malicious* ; and I was directed to send Raymond down to the Presidency in arrest. This, however, Raymond saved me the trouble of doing, by declaring himself a subject of France by birth, and by claiming, as such, the protection of the French Agent at Bagdad, which Ally Paçha admitted. Raymond, however, suspected that, at my instance, the British Government in India would not pass the matter over without remonstrance ; and therefore he left Bagdad as soon as he well could, and put himself under the protection of the French Consul at Aleppo, from whence he joined General Gardanne, who, as I said before, placed him in the service of the Prince Royal.

With the perfect knowledge I had of this man's

dangerous character, and what he was capable of, I was much vexed to find him placed where he was, and spoke pretty sharply to Meerza Bozurg on the subject. The Meerza acknowledged that I had just ground of complaint and dissatisfaction, but told me, that Raymond was considered by the Prince Royal as a very useful person, and that any very strong reclamations from me to the Prince on this subject, till I could either replace him, or until the Prince and I were better acquainted, might produce a coolness between us, which would be extremely injurious to the important designs which he (the Meerza) had in view ; and that, in the mean time, he would promise Raymond should be so watched, as to be incapable of either giving me offence, or of doing mischief. After this, I considered *patience* and *prudence* to be pretty nearly synonymous terms. However, to assist patience a little bit, I told the Meerza that, being fully aware how important it was for me to establish myself in the Prince's confidence and good opinion, I would, as far as I could, act agreeably to the advice he gave me ; but added, " I must tell your Excellency, what you know, " perhaps, before,—that Raymond is a deserter " from our army,—that our laws against deserters " are extremely severe,—*that if I see him*, I must " endeavour to apprehend him,—that, if I apprehend him, the least I can do, is, to send him " down to Bombay, to be tried,—and that, if he

“ is tried, he will certainly be shot. Assure the
“ Prince, I will do any thing in the world to gra-
“ tify him, but neglect my duty. I have now told
“ you what my duty is ; and therefore I trust his
“ Royal Highness will take such measures as will
“ not force on me an unpleasant execution of it.”
I was quite sure the purport of this speech would
get to Raymond’s ears ; and, if I knew he was a
great rogue, I also knew he was a great coward ;
and therefore I was pretty certain, that, when my
speech was once communicated to him, “ oxen
and wain ropes,” as Sir Toby Belch says, could
not long after hold him in Persia. The matter
turned out just as I expected ; for, in a few days
afterwards, he set out without wishing the Prince
good morning, and I never heard any thing more of
him, except from the Prince, who told me, that he
considered him a very ungrateful, good-for-nothing
fellow.

The Shah fully kept his promise of manifesting
towards me an increase of confidence and favor,
and, generally once or twice in the week, sent for
me to come to him in the meaneh. At these
visits, sometimes Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bo-
zurg were present, and sometimes they were not.
At one of them, when I was alone with the King,
he desired me to tell him every thing which had
passed between His late Majesty Lutf Ally Khan
and myself ; adding, that he had heard strange
stories about my intimacy with him, and stranger

still, of Lutf Ally Khan's regard for me ;—" For
" all which," said the Shah, " you were marked in
" very dark characters in my uncle's (the late
" King's) black book ; and if you had fallen into
" his hands, I do not think you would easily have
" gotten out of them."—I then related to the Shah
pretty much the same as what has been already
told the reader, respecting Lutf Ally Khan, in
the preliminary matter to the translation of the
Dynasty of the Khajars ; and when I came to the
part in which that Prince pressed me to receive
from him the large diamonds, the Shah said :
" Ay, I remember Meerza Hossein telling my
" uncle that, after all, he owed the possession of
" those magnificent jewels to that Fringee, with
" whom he was so much offended, and whom he
" threatened so much." The Shah also, on my
relating to him the interview between the little
Prince and myself, in the Baug-e-vakeel, at Schy-
ras, said : " Khosrow is here ; would you like to
" see him ? I will send him to-morrow to visit
" you. I cannot undo what has been done to him,
" poor fellow ; but I tell you, if he had fallen into
" my hands, instead of my uncle's, he should not
" have been so severe a sufferer. His father I
" would have put to death, because, consistently
" with my own safety, it would have been impos-
" sible to have done any thing else with him ; but
" even with me, his death should not have been
" such as my uncle made him suffer ; nor should the

“cruel indignities he underwent, have been perpetrated on his person. He was a true and noble lion.”

Next day, in the evening, I was prepared to receive the Prince Khosrow. He came attended by a number of servants, and some of the Shah's *ferashees*; and I went out of my tent to meet and receive him. We both entered the tent together, but he forbade any one of his retinue to follow him. I led him by the hand to that part of the tent which is considered the place of honor, and desired him to seat himself, which he did. I stood for some little time, as if to give him an opportunity of bidding me to sit down. He rose, however, in great agitation, clasped me in his arms, and burst into a violent flood of tears. When he spoke, he said:—“the Shah is very good to allow me to come and see my father's old and steady friend. I have constantly (said he) longed for this ever since I heard you had arrived at Tæheran, but I was afraid to ask permission to visit you, but Meerza Bozurg, who is in the place of a father to me, told me to have patience, and he would bring it about for me; last night, after you left the Shah, he sent for me, and told me I had his leave to visit you to day; you may guess with what pleasure I have availed myself of this permission.” We then both sat down, and began to talk about former times at Schyras. I asked him if he remembered our conversation in



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*The Mother of Prince Khosrow, Sult. Ally Khan's eldest Son.
From a Picture in the Palace of Schyras.*



the Baugee Vakeel. "To shew you I do," said he, (to my great surprise) "I will ask you for another penknife and pair of scissors for my *dy*."* He then told me that the Shah was extremely kind to him, and that he rendered his situation as little irksome to him as possible. "My Lord," said I, "is there any thing in the world that I can do for you; is there any thing you wish, that I can procure for you?"—he answered, "No;" and afterwards made a most minute enquiry of every thing which had passed at Keshdt, between his father and myself, and rising, said:—"I bless God I have lived to see two things; the one, that I saw the scoundrel, Hajee Ibrahim, deprived of sight; the other, that I have, to day, met and conversed with, one of the best and steadiest of my noble father's friends. I will hope I shall see you again; but to meet often, even if the Shah would allow it, cannot be prudent or good for either of us; it will even now take some time before I shall recover the temper of mind and contentment which I possessed before I saw you." He embraced me again, and I accompanied him to his horse, which was brought to him outside of the tent. As he was mounting, he said, loud enough for his people to hear, and with a smile on his countenance; "*Bareculla*," (*i. e.* well done,) this is very fine, I am *a slave*, and you are *an Ambassador*. The loss he had suffered

* Nurse. Vide *Dynasty of the Khajars*, p. cxli.

had left a very imperfect outline of what his figure would have been ; but even the effect which that dreadful privation always has on the countenance, had not yet entirely destroyed the beauty and dignity of his :—his mind, however, appeared to me, to be such as I should have supposed the son of Luft Ally Khan to have possessed. The next time I saw the Shah, after this visit, he asked me what I had said or done to Khosrow, “ for, (said he) “ poor fellow, he did nothing but cry all the evening, when he came from you.”

The time for the Prince Royal's leaving the Shah's camp drew nigh, and a council, to which I was invited, was held in the royal tent, as to what should be the proceedings of Abbas Meerza, and the force under his command, during the remaining part of the summer, and beginning of autumn. In the Shah's tent were assembled the Shah, the Prince Royal, Meerza Sheffee, Meerza Bozurg, the Ameen-ed-dowlah, two Khajar noblemen, and myself. A Persian council appeared to me to mean little more than to give the Shah an opportunity of delivering to those who are called to it, his opinion and wishes, on any matter he thought proper. Now, therefore, I was introduced to this council, by the Prince Royal, and Meerza Bozurg, for the express purpose of doing that which neither of them felt inclined to do, nor perhaps would have done to the extent they thought I should. The Shah opened the business with a most flourishing account of the magnitude and irresistibility of

the Persian force, the prodigious supplies of all sorts of ammunition, provisions, &c. which had been collected at Tauris and Erivan, and the excellent order and discipline of his artillery and infantry ; and from all this, and from the defeat, last year, of the Russians at Erivan, His Majesty drew a conclusion that the Prince Royal should immediately march and attack the Russians, wherever he could find them ; and afterwards pursue his career till he had entirely driven them out of Georgia. This scheme was highly applauded by the two Ministers, (though they had been made aware of what was to come by and by) but more particularly by the two Khajar noblemen, who I had been given to understand, had hitherto been more violent against the Russians with their tongues than with their swords. The Prince Royal said His Majesty's opinion of the force and excellent equipment of his army was most just, and that as for himself he had nothing to do but to obey such commands as His Majesty might think fit to lay upon him.

Meerza Bozurg said, that the wisdom and judgment of the Shah rendered every thing uttered by him little less awful than the reading a leaf out of the Book of Fate would be ; and if what was now under consideration was, what was best to be done in a campaign against the Turks, the Arabs, the Courds, the Ouzbeks, or the Afghans, he thought the opinion delivered by His Majesty

ought to be carried into execution, without the smallest delay or reserve. “But,” continued he, “our enemy in the instance before us, is the Russian. They are Fringees, and *they make war by Fringe rules*; and therefore I think it would be well, before any thing is finally determined, to hear what the English Ambassador, who has been ordered to attend, has to say on the subject.”—The two Khajar noblemen said, it might perhaps be as well to hear what I had to say; but, for their part, they much doubted whether I understood much of the matter, especially as our way of going to work was so totally different from their’s.—The Shah then addressed himself to me, and, as nearly as I can recollect, spoke to the following purport:—“I have little doubt but the treaty, which you have signed, with my Ministers, on behalf of your Sovereign, will be ratified; I therefore regard the interests of Persia and England as inseparable; and on that account I have called you here to-day, not only that you may fully understand what I am about to do, but that you may also deliver your opinion on it; which I now desire you to do freely and unreservedly.”

“Your Majesty,” said I, “has done me great honor in calling me to your presence on this important occasion; and I cannot express the delight I have received from hearing you declare that *the interests of Persia and England are*

“ *inseparable*. The formidable account which
“ you have given, of the number and quality of
“ the Persian force, and the resources of your
“ kingdom, naturally lead me to congratulate my
“ country on possessing so powerful and so hearty
“ an ally. Asked, however, as I now am, for my
“ opinion on the matter before your Majesty and
“ your Council,—whatever may be its value,—it
“ becomes my duty to deliver it with freedom
“ and sincerity. It cannot escape your penetra-
“ tion, that at present the Persian army is much
“ more effective and powerful for some purposes,
“ than it can be for others ; and that, again, there
“ may be enemies, against whom, it would be
“ more prudent to employ it *defensively*, than
“ *offensively*. In saying this, let it not be ima-
“ gined, that I undervalue the bravery of your
“ troops ; but that I only speak of them relatively,
“ when opposed to those who have been longer
“ disciplined, and more experienced in a species of
“ warfare, to which Persia is at present not much
“ accustomed. Russia possesses a large army of
“ troops of the last description ; and I cannot con-
“ template an *offensive* war with that power, on
“ the part of Persia,—particularly if carried on
“ under a reliance on the progress which the Per-
“ sians have yet made, in the European art and
“ system of warfare,—without great alarm and
“ dismay.

“ The Noblemen, who have the honor of being

“ related to your Majesty, have expressed an opinion, that what I shall say can be of little value. “ It may be so ; but the reason they have given, “ why they think it should be so, does not strike “ me as being either very judicious, or very correct. If your Majesty proposes to attack the “ Russians, it appears to me, the most important “ thing for you to be acquainted with, is, their “ means, their resources, what number, and what “ kind of forces, in case of need, they can, or are “ likely to bring into the field ;—and on these “ subjects, I take it for granted (without meaning “ any offence), I am more amply and more fully “ instructed than those gentlemen. I have known “ Persia for many years, and I am quite surprised “ at the progress which the artillerymen and infantry have made in so short a time. It is highly “ creditable to the French gentlemen who were “ their instructors, and still more so to themselves.

“ It cannot fail also of being greatly satisfactory “ to your Majesty, because it carries along with it “ an undeniable proof as to what point of improvement and perfection the Persian troops are capable of reaching by time and perseverance : but “ your Majesty must know, that a mere acquaintance with the manner in which an European marches, how he turns from the right to “ the left, or how he should his musket, is not “ all that is necessary to form troops which may “ safely be relied on in battle, and that for pretty

“ much the same reason, that a man does not all
“ at once become a good and *bold* rider because
“ he possesses a horse, saddle and bridle. And I
“ should more than doubt the soundness of that
“ person’s judgment, who would advise an officer
“ in command of raw troops to attack with them
“ a body of veterans. The invaluable superiority
“ which your Majesty possesses in cavalry over
“ the Russians in this part of the world, and the
“ nature of that cavalry, will, if properly managed,
“ probably prevent their attacking you: but if
“ your Majesty attacks them with your infantry,
“ and should be defeated, the disadvantage to you
“ will be infinitely greater than it would, in similar
“ circumstances, be to them; because, as their
“ whole army is regularly trained and very nume-
“ rous, they would easily supply any loss of dis-
“ ciplined troops which they might sustain,—
“ whilst it is only a part, and a very small part of
“ your Majesty’s army which at present is disci-
“ plined,—and therefore, if this should be des-
“ troyed, you will have all to begin over again
“ with great expense and trouble, and under cir-
“ cumstances which may not make your subjects
“ think so well of European discipline as they do
“ at present. Your Majesty has laid great stress
“ on what took place last year at Erivan—it cer-
“ tainly did the Serdar and the garrison of Erivan
“ the greatest credit, but I consider this as making
“ strongly for the justness of my argument: it

“ was the Russians who attacked, and the Persians
“ who defended the place ; besides which, the
“ newly raised troops had to fight from behind
“ walls and batteries, had no chance of running
“ away had they been so inclined, and were also
“ but little exposed to the fire of Russian artillery,
“ which of course had they been led to an attack
“ in the field they must have been, and which I
“ can scarcely bring myself to believe they will,
“ for some time however, have the resolution to
“ stand.

“ Your Majesty has the singular good fortune
“ to possess a kingdom, three-fourths of the
“ frontier of which give no reason to apprehend
“ attacks upon it by your enemies, of any conse-
“ quence ; the whole energies, or nearly the whole
“ energies of the state may, therefore, be applied
“ to that part of your frontier which may be con-
“ sidered as most vulnerable, and most likely to
“ be attacked. That part of your frontier which
“ points to Russia, has many natural, and many
“ political advantages, which I trust your Majesty
“ will not overlook. A very large part of it has
“ for its boundary and defence a noble river,
“ capable, it is true, in the summer, of being
“ passed in some places without much difficulty,—
“ but these places should be well and carefully
“ examined, and whatever natural difficulties they
“ present should be strengtheued and augmented
“ by every means in your power, by erecting

“ fortresses and towers at convenient and proper
“ places. The fort, which I understand the Prince
“ Royal has ordered to be constructed on the
“ Arras, does the sagacity of the French gentle-
“ man who recommended it much credit. It is
“ in forts or towers that I should recommend your
“ Majesty, for the present, to station the greater
“ part of your newly-instructed infantry. In such
“ forts and positions they will be of much more
“ real service than they can in the field or any
“ where else. Your Majesty’s possessions also
“ beyond the Arras, particularly the cities of Eri-
“ van and Nuckshivan, should be strongly garri-
“ soned, and constantly furnished with a supply of
“ provisions equal to two years’ consumption, and
“ of military muniments sufficient to supply what
“ would be required in a siege in the same period.
“ Besides this, it is absolutely necessary for the
“ safety of these two most valuable and important
“ districts, that large bodies of your Majesty’s
“ excellent cavalry should be constantly stationed
“ in them.”

“ But if your Majesty has at present on your
“ north-western frontier a powerful enemy, you
“ must not forget that a very considerable part of
“ that line separates your dominions from those of
“ a potentate who is as much interested as your-
“ self to prevent the further encroachments of
“ Russia; and I am confident that the Grand
“ Signor, in the present, and indeed in any state

“ of his affairs, will be as anxious to cultivate a
“ good understanding with Persia as you can
“ possibly wish. It seems to me, therefore, most
“ fortunate that the old and intimate friendship
“ and political connection between England and
“ the Porte, are just now re-established, under the
“ management of a Minister of the greatest ability
“ and soundest judgment, whom, from the little
“ correspondence which has as yet taken place
“ between us, I can safely and confidently assure
“ your Majesty, is inclined to render you any and
“ every service in his power at the Porte, for he
“ agrees with me in thinking, that at the present
“ moment, the connection between Persia and
“ Turkey cannot be too intimate. If your Majes-
“ ty, therefore, thinks proper, I will endeavour to
“ prevail on Mr. Adair to recommend strongly to
“ the Porte, that a proper person be immediately
“ sent here to discuss this most important business,
“ and that by such means the grounds and form of
“ a future strict alliance between the two empires
“ may be chalked out. I am aware there are certain
“ points of religious difference between Persia and
“ Turkey, but after all, both are Mohammedan
“ kingdoms, and where the safety of both is con-
“ cerned, it will be wise to overlook such differ-
“ ences, and to put them aside. As to England,
“ I can hardly say just at present what is the
“ precise nature of her relations with Russia,
“ whether of peace or war, though certainly they

“ are not those of very active or offensive war-
“ fare ; but whether these relations should, by and
“ by, turn out to be either the one or the other,
“ I am convinced, as far as depends upon her, she
“ will prefer seeing Persia at peace with all her
“ neighbours, provided such peace is not attended
“ with consequences of which she may feel a right
“ to complain, to seeing her at war with any
“ one of them. If I am at all acquainted with the
“ wishes of my Sovereign and his Ministers, they
“ are, that Persia should not, by any means, em-
“ bark in any thing which might put her tran-
“ quillity, or the integrity of her dominions, to
“ hazard ; but on the contrary, that she should
“ take every means of increasing and improving
“ her internal strength ; that for this purpose she
“ should pay the utmost attention to augment-
“ ing the commerce and produce of the kingdom ;
“ and that for promoting objects so salutary and
“ important, your Majesty may always reckon on
“ the cordial assistance and co-operation of Eng-
“ land. In accordance with this system, therefore,
“ I shall consider it my duty, until I receive orders
“ to the contrary, to oppose, by remonstrance, all
“ *measures proposed to your Majesty, which*
“ *shall have offence for their object*, more parti-
“ ticularly as I feel confident that such measures,
“ the longer they were pursued, must in the end,
“ render any arrangement for peace between Persia
“ and Russia, more difficult to be effected, and

“ when effected, more disadvantageous to your
“ Majesty.”

I have given this long and dull detail, because I am of opinion, as long as England is England, and Persia Persia, these are the only sound principles of policy to be observed between the two countries, and that a systematic and regular observation of them will be attended with great reciprocal advantage.

It may be conceived, I was some time in delivering what I addressed to the Shah, who, however, listened to it with great attention ; nor was I once interrupted in the course of what I said. But after some pause, the Shah said : “ Well, for
“ this year I will entrust the affairs of the frontier,
“ and the management of our dispute with Russia, entirely to the Prince Royal and Meerza
“ Bozurg. They have heard what the English
“ Ambassador has said. The Prince may commence
“ the execution of his duties as soon as he pleases,
“ and I shall remain encamped here until he re-
“ turns to Tauris, in order, if he wants assistance,
“ that I may be ready to afford it.” The Prince, on this, made a very low obeisance to his father, and said : “ If Sir Harford consents, will your Ma-
“ jesty allow the British Mission to remove to
“ Tauris, and pass the winter there ?” The Shah asked me, whether I should prefer staying with him in camp, or proceeding to Tauris, as the Prince wished. I replied, I had but one wish, and

that was, to be where I could be most useful to my country and to the Shah. His Royal Highness briskly replied :—" The Ambassador's advice " will be of great consequence to me, and the " service of the gentlemen attached to the Mis- " sion, by directing my different artificers in the " laboratory and the arsenal, will be highly ac- " ceptable." The Shah paid me some compliment, and then said, "*Murrakus*" (*i. e.* " You have leave.")

As we were coming away from the royal tent, the Prince Royal said to me, " I must see you again before I leave the camp ;" and Meerza Bozurg said, " Come *privately*, and sup with me to-night." When saying this, he did not perceive that Meerza Sheffee was close behind us, who, on hearing what the other had said, asked Meerza Bozurg, if the meeting was designed to be so strictly private, that he might not be of the party. " I should be sorry," said I, " that any thing which " Meerza Bozurg said to me, or I said to him, " which related solely to Persia, either of us " should wish to conceal from your Excellency ; " but if he has asked me to come privately to " him, to speak to me on family concerns, it is he " alone that can answer for the admission of a " third person." The Meerza then turned to his colleague, and said : " My Lord, I should certainly " have asked you to have done me the honor to " become my guest this evening, but you know

“ how strictly my table is the table of a dervish,
“ and that, therefore, those who give me the
“ honor of their company, are more likely to fast,
“ than to make even a comfortable meal ; and
“ though, from our long and intimate acquaint-
“ ance, I do not feel ashamed to ask Sir Harford
“ to partake of the same morsel that is put
“ before myself, and know that he will excuse
“ it, yet I should be very unwilling to ask a person
“ of your dignity, and who is so renowned for the
“ choiceness and magnificence of his entertain-
“ ments, to do the same. The business on which I
“ principally wished to converse with my old friend,
“ concerns my noble master, the Prince Royal, and
“ the affairs of his Government of Azarbaijan ;
“ and God knows, I am sufficiently aware of the
“ advantage it would be, that these should be dis-
“ cussed in your presence ; for, in what he is now
“ about to undertake, he will have frequent need
“ to make requests and representations to the
“ Shah ; which, if they are permitted to pass
“ through your Excellency’s hands, will be pre-
“ ferred with double force, and have a double
“ chance of success. If, therefore, you will con-
“ descend to honor the dervish with your com-
“ pany, he will expect you after the Shah’s evening
“ Court breaks up.”

The old Minister then turned to me, and said,
“ Before you go home, come and drink a cup of
coffee with me.” As soon as we entered his tent,

he called for coffee and caleans, and gave orders to his servant, to admit no one whilst I was with him. We sat down, and the Minister said, "I will not detain you long; but I want to tell you, that I approve of every word which you have just uttered to the Shah, and more particularly of the discreet language in which it was delivered; for sometimes you Fringees, when you think yourselves right, are not over polite. Moreover, I completely concur in the principles you laid down; but there are but few, who can tell the Shah such things as you have just done, or to whom he will listen with the patience he has bestowed on you. I will act most cordially with you, and particularly in all which concerns Turkey. I have one thing, however, to ask of you in return. We all know your influence over Meerza Bozurg; and knowing, (what is easy to perceive) now that you are going to make some stay at Tauris, the degree of influence which you will soon obtain with the Prince Royal, let me intreat you that, if instances and occasions should arise, in which his Royal Highness should think that I do not serve him as warmly with the Shah, as it might be in my power, *you will, in person and in private, make such explanations to him, as I shall furnish you with.*"—"I will, most willingly. I owe you every proper service in my power; and I will zealously perform

“ the promise I now make.” I then retired to my tent.

I hope the reader will not accuse me of unpardonable vanity, if I extract the following from the translation of the *Dynasty of the Khajars*:—

“ And every succeeding day, the admirable qualities, and sincere attachment, of Sir Harford Jones, Baronet, became more conspicuous in the area of demonstration. As most of the important treaties and transactions with the Othoman Government, and those of Europe, had been entrusted, by the royal command, to the Prince Viceroy, he did not allow himself a single moment’s repose, either in these points, or in his campaigns against the Russians, who, at this period, were hostile to Iran and England, and in alliance with France. The above-mentioned Envoy, therefore, with profound prudence, and reflecting foresight, judged it proper to remain near the illustrious and puissant heir to the Crown. As soon as he had completed the treaty, with some other details, he, by the royal command, stopped at Tabreez, and was engaged in attendance on the Prince Viceroy ; where, by his praiseworthy services, and elevation of sentiment, he attained unbounded confidence, and distinguished favor, to such a degree, as to become an object of envy to the most ancient servants of the Crown,—how much more to all others !”

After the evening Court had broken up, I found Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg in the latter's tent, and both them and myself, (for it was near ten o'clock) more ready for supper than for conversation. Our repast, in point of luxury, was certainly not beyond what Meerza Bozurg had promised, but every thing was excellent in its kind, and the cookery of the very best. There was a sort of costume in the dress of the Meerza's servants, which seemed to accord with that of their master, or indeed to be borrowed from it, and a quietness and humility in their motions and service, which was peculiarly striking. On the contrary, the head servants of Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, were generally richly dressed, pompous and bustling in their manners, and, where they dared to be so, rude, uncivil and rough. One of the servants of the latter, had, on a particular occasion, attempted to be so towards me, and I set him down, by asking, as a favor, that he would tell me whether it was *himself*, *his master*, or *the Shah*, who had ennobled him, in order that I might in future know in what manner to behave to him. By some means or other this got about, and it was not a little that the fellow heard of it afterwards.

After supper, as soon as we were by ourselves, the old Minister opened with the most unbounded praise of the Prince Royal, and how fortunate Persia was to possess a Prince of his talents and

virtues. To all this Meerza Bozurg assented, and spoke of the inhabitants of the province being greatly attached to him ; but added, that, though under the Prince's government, the revenues of the province had been considerably augmented, and the commerce of Tauris increased, still it was impossible for the Prince to support the military establishment wished by the Shah, without receiving assistance from His Majesty. Under the present system it might be possible, he said, to collect indeed a little more revenue, than was now done, but if it were attempted, it would be at the risk of creating disaffection in the Governors of several districts, a circumstance, which, no doubt, the Russians would be ready enough to take advantage of ; and as to the Prince's household establishment and expences, he could safely say they were managed and conducted with the greatest regularity, and the very utmost regard to economy, which was consistent with his dignity and credit. A very great trust and charge, would, in consequence of the resolutions adopted by His Majesty to-day, be thrown on His Highness, who, instead of this, had expected that the Shah himself would have taken a more active part in the campaign, and that therefore he would have had only to support his own troops, as an attached body, instead of having to provide for, and subsist the whole force employed. Meerza Sheffee acknowledged he saw this in the light in which Meerza Bozurg had represented it ;

“but,” said he, “you know as well as myself, that
“to get money out of the King is the most difficult
“cult of all things in the world, and in this case
“more particularly so, because there are persons
“continually representing to His Majesty the
“highly flourishing state of the province of Azar-
“baijan; and that has caused him to suppose, and
“it will be very difficult to undeceive him, that
“the Prince is forming a treasury.* It will be
“easy, indeed,” continued he, “to prevail on the
“Shah to give the Prince assistance, in troops, to
“any extent he asks for, but I fear the payment
“and subsistence of them must come from the
“Prince.” Meerza Bozurg said, “if that was to be
“the case, such troops would be an incumbrance
“instead of assistance, and as to what the Shah
“imagines, about the Prince laying by money, he
“would leave it to Meerza Sheffee’s own judgment,
“whether, with the troops the Prince had in his
“pay, the different establishments he had on foot
“for the improvement and safety of the country,
“the charge of his household, and the expence
“going on in the erection of the fort of Abbasabad,
“such a thing could be the case.” The Meerza
frankly acknowledged it could not; and added, “I
“greatly doubt, Meerza Bozurg, whether any of
“us could have managed as you and the Prince
“have done. All I can say is, before the English

* The word was *khaznah*, which means treasury, but the better English word here, perhaps, would be hoard.

“ Ambassador leaves the camp with you for Tauris,
“ either the Shah will ask to see him, or I will
“ contrive he shall see the Shah; and then instruct
“ your friend as to what can be reasonably asked,
“ and prevail on him to ask it. I will certainly
“ not only not oppose, but, as far as I can, will
“ assist the representations he makes. The Ameen-
“ ed-dowlah will probably do all in his power
“ to make the Shah think the Prince needs no
“ assistance from him; but he will be cautious, I
“ think, how he gets into an argument with your
“ friend, especially if he finds me shy in backing
“ him. This person certainly does contrive to
“ draw from Isfahaun, and the districts committed
“ to his charge, as well as from the general super-
“ intendance of the finance department, large sums
“ to the King’s coffers, and this gives him weight
“ and credit at Court; but I very much doubt
“ whether the system he is pursuing, is not that
“ of killing the goose to get at her eggs all at once.
“ It is curious to me that the Shah, who in other
“ things is so very sharp-sighted, should not be so
“ in this.” Such was the general bent of our conversation as it related to public matters, and it was very late when we parted.

There was not a long interval between this supper and my being required to attend the Shah. When I was introduced to him he was alone, and after the ordinary courtesies had passed between us, the Shah said:—“I hope you are satisfied with

“ the arrangement made for Abbas,—I have done
“ this to please you.”—I replied, “ every thing
“ which tends to the honor of the Prince Royal, or
“ places him in a situation of shewing his devotion
“ to your Majesty and his love of his country, I
“ shall always rejoice at ; but I am confident, that
“ your Majesty is too considerate and too generous
“ to expect, that the young lion should, without
“ assistance, do that which even the old one in the
“ plenitude of his strength would find difficulty in
“ performing.”—“ I do not understand you,” said
the Shah :—“ have I not promised to remain here
“ and assist Abbas ? have I not put a very large
“ force under his command ? am I not ready to
“ give him more troops if he wishes them ? but
“ you yourself advise that we should act on the
“ *defensive*, and therefore, I suppose, the troops
“ which have been appointed to attend him are
“ sufficient.”—I replied ; “ I have, please your Ma-
“ jesty, no fault to find with the numerical force
“ which the Prince is to command ; but your
“ Majesty knows, that, the more *men*, the more
“ *means* are required to keep them together and
“ in condition to act effectually : and you can
“ hardly imagine, that men who are expected to
“ be at all times on the alert, and to defend them-
“ selves and their country on all occasions, will
“ do either the one or the other with good will,
“ and as they ought to do, unless they have the
“ common necessities and comforts of life afforded

“ them,—and indeed, sometimes, the enjoyment
“ of the inferior luxuries of it. From what I have
“ seen of the Prince Royal, I cannot believe he
“ wishes to amass gold and leave his soldiers to
“ starve; but rely on it, unless His Royal High-
“ ness has the means of paying them and feeding
“ them properly, there must, in the end, be very
“ bitter consequences attending his present ex-
“ pedition.”—The King then said peevishly:—“ I
“ suppose you are sent here to ask me for money.”
—“ Your Majesty,” replied I, “ knows best whether
“ I am *sent*;—but I believe myself *sent for*.”—
“ Well, well,” said he, “ it is all the same thing,
“ you want money, and I have none to give;—
“ some fool or other has been telling you about
“ my wealth—where should it come from? I have
“ put a Prince in every province, and the report
“ I receive from them is, that the revenues of the
“ provinces do not do more than support the
“ charges of Government. It is true, that on the
“ Nourouze they send me presents, but what are
“ they?—not money—but horses, camels, mules,
“ sheep, shawls, pearls, and such sort of trumpery;
“ —the first, as you see, enables me to move about,
“ and then,” bursting into a laugh,—“ the women
“ coax me out of the two last. Of money, real
“ money, Mr. Ambassador, I get no more, as the
“ Ameen-ed-dowlah will tell you, than pays the
“ troops I keep on foot, and my household estab-
“ lishment. It is true, I have got a parcel of stones,

“ more perhaps than any other monarch has,—but
“ what are these worth in a case of this sort ? God
“ bless you,—you think, I suppose, that I am like
“ your King, who, you told me the other day,
“ spends 100 millions of tomans in a year. Why,
“ Mr. Ambassador, this is a sum no Persian King
“ ever saw in his sleep.*—No, no, Abbas must do
“ as well as he can, and when he wants help, and
“ sends for it, I will march to assist him.”

“ What your Majesty has just been pleased to
“ say,” replied I, “ really gives me great concern
“ and surprise, particularly after what we heard
“ from your Majesty a few days ago, on the mag-
“ nitude and extent of your resources ; however,
“ it is a great consolation to recollect that your
“ Majesty has declared *the interests of Persia*
“ *and England to be inseparable*. It has been
“ on this basis that the treaty between the two
“ countries has been negotiated and signed ; it has
“ been on this basis that a certain assistance in a
“ certain manner has been stipulated to be afforded
“ by England to Persia. Now I have not the
“ smallest doubt but that this treaty will receive
“ the ratification of my Sovereign ; but who will be
“ placed at your Majesty’s Court, for the purpose
“ of carrying it into execution, I know not. If it
“ should be myself, (which I do not think very
“ likely) I now frankly declare that I shall think it
“ my duty to take care that the whole of the as-

* *Der Khob ne deedet est.*

“sistance stipulated shall, in some manner or
“other, be applied to strengthen what I shall
“call (though improperly) the European frontier
“of Persia.

At this moment Meerza Sheffee, who, I take it for granted, had, in some part of the tent, heard every word which had passed, came in; and the Shah said, smiling, “Baba!* here is the English
“Ambassador come to ask me for money for
“Abbas; you know I have none except I borrow
“it of you or the Ameen-ed-dowlah.”—“Please
“your Majesty,” said the Meerza; “you know I
“have no money, but I am always ready to sell
“my pots and pans for your Majesty’s service;
“though as to the Ameen-ed-dowlah, I have no
“doubt, between himself and the merchants, and
“melon growers at Isfahaun, your application to
“him will not be in vain.” The Shah laughed very heartily, and turning to me, said;—“there,
“you hear what Baba says. I cannot take his
“pots and pans away from him, because he has
“got a little Prince† to feed, who will abuse the
“Meerza most bitterly if he does not get his

* Father.

† There was more fun and sarcasm in this, than the reader can be aware of, without some little explanation. Some time before, in private conversation between the King and his Minister, the latter, by way of pleasing the former, complimented him on his numerous progeny; and, unfortunately for himself, lamented that he had none. “Gad so,” said the Shah, “if that is the case, I
“will do the kindest thing in the world by you; one of my ladies
“was brought to bed last night of a Prince, and as soon as he is fit

“ dinner; and as to the merchants and melon
“ growers at Isfahaun, I know there is but one
“ being that they fear more to see amongst them
“ than the Ameen-ed-dowlah; so you see, Mr.
“ Ambassador, the thing is impossible.”

“ Not quite so much so as your Majesty sup-
“ poses, for I have a scheme to propose which
“ will save the Meerza’s pots and pans, and pre-
“ vent the merchants and melon growers at Isfa-
“ haun from being terrified by the appearance
“ amongst them of the Ameen-ed-dowlah, and
“ which I therefore hope your Majesty and the
“ Meerza will think a reasonable one. Whether
“ I am to have the honor to remain at your Ma-

“ to move, I will send him to you, with nurses, and eunuchs, and
“ other requisites of a proper establishment; and you shall adopt
“ him and bring him up; and so you will have a child without any
“ trouble.” In a little time afterwards, to the poor Meerza’s great
“ confusion, all that was promised arrived. This urchin was now
about six years old, and the trouble he gave the old man, and the
expense he put him to, was vexatious, and this the Shah knew
well. As an instance, I happened one morning at Tæheran to
wish to see the Meerza before he went to Court. It was very
early, and I was shewn into an apartment near the harem, very
richly furnished; but to my great astonishment, all the costly bro-
cade cushions and mattresses, covered with Cashmere shawl, were
slashed as if with a knife, in different places. Shortly after, the
Meerza made his appearance, and as soon as we had sat down, he
said with a great sigh, “ See what pretty work my princely son made
“ here last night, because I refused to purchase some very costly
“ jewels for his mother. God bless your country, where no man is
“ obliged to maintain a child whom he does not beget.”—“ Do not
“ be too sure of that, Meerza,” said I, “ though you may be sure the
“ King of England never sends his sons or daughters to his Mi-
“ nisters to be maintained and brought up.

“ jesty’s Court, or whether my Sovereign will
“ think proper to recall me, I cannot at present
“ tell ; but in either case, it will certainly make no
“ difference in the purpose to which the stipulated
“ assistance will be directed to be applied ; I there-
“ fore think myself fully justified in asking your
“ Majesty to consent to advance such part of this
“ to the Prince Royal as he may from time to time
“ find it necessary to call for. As long as I am
“ here, I will take care to see that what is called for
“ is fairly expended, and that no more is called for
“ at any time than is really wanting. At the same
“ time I must say that, from the conversation I
“ have had with Meerza Bozurg respecting the
“ Prince’s revenues and expenses, and from the
“ declaration of poverty which your Majesty has
“ been pleased to make, I must now ask for an
“ advance of the first year’s assistance to be given
“ to the Prince by two instalments ; one immediate,
“ the other to be paid at the end of the campaign,
“ unless circumstances should arise to make it in-
“ dispensibly necessary to ask for an earlier payment
“ of the last.” The King looked extremely sur-
prised, and it seemed to me as if all his gaiety
forsook him at once. He evidently was waiting
for Meerza Sheffee to start some objection to the
plan ; but whether the Meerza had not recovered
the allusion to the reason why he should keep his
pots and pans, or whether he was determined to
keep his word with myself and Meerza Bozurg,

he at all events kept silence. The Shah then very gravely and formally said "*Vizier-e-azem*," (*i. e.* Grand Vizier) why do not you speak? Being thus addressed, the Meerza said:—"Please your Majesty, although the assistance alluded to by the English Ambassador is to be given to your Majesty, it is nevertheless designed for a particular purpose, and of that purpose the English are to judge; and although that assistance neither has nor could have as yet arrived, there is no doubt that it will arrive; and I am sure your Majesty is too noble to wish to appropriate the smallest part of it to any other purpose than that which it was intended for; and therefore I do think that this would be a good opportunity to shew the King of England in what light you view the assistance, and what use you mean to make of it; besides, I must say, that from a conversation which passed between myself, Meerza Bozurg, and the Ambassador, a few nights ago, it is clear that the Prince must have assistance." The Shah then turned rather abruptly to me, and said:—" *Murrakus*," (*i. e.* you have leave); and just as I was going from under the fly of the tent, he called out, "you shall hear from me again." The reader will probably think, as I did at the time, that Meerza Sheffee had fairly redeemed the promise he had made in Meerza Bozurg's tent.

From the King I went to Meerza Bozurg's tent,

—his servant told me that he was with the Prince, and employed in auditing and settling accounts ; but that his master had left word, that if I came, he should be informed. I was on my way towards the Prince's tent, when a person came up to me in haste, and told me, that Meerza Sheffée, who was just behind, wished to speak to me. I looked back, and saw the Meerza, mounted on a mule, and accompanied by a numerous *cortège*, which was by no means very usual in the camp. When he came up to me, he said :—“ I am going, by the
“ Shah's order, to the Prince's tent ; but you must
“ turn back and get to your tent as soon as you
“ can, for there is one of the Meerzas of the court
“ sent to you, with a message from the king.”—
“ Have we got the money for the Prince ?” said I.
“ We have, and I am going to His Royal Highness
“ with the intelligence of the Shah's resolution.”

I reached my tent just in time to receive the Meerza, whose message, though on the whole, satisfactory, was a little comical in some particulars : which were,—that if the treaty was not ratified, I should engage to be answerable for the advance of assistance which the Shah was about to make. Having satisfied the Meerza on this point, and gone through the ceremonies of the visit, I was left by myself. From my tent I saw Meerza Sheffée returning, and as he appeared to be pointing his course towards my tent, I went out to meet him ;—when we met, he said, “ I in-

“tended to pay you a visit, but I am in a hurry
“to get back to the Shah, therefore I can only
“stop to ask you if you will come and sup with
“me to-night, and meet Meerza Bozurg, whom I
“have just left with the Prince, in high spirits.
“The Prince wishes much to see you, and I think
“you had better go to him, as he purposes to leave
“camp to-morrow.” I went immediately, with
only one servant, and on foot, towards the Prince
Royal’s tent, where I found orders had been given
to admit me to the Prince’s presence as soon as I
arrived.

I found the Prince and Meerza Bozurg up to
their waists in papers,*—the Meerza came towards
me as soon as I entered the tent, and said:—“the
“Prince not only wishes to thank you before he
“leaves the camp, but to tell you, in general terms,
“what he means to do.” As soon as I had sat
down, the Prince said:—“You have done me a
“service I never can forget; nor can I tell you
“how much I feel obliged by your consenting to
“take up your residence, during the winter, at
“Tauris, where every thing in my power shall be
“done to make it as comfortable to you as possible,
“though you must not expect much quiet, for I
“shall send for you on all emergencies. Meerza
“Bozurg will take leave of the Shah in two or
“three days more, and you will then accompany

* The reader will please to remember both these personages
were seated on their heels on the ground.

“ him to Tauris, when he will acquaint you and
“ the gentlemen with what has been done, what is
“ doing, and what is wished to be done.” The
Prince then entered into a detail of many designs
and plans, which appeared to me, on the whole,
to be very judicious. I said :—“ Your Royal
“ Highness will give me leave to tell you one
“ thing, which, perhaps, Meerza Sheffee’s modesty
“ did not allow him to do—which is, that he gave
“ me the most effectual assistance, in my inter-
“ view with the King, and from the manner in
“ which he spoke, I must think that he has your
“ Royal Highness’s interest greatly at heart.”—“ I
“ know no reason why he should not,” said the
Prince ; “ he is dreadfully afraid of Mohammed
“ Ally Meerza, and therefore, whatever Moham-
“ med* asks him to do, he never refuses ; he is a
“ very able Minister, greatly attached to the Shah,
“ who, he says, saved his life more than once, in my
“ great uncle’s time :—the Shah has great confidence
“ in him, and the Meerza can do just as he likes
“ with the Shah. He is apt to be sly, but I really
“ believe he will now act cordially with us, for he
“ speaks very well of you.” After some farther
civilities, I left the Prince, and early the next
morning he commenced his march.

On our way to the Chemen Oujan, we had
halted at a little village by the way-side, called

* I never heard the Prince, when speaking of Mohammed Ally
Meerza, call him Brother.

Tikmedash, and I cannot now exactly recollect what it was that detained me there the next day. The situation of the village is on the bank of a ravine, at the bottom of which runs a little stream of pure water, the current of which has probably formed the ravine itself. Our tents were pitched on one bank of the ravine, and the village stood on the other, and some of my best horses were stabled in the village, which induced me to make a visit to it the next morning. I was extremely pleased with the manner in which the villagers received me ; and at the invitation of the Khedkhodah, I went to drink coffee with him. When in England, I had been a dabbler in farming—and there was then one (alas ! now no more !) who took as much delight, and was better versed in the mysteries of it, than myself, so that the concern was always going on whilst I was out of the country. I had held an opinion that one of the greatest improvements of which Persia was susceptible, was in her agriculture, and in consequence thereof, whenever I had an opportunity of conversing with the villagers on this subject, I never failed to avail myself of it.

I found the Khedkhodah of Tikmedash extremely intelligent ; and, what was more, I discovered that the land belonging to the village was precisely of the very nature and description on which one would wish to commence a series of experimental improvements. It consisted of con-

siderable pasturages, and excellent tillage, with a very tolerable command of water. When I came to question my friend as to the number of his stock, I found, that considering the extent of his land, it turned out to be "a beggarly account of "empty boxes," and on seeking the reason for this, it appeared to be just what I guessed, that is—the difficulty of wintering the cattle. He was well aware of the benefit tillage-land receives from manure, and what something surprised me, he was well aware of the benefit grass-land received from irrigation.* He understood too the advantage which might be derived from enclosures and judicious plantations: "for," said he, "we are blown "away in winter and spring, and burnt up in "summer." I learnt from him, also, that the stock of hay he could depend on, was but small, from the difficulty of preventing trespasses of various sorts, on the grass, and that the chief, or nearly the sole dependence for winter fodder, was on straw. The land, he told me, was cultivated by thirds,† which is a very customary manner in

* No people understand the benefit which irrigation confers, better than the Persians; but then it is confined to seeds, at least as far as I had yet observed; but there was near this village a little patch of delightful turf, over which the water, after passing through the village, trickled, and this probably made my honest Khedkhodah aware of what good water would do on good grass land.

† Two thirds, proprietors; one third, cultivators. The division is made after the demands of Government, and the seed requisite for the next year, are deducted.

Persia and Arabia ; and, all things considered, I did not see that there were any very serious permanent evils, though many occasional ones, which my friends, the villagers, had to complain of. The dwelling of the Khedkhodah was certainly not what an English farmer, renting £1000, or £600, would have been contented with, but according to Persian notions, it was comfortable, and there seemed to be (as I found afterwards to be actually the case) no want of many good things, and even luxuries, inside of the house.

As brother farmers, the Khedkhodah and myself soon became very intimate, and I asked him, if I were to put him in a way to winter his stock, to what number beyond the present, he thought he could increase it. His answer was very satisfactory :—" Indeed, I can hardly imagine ; because I should have so much more straw, so much more manure, that I cannot tell what I could do."—" Do you think, if you raised ten times more straw, you could keep ten times more cattle ?"—" Pretty near it."—" Do you think, if one half of the winter keep of your beasts was made to arise from something else than straw, that you could then increase your present stock of cattle ten-fold ?"—" No doubt."—" What is the return of seed your land makes at present ?"—" On the average, manure and no manure, about twenty."—" Why do not you manure the whole ?"—" Because we can neither

“ make it, nor obtain it in any other way.”—
“ What do you think the land would yield, if well
“ manured ?”—“ I cannot tell, but I should think
“ more than double.”—“ How much land can you
“ plough in a day ?”—“ By sticking at it well,
“ about (mentioning a measure) a third of an
“ acre.”—“ Do you think, if such improvements
“ were made in your present husbandry imple-
“ ments, as would enable you to do double the
“ quantity of work in the same quantity of time,
“ would it be an advantage to you ?”—The honest
fellow laughed heartily, and said, “ Can you ask
“ that question seriously ?”—“ Do you think any
“ improvement could be made in the size of your
“ stock ?”—“ There might ; if we could keep them
“ better in winter, they would grow bigger.”

I spent the greater part of the day in walking
with my honest friend, over the land about the
village. He seemed to understand and admire, to
a certain degree, every account I gave him, of the
systems of farming pursued in England ; but no-
thing pleased him more than the account I gave
him, (though an imperfect one) of the thrashing
machine. I really parted from this man with some
regret ; and I could have been very well con-
tented, had I had nothing else to do, to have re-
mained at Tikmedash, and witnessed the agricul-
tural proceedings of the village. On our parting,
I told my friend, if I remained any time in the
King’s camp, I would pay him frequent visits ;

and he said, "If you are in this country next spring, you shall be most heartily welcome to soil your horses here."

I have troubled the reader with all this, because he will find, by and by, it will be alluded to, in a conversation between Meerza Bozurg and myself, on the different branches of improvement of which the Persian Empire is susceptible. During my residence in the King's camp, I kept my promise to my friends at Tikmedash; and each time that I visited them, they rose in my good opinion, and my regard for them increased.

In the evening of the day on which the Prince marched from the royal camp, the Shah sent for me to attend him. He received me most kindly; and, after asking me if I had seen the Prince before his departure, he told me, he had now sent for me, because he thought I might imagine he was displeased with me for what I had said the other day—which, he assured me, he was not. I told him, his displeasure would, at any and all times, be a matter of great concern to me; and I hoped, I should never incur it; but I had no suspicion that, in telling him the truth, and that truth for his benefit, I was ever likely to be so unfortunate. He then asked me a variety of questions about the face of the country, the Government, the buildings, &c. in England,—puzzled himself exceedingly with the different powers of the King and the Company, as to India,—wondered how the

King let the Company have an army,—and wondered still more, that the King could not do just as he pleased with the whole revenue of his kingdom. Finding that I had been in America, he asked me a great many droll questions about that country, of which, the public have already been told, the Persians have very absurd ideas. Notwithstanding the *oddity*—and, perhaps, what other people might choose to call the *absurdity*—of these questions, it was most evident to me, that the Shah possessed not only a very strong, but a very amiable mind; and the remarks which he made, and the inferences he drew from time to time, manifested very considerable powers of reflection. He said: “I can easily conceive how a
“country, under such regulations as you state
“England to be, may do all that you say; but I
“have no idea, if I was to attempt to-morrow to
“introduce such things here, how we should all
“live, or how there would be any government at
“all. Supposing I was to call a Parliament at
“Tæheran, and deliver up to it the whole power of
“taxation, I should then never get a penny—for no
“Persian parts with money, unless he is obliged
“to do it; and more than that, the Khans* would
“be for making the buckalls pay all, and the
“buckalls would be for doing the same thing by
“the Khans. It must take a long time to make
“such a Government, and such a people, as yours.

* The Khans are the lords, the Buckalls are the burgesses.

“ Our Government is simple, and the people know
“ all about it in a day. Our laws are much simpler
“ than yours,—and so far they are better ; and I
“ know by experience, that, under these laws, and
“ under this Government, Persia has improved
“ very much since I came to the throne.” The
Shah then spoke in very high terms of the Prince
Royal,—how extremely desirous he was to obtain
every sort of information ; and said, with much
good humour, “ If I give you leave to remain at
“ Tauris during the winter, he will plague you
“ with questions more than I do.” I passed nearly
two hours with His Majesty, and came away de-
lighted with my reception, and his affability. At
parting, he said : “ You will not make a very long
“ stay in Tauris now, but return to camp as soon
“ as you and Meerza Bozurg have finished your
“ business.”

In two or three days afterwards, Meerza Bozurg
and I set out for Tauris, which was little more than
twenty miles distant from the camp. Nothing
could be more simple than the manner in which the
Meerza travelled. He rode a mule, the trappings
of which were perfectly *à la dervéische*. He had
a servant, who carried a cloak-bag, and his calean.
He had a groom, who led a sumpter mule, that
carried some articles of refreshment, and common
small carpets ; and he had his own favorite per-
sonal servant, who was at once his secretary, his
amanuensis, and humble friend. The Meerza's

conversation on the road was delightful ; it was a constant effusion of portions of history, anecdote, and recital of beautiful poetry, much of which was from the poems of his late uncle, Meerza Hossein. The country we passed through fully justified a recollection of those lines of Shakspeare, in the second part of *Henry the Fourth*:—

- “ I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire ;
- “ These high wild hills, and rough, uneven ways,
- “ Draw out our miles, and make them wearisome ;
- “ And yet your fair discourse has been as sugar,
- “ Making the hard way sweet and delectable.”

About two o'clock we reached the village of Bosmeech, at the end of which there is a little grove of Lombardy poplars, along one side of which, or rather at the foot of it, a beautiful little stream of the purest water passes. Here the Meerza said, “ What say you to dismounting and
“ resting ourselves and our beasts under the pleasant shade of these trees ? ” It was so agreed, and after pitching on a beautiful spot for spreading the carpets, there appeared in a very short time, from the Meerza's sumpter-mule, a nice cold collation, consisting of partridge, excellent cheese, fruit, fine bread, and water-cresses gathered fresh on the spot, and added to this, I must say the Meerza's coffee, and the tobacco of his calean, were exquisite. There was a degree of devotion in the Meerza's grace before he began to eat, and an expression of thankfulness and thanksgiving in

that which he uttered after, that were particularly striking, and to me, who knew him so well, I may say affecting ; and it was in perfect keeping with this, that whilst we were smoking our caleans, he began to say how little he wanted in this world, and how much he thanked God for having *taken from his eyes* all love of wealth ; to which circumstance alone he ascribed his having been able safely to weather all the dreadful political storms he had met with. When we had finished our caleans, he stretched himself out at his length on the carpet, and fell fast asleep. I do not envy the man who could contemplate such a spectacle as this with indifference. Here was a great Minister of a great Empire, who could command

“ The perfum'd chambers of the great,

“ —The canopies of costly state,

“ —With sounds of sweetest melody,

“ —And all appliances and means to boot,”

sleeping, and sleeping soundly, with just the same “ appliances ” that were enjoyed by the commonest servant of our train. It was not long after my friend had fallen asleep, that the villagers of Bosmeech, having heard where the *Great Man* was, came out in a body to compliment him, and to beseech him to honor the village with his presence. I acquainted the principal person of the procession, that the Meerza was asleep, and they immediately postponed their visit till the evening was farther advanced, and the Meerza awoke.

When this happened, it was the time for the Prayer of Asser, and I was rather surprised to see his servant lay for him one of the most beautiful prayer carpets I ever saw in my life. The Meerza saw I looked rather astonished, and he said, "this is the only luxury I indulge in; this carpet is spread before God. It is perfectly *halaul*,* for it is purchased with money earned by my own hands."

The Meerza having prepared himself by the necessary ablutions, put himself in the front of his three servants, and performed the evening prayer; this finished, I told him that the people of the village had been to pay him a visit: "I am sorry for it," replied he, "I had hoped to have escaped them. I have more trouble with Bosmeech, than all the rest of Azarbaijan. The greater part of the land about the village is *wakef*, and the Peesh-namaz at Tauris is the procurator of it; he is a true moollah, ignorant of the affairs of the world, suspicious, and greedy; he thinks he never gets from the villagers as much as he ought, and they think, in return, he gets more than his due; he tells them they will go to the devil for cheating him, and they tell him he will go there for extortion;" and then smiling, the Meerza said, "there may be some truth on both sides." He had scarcely

* Meats and other things, according to the Mohammedan religion, are divided into *Halaul* and *Haram*, (*i. e.* lawful, and forbidden.)

finished this speech, before the villagers arrived with their Khedkhodah, who was a moollah and cadi, at their head. It turned out just as the Meerza predicted :—half a dozen persons entered on half a dozen different stories of grievance at once,—but the Meerza stopped them by saying,—“ My good friends, you know how ready I am to hear you all at proper times, but the present is an extremely improper one, for there stands the English Ambassador, and we must not entertain him with squabbles about barley and water melons ;” and then turning to the moollah’s son, a boy about ten years old, who imitated his father’s priestly consequence, and who had a large clerical turban on his head, he said,—“ Come, Ismael, let me see what advance you have made in your studies ?”—The Meerza then repeated an *aiyet*, or *verset*, of the Koran, which he told the boy to interpret and explain ; the boy bungled exceedingly :—“ this will never do,” said the Meerza, “ you will never be a cadi at this rate.” He then told another child to bring him his writing ; the Meerza looked at it, and said,—“ You are a very good boy, you shall go into the Prince’s service in the Defter-Khoneh in another year.”* I observed this boy to pass in amongst his playfellows with that kind of air and countenance which plainly said,—“ there, my brave boys, do you hear what

* *Defter Khoneh*. Literally, House of Books ; but is generally applied to the revenue, or accompt office.

“ the great Meerza has said to me ? ” The Meerza made all the grown persons sit down, gave them coffee, spoke something kind or jocular to every one of them ; and when we mounted, they all crowded round the Meerza’s mule, and accompanied him for the distance of a mile, and only left him at his request.

Between the camp and Bosmeech, we passed over ground which some years before had been rent by a succession of earthquakes in the most extraordinary manner ; and on the left hand of the road, I was shewn a mountain, riven at that time from top to bottom. This dreadful calamity took place in the year 1724, and cost Tauris or Tabreze the lives of 100,000 of its inhabitants. As we approached the city, towards the close of the evening, we were met by a prodigious concourse of people, who all seemed delighted to see Meerza Bozurg, and at some distance forward on the road, we perceived a little party, which had made a halt by the side of it, which, as soon as the Meerza saw, he said to me :—“ Well, the women have “ sent Mousa out to meet you ; this is more than “ I thought they would.” When we came nearly opposite to the little party, we stopped ; they came forward, and the little boy having been assisted to dismount from his horse, ran towards his father, who called out to him,—“ Mousa, remember there “ is a stranger here who is very dear to me ; ” on which, the child came up to me, and said very

gravely, and as loud as his infantine voice would permit, "*Salam aleikoum.*" I got off my horse, and caressed him, and he then said:—"I have been with my *lala*," (*i. e.* my tutor,) "all day at your house, getting it ready for you, and your dinner will be ready for you as soon as you get there. I must go now and talk to baba." Mousa was then just eight years old, and a more lovely pleasing child I never saw. At this early age, the children of Persian noblemen are dressed like men in miniature. Mousa had his little sabre, his high boots, and except pistols and carabine, all the other paraphernalia of a Persian Khan when travelling. The Meerza's eyes were suffused with tears, as he received his child on his return from me, and for the remainder of the journey, he was the person amongst us all most thought of and most attended to.

The Meerza was so good as to accompany me to the house which had been prepared for me, where I found every thing little Mousa had said, most exactly fulfilled; and shortly after reaching it, a dinner was served up, to which the greatest voluptuary in London might have sat down with pleasure. The dinner was sent in the name of Mousa's mother, and the *Nazir*, or steward of her household, who accompanied it, brought me, at the same time, a present of a handkerchief, beautifully embroidered, and a message importing:—"that both the Meerza and herself were derveishes,

“ and therefore not able to send me such dinners
“ as I had formerly received at Schyras, from their
“ uncle and aunt ; but that I should do them a
“ pleasure to accept it such as it was.”

Early the next morning I had a visit from Mousa and his Lala, and the little boy said : “ I am come,
“ Sir, to ask how you slept last night, whether you
“ want anything, and to tell you, that as soon as
“ as my father has dismissed some people who are
“ come on business to him, he is coming to see
“ you : in the meantime he has sent you breakfast,
“ and me to breakfast with you :—besides which
(said he joyously) Lala has given me a holiday,
“ and I am to walk with you and my father to the
“ citadel.” About midday the Meerza honored me with a visit, and we afterwards proceeded together to the *Ark* or citadel, to view different military establishments and *karkhanas* (*i. e.* workshops) the Prince had set on foot. To a person whose head was only capable of judging of these by comparing them with the same sort of things in his own country, they, most likely, would have appeared very poor, and perhaps ludicrous, and have afforded another opportunity to let off some of that species of wit against Persia and the Persians, which has been already so amply exercised with considerable profit, as I am told, to the performers. To me, however, who had pondered on the Prince Royal’s means (in the broadest sense of the word) who knew the short, very short time,

in which all I saw before me was done, the sight of these things presented the germs of political strength and science, which I rejoiced to behold, and furnished the most indisputable evidence, how assiduously the French gentlemen placed about the Prince had fulfilled the instructions they had received. I spoke to Meerza Bozurg as I felt, of what I saw, and he replied, "Ah, now we have got you here, we will do much more than this." In the course of our examining the citadel, we entered a room, in which the young men whom the French gentlemen had undertaken to instruct in geometry, gunnery, &c., were sitting pursuing their studies. Whilst there, their *chaust* or dinner was brought in:—a Persian *chaust* generally consists of little more than bread, fruit, cheese, butter, some leaves of savoury and other herbs, water-cresses, and the tops of small onions, to which if a skewer of kabob be added, the meal is complete: the beverage commonly used is the *palaudeh*, a species of sherbet, in which little balls of paste about the size of buck-shot, of a delicious flavor, are swimming; the whole cooled by a large lump of ice, which floats in the middle of the bowl. "Come," said the Meerza, "let us sit down and take our dinner with these young men, for you will have no other dinner to-day; and as for supper, it will be prepared for you in my cell at home." We did so, and it was heart-cheering to see the delight and surprise which shone in the countenances of the tyros at

receiving so great and unexpected an honor from Meerza Bozurg. They instantly rose, and put themselves in a posture of the greatest respect,—“*Bensheen bismillah*,” (sit down in the name of God) said the Meerza, which last is the Persian grace, and we all fell heartily to.

Having remained busied in the Ark about three hours, the Meerza said: “I must not now keep you here longer, because the principal persons of the city are coming to visit you, and you must be at home to receive them.”—I said, “I hope not, for I have neither servants nor anything wherewith to receive them properly.”—“You will find it all ready,” replied the Meerza, “when you go home, I have given orders about it:”—and so he had most effectually. To my surprise I was visited by the great dignitaries of the Church and the law, men who are generally pretty stiff-necked in matters of this sort, and therefore, I am quite sure, I owed their complaisance towards me to the exhortations of my excellent friend. The comparative truth of Ptolomeyan and Copernican systems is a never-ending as well as a safe and innocent topic of conversation with these gentlemen: but they resist all light on the subject, pretty much on the same principle that the Pope and the monks resisted the light of Galileo.—“What you say cannot be true, because the Koran says, the earth stands still and the sun moves round it,—and the Koran is at least the Word of God.” I had

the pleasure of receiving several most intelligent merchants, who had known me at Bagdad, and to some of whom I had been serviceable in their affairs there.—From these gentlemen I afterwards obtained much valuable information on the commerce of the province, and the great, important, and various improvements, of which it was susceptible.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, the personal servant, already mentioned, of Meerza Bozurg, came to conduct me to his master; and after threading some very narrow and intricate lanes, we entered, by a very low gate, into a little crooked sort of open passage, at the end of which there was a very bad staircase placed against the side of a wall, pretty much like a staircase to a granary in some of our farm-yards; at the top of which there was a little landing-place covered over, which served for a *kefsh-ken*, or a place to take off the shoes. On one side of this was a very strong door, which opened into a room, the size of which, at the very utmost, was eight feet square, and which was nearly filled with a prodigious quantity of loose papers. At the one end of this (literally) cell, the Meerza was seated, and by him a great Khajar nobleman of the first rank. As soon as I put my foot into the room, the Meerza rose and came towards me with the *Salam Aliekoom*, the heartiest greeting a Mohammedan can give a Christian, and led me by the

hand to a seat close to him. The nobleman, as I sat down, nodded his head; and as this is the way in Persia which a person, greatly superior, receives a person very much inferior, all the notice I took of him, was to nod my head in return. He very shortly left us. "That man," said the Meerza, "asked me as a favor, to let him stay here till you came. I always knew he was a Bear, but if I could have imagined him to be as true an *Ouzbeg** as he has proved himself, I would have turned him out of doors before you came. He is the greatest plague I have. He is really a man of some consequence; but he fancies himself to be of ten times more than he really is; he continually pesters me with what great offers the Russians have made him, and therefore what a right he has to expect the highest marks of the Shah's favor. For my part, I do think his fidelity to his country at this moment doubtful, and he, probably before it is long, will do something which will oblige me to advise His Majesty to have him in *surveillance*, that is, to insist on his constant attendance at court."

Until supper was brought in, we talked of old times at Schyras. The Meerza, with tears running down his face, spoke of his late royal master's son, Khosrow, and of the trouble he had had to make

* The *Ouzbegs* are proverbial amongst the Persians for bad manners.

him accommodate and conform himself to the cruel circumstances of his fate. He said Khosrow was a Prince of a most royal spirit, and of undaunted courage; and that he, the Meerza, was for some time, as the Prince grew up, under constant apprehension of hearing that something disagreeable had happened, but that latterly he had succeeded in giving him a religious turn, which, said the Meerza, “if it cannot remedy, will at least teach him to bear his misfortunes with resignation and patience.” Our supper finished—the Meerza then said:—“I have been extremely anxious to have you here a little time to myself, that we might talk over the many and important things I have to say to you, without that interruption which we should have been subject to in the camp; and before you came to take up your winter-quarters with the Prince.

“I shall first of all read over to you our latest correspondence with Turkey, the whole of which is committed to me. From this you will perceive that the Porte, although she has not refused, has not yet consented to send a Minister to Tæheran; though I do not doubt but through your means with Mr. Adair, she will speedily resolve to do so; for it is one of the things I have greatly at heart, to keep up the best understanding between the Shah and the Grand Signor. But that on which to-night I principally wish to converse, are three great projects,

“ I have in my head, none of which can be entered
“ on properly, or can be expected to be executed,
“ without the assistance of yourself and your Go-
“ vernment. Things here are now in a state that
“ the Prince Royal, myself, and yourself, can do any
“ thing with the Shah, who is a most excellent
“ person, and adorned with great qualities and
“ abilities. Nothing could be more fortunate than
“ your comical adventure with Meerza Sheffee ;
“ and that which would have made him the most
“ bitter enemy to any one else, who had treated
“ him as you did, has had (it is very curious) the
“ effect of sincerely attaching him to you. I be-
“ lieve I may attribute this much to the King
“ having told him, when he wanted to make a
“ state affair of it, that he was in the wrong, and
“ that he got no more than he deserved ; and,
“ in the next, the little hesitation he sees you
“ make, in telling the Shah all you think, and that
“ he is afraid lest at some time or other, on being
“ consulted, you may say something which may
“ injure him in his master’s opinion ; for I know,
“ more than once the Shah has said to him :—‘ I
“ will ask the Fringee about that.’ Be all this as
“ it may, he is heart and soul with us, and either
“ from love or fear, it does not signify which, he
“ will not thwart any thing you propose.”

“ Now nothing has proved more disadvanta-
“ geous to this empire, than the policy it has
“ observed towards the Armenians, from the fall

“ of the Sheffee family to the present moment.
“ The wisest of that race, culpable as he was in
“ many other respects, saw their consequence to
“ the state, and cherished them as a man does a
“ hive of honey bees, and he contrived to get the
“ honey without destroying the insects ; but the
“ monarchs who succeeded him, cared not what
“ became of the bees, provided they got the honey :
“ —the honey was soon exhausted—and the work-
“ ing bees all either fled away or were killed,
“ leaving with us nothing but the drones. O my
“ friend ! we owe more than half our misfortunes
“ with Russia to these people ; but then the folly
“ and cruelty, not of the Shah, for he is well in-
“ clined towards them, but of our frontier pro-
“ vincial Governments, have forced them to emi-
“ grate, and forcing them to emigrate, they have
“ become the subjects of our enemy. The old
“ Armenians would have borne almost any thing
“ rather than have quitted Isfahaun—it was their
“ paradise ;—the present Armenians, I am certain,
“ under the circumstances I am about to mention
“ to you, would return to it in shoals. The treaty
“ you have just signed, gives yourself and your
“ Government a right to interfere in every thing
“ which promotes the strength of the empire.
“ Persia, most willingly, I may almost say thank-
“ fully, admits it. That which I wish of you is,
“ that you would draw up an *Ahud Nameh*, (*i. e.*
“ charter for the Armenians) and prevail on your

“ King to send it here, with a recommendation
“ that we should consider it, and accept it; but,
“ to produce all the good I expect, it must contain
“ one vital article;—that is, that the privileges
“ granted to the Armenians, under this charter,
“ should be placed under the guardianship of the
“ English Ambassador at Tæheran; and that, be-
“ sides this the Shah should declare him to be the
“ head and protector of every sect of Christians in
“ Persia. You are fully acquainted with all the
“ privileges granted them by the patent of Shah
“ Abbas the Great; some of these may be confirmed
“ as they stand, others will require to be liberally
“ extended. What has a difference in faith to do
“ with preventing that which is for the public
“ good? If Persia had acted on this principle,
“ what business have your excellent and valuable
“ subjects in India, the Parsees, out of their own
“ country, or thousands of industrious Armenians,
“ to be, at this moment, exiles in Russia.

“ You must be aware how little, as a Persian, I
“ like the Russians. I see them, in their com-
“ merce in the northern part of this empire,
“ enriching themselves, and beggaring us. I wish
“ to put a stop to this before it is too late. With
“ the assistance of England and Turkey, this may
“ be done; but we are not able to effect it of
“ ourselves. Make (as you can) the Black Sea to
“ us, what the Caspian is at present. Upon the
“ importation of goods and merchandize by that

“ route, you shall have the lowest tariff of customs
“ you can possibly wish. In a short time, our
“ commerce with Russia will not only beggar us,
“ but she will rob and bully us into the bargain.
“ You have been a merchant,—you have had large
“ dealings in Persia,—you know I am talking
“ sense.—I want England to have the whole Eu-
“ ropean, as well as Indian, trade of this empire.
“ I want her to be to us, what the case of this
“ inkstand is to the inkstand itself;”^{*}—and he
struck the one into the other, with great vio-
lence.

“ You must also have observed the miserable
“ state of our cultivators,—the imperfect security
“ our landed proprietors possess for their property.
“ This must be put an end to. The wretched
“ system of killing the goose for her eggs, must
“ no longer be permitted to exist. The reform
“ must begin with the royal domains. It is a joke
“ to talk about property where there is no secu-
“ rity; and the real strength of the kingdom does
“ not lie in a parcel of Moollahs, Taujers, and

^{*} The inkstand which the Meerzas carry about with them, are made of papier-maché beautifully painted,—they are in two parts, one shutting into the other; one is the case, the other a sort of little tray, in which at one end is placed the ink; and then the pens, a pen-knife, and a bit of ivory, for nipping the pens upon, and a lump of gum, for fastening the letter, are laid lengthwise. The great Ministers never wear these inkstands in their girdles, but large rolls of either state papers, or blank papers.

“ Buckalls ;* but in the Beeldars (*i. e.* the peasantry).”

The Meerza had now worked himself into a strong fit of enthusiasm, and said : “ Sir ! with good management, the produce, and consequently the revenue, of Persia, may be centupled ; and this you know better than any man living. Will you assist ?”

I said, “ my dear Meerza, I fear your Church.” —“ Church, Sir ! do not talk to me of my Church, there is nobody respects it more than I do ; I always listen with apparent submission and respect to all which the ministers of it represent to me, but I know the exact value of their advice, and I never suffer it to turn me aside from undertaking any act I think for the public good ; but I am not going to turn Christian ; both your book, and my book, are in their essence the same :—they both say, *fear and love God, be honest, be charitable, be just.*—The Koran, fairly and literally interpreted, will answer all the purposes we have in hand, as well as the Gospel. Your conversation with the people of Tikmedash has been reported to me. I am delighted with it ; you and I will take that district in hand together ; example in Persia will do every thing ; we do not see a man make a whistle here, without trying to imitate the

* Priests, merchants, and shopkeepers.

“ whistle. If you and I can get a bigger cow,
“ better sheep, more corn, more grass, than at
“ present, we shall have plenty of people wanting
“ and wishing to do the same—the Persians are
“ not fools—though the nature of our Govern-
“ ment sometimes makes them rogues—will you
“ assist? will you assist, my friend?”

“ My dear Meerza, I am lost in wonder at the
“ magnitude and the justice of your conceptions,
“ though knowing you so long and so well as I do
“ they ought not to surprise me; but it will require
“ years to execute them, and it is very probable my
“ residence in Persia will be limited to a few months
“ —at all events you can open these magnificent
“ and virtuous projects to my successor,—but
“ I give you my word, if unexpectedly I am con-
“ tinued in Persia, I will embark with you in all
“ your projects, as far as is consistent with my
“ duties and character of British Minister, pro-
“ vided I receive no orders from my own govern-
“ ment to the contrary.”—“ *If you should receive*
“ *such orders,*” said the Meerza, “ *if England*
“ *does not act as a kind nurse to Persia, and*
“ *if Persia does not make a grateful return*
“ *to her foster-mother, we have been deceiving*
“ *ourselves sadly, and you have suffered severely*
“ *for no purpose!*”

Here the morning broke, and the Meerza arose to his morning prayer, and I to return home. I will now make a confession which has never before

passed my lips, nor dropped from my pen; I regret, from my soul, that I requested my wish to return home from Persia should be laid before my sovereign. Reader, do not think me mad;—it seems strange to me at this day, and it will seem strange to me till my dying day, that humble as I am, I should twice in my life have been on the verge of being one of the instruments, under God, of effecting great changes in the condition of the Persian empire. Had I been acquainted with the whole of Meerza Bozurg's great views before I tendered my resignation, no earthly power or consideration should have made me do it; for as it regarded Meerza Bozurg alone, after our long, uninterrupted, and I will add, affectionate friendship, it would have been an act,

———— quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes

Nec poterit ferrum."

should have prevailed on me to commit.*

It will easily be imagined that the three texts of Meerza Bozurg produced from us both very ample commentaries, and furnished us with sufficient matter for conversation and reflection during the remainder of the time we staid together at Tauris.

Shortly after my return to the royal camp, the Shah sent for me, and in joke said, "what have you and your old friend been hatching at

* Under the head of Baron Wrede, the reader will find matter enough to convince him what was the nature of the communications which passed between Meerza Bozurg and myself.

“ Tauris ; I dare say you did nothing but criticise
“ the Shah and Meerza Sheffee all day long.” I
said, “ I assure your Majesty I always speak more
“ favorably of Meerza Sheffee to others, and when
“ I am away from him, than I do to himself.” The
old man replied with great vivacity :—“ By the
“ King’s life the Ambassador speaks truth, for he
“ often talks to me very roughly.” The Shah was
extremely pleased with the account I gave him of
what I had seen at Tauris, and said, “ *Abbas merd*
“ *est*,” (Abbas is a man.)

A few days before the camp broke up to return
to Tæheran, I took up my abode at Tikmedash,
in order from this place to meet the Shah on his
first day’s march home, and to have my audience
of leave ; to this I was advised by Meerza Sheffee,
who told me the Shah would take my so doing as
a compliment to him. To make myself quite at
home with the excellent villagers, I carried with
me no tent, but literally became one of the family
of the Kedkhodah, lodged in his house, eating of
his meat and drinking of his cup, wherefore our
good understanding mightily increased ; and I
could call all the little boys and girls of the village
by their several names, so that when I went out
with my gun, I had a whole village always follow-
ing me, and enjoying the sport as much as I did
myself.

The Shah’s first *munzil*, or halt, from Oujoon,
was about three miles beyond Tikmedash ; and, to

my great delight, two days before it commenced, there came a Firman addressed to the Kedkhodah, absolving the village from all contribution of grain, provender, &c., which was collected for the Shah's use and consumption at his halt ; and expressly stating that this immunity was granted because the English Ambassador was residing there, and that he might be amply supplied with all he wanted. There was no compliment which I received in Persia which I felt more sensibly than this ; and as to my villagers, (as they already called themselves) I thought they would have lost their senses with delight. We had a large bonfire by the side of the village at night, and the women were exercising their lungs with the accustomed cry of joy, as if something the most extraordinary and fortunate had happened.

It was the latter end of October when the Shah commenced his march from Oujoon ; the weather had become not only cool, but cold, and we had once or twice before very smart showers of cold rain. His Majesty had been prevented by some business, or something or other, setting out from Oujoon at the hour which had been notified to me ; and the consequence therefore was, that I had to wait by the road-side near two hours. The etiquette observed on the occasion of an audience on horseback is—that the person who is to be honored with it stands mounted at about half-a-mile distance, on one side of the Shah's line of

march; if a person of great importance, on the right; if of inferior, on the left. As the Minister of my country, I of course took the right. When his Majesty arrives opposite, or rather in line with this person, a mace-bearer is dispatched full gallop to order his appearance in the presence. The person then, with the mace-bearer, sets out full gallop, and when about 150 yards from the Shah, both of them throw themselves from their horses, and persevere in making salaams, or obeisances, till they hear one of the officers riding behind the Shah call out, "*sewar beshow*" (mount); they then come within fifty yards of the Shah, when the same ceremony is repeated; and then, if it is a person of great consequence, the Shah himself says *Beou!* (come) the person then approaches near enough to the King's horse to hear what his Majesty says, and to be able to reply to it, and in this manner he walks as long as the audience lasts.* Long before the Shah came abreast of the place where I was, I perceived a person galloping most furiously towards me, who, on his nearer approach, I knew to be one of the favorite Georgians, persons who are only dispatched to the very highest Noblemen with messages of this sort. On coming up to me he said "*Shah shumah Kheily serferaux Khauhed kerd,*" (the Shah designs to exalt your head

* If any appointment or dignity is conferred at such an audience, the person is permitted to kiss the King's *rekaub*, or stirrup.

most highly) and we both set out as if running a race. At about 150 yards from the King we stopped, and I was preparing to dismount, as my companion did, but he said he had received orders from the Shah to prevent me doing so. In an instant almost, I heard the King's own voice ordering me forward; when I came within fifty yards of his Majesty, I again prepared to dismount, but the Shah called out aloud, "*Zerour neest*," (there is no occasion,) "*beou*," (come.)

Now, as ill-luck would have it, Matthew, my English groom, thought it for my credit and his, to mount me on the most spirited horse I had, and I had the utmost difficulty in reining him in. As soon as I came up to the Shah, he said, with a smile, "Aye, Elchee, what brings you here?" "My duty to your Majesty," I replied. Our (at least my) ears were now stunned with the noise of the King's band, which plays from time to time on the march, and which now struck up; this and the great concourse of his fellow animals, behind us, and the Shah marching in rather quick time, made my horse, for a little time, almost mad, which the Shah observing, said, "Elchee, you " should have mounted a quieter beast to come " into a crowd, but I see you Europeans like " horses that dance about—come, I will give you " a quieter one;" and he was about to issue orders for it, when I said, "Please your Majesty, I am " like a Moollah I have heard of in my own country,

“ who could read in no book but his own.” The Shah laughed heartily, and said, “ I understand “ what you mean, you cannot ride on our saddles, “ nor can I on yours, for I have tried.” It was with great difficulty that for some time I could manage the horse at all, or even, now and then, keep my seat, and I heard the King’s Gholams, or body guard, who were from twenty to thirty yards behind us, laughing very heartily at the awkwardness of my situation. However, if it had continued much longer, I had made up my mind what to do, which was to start off, and by way of cooling his courage, give my horse a gallop of a couple of miles a-head, and then return to my place. He gradually, however, became more docile, and saved me the trouble of making such an exhibition before the Shah and the Persians.

After talking of various things, the Shah commenced the most minute, and on some points, comical enquiries about the Royal Family of England. He professed the highest respect and veneration for his late Majesty, George the Third, whom he styled, *Peder-e-Shahan*, the Father of Kings, in the same sense as we talk of the Father of the House of Commons, and wished to know (as I had told him his Majesty did not sit every day in the *Deevan Khaneh*,*) how he passed his

* Literally—the Hall of Public Audience and Justice, in opposition to *Deevan-e-Khaas*, which means the Hall of Audience for particular and distinguished people. The Shah seldom appears in the *Deevan Khaneh* more than once in twenty-four hours, and

time, whether he hunted, hawked, or what he did, I told him I believed that when the King was younger, he regularly hunted the stag twice in each week; and when I told him that the stags were bred and in a manner trained for this purpose, and carried out in a cart, and then turned loose, the Shah laughed, but said, "Aye, aye, I see how it is, you Europeans always leave as little to chance as possible, and I suppose your King must never be disappointed." I then told the Shah that previously to my leaving England for India the first time, I had had the honor to be present at one of the King's stag hunts, which lasted four hours and a half without stop. "God!" said the Shah, "that must have been good sport; but the King did not ride all that time, did he?" I assured the Shah that his Majesty rode as hard, or harder, than any man in the field. "By God," said the Shah, "his Majesty must be a perfect man, for he is wise, bold, and *khoush-savar* (a fine horseman); of all things in the world, I should like to have a *skekar* (chase) with my brother George."

The Shah then made many enquiries about his late Majesty, George the Fourth, of whom he said he had heard great praise. I told him the Prince that is generally from nine till twelve. The Evening Court of Audiences are generally given in the smaller and more private apartments, and in summer and spring in separate buildings appropriate to that purpose, erected in gardens adjoining the Palace.

of Wales was esteemed to be the most accomplished and finest gentleman in his father's dominions. "His daughter may be your Queen, may she not, if she outlive her father?" I answered, "certainly." The Shah said:—"Aye, we had once a *Shah-Khaunem*—a King-Queen, but she made a very bad hand of it." I replied, "that we had had three Queens in England, and that the reigns of two, Elizabeth and Anne, were almost the most brilliant that we could reckon."—"Aye, aye," said the Shah, "*Lizbat dil sheer!*" (*i. e.* Elizabeth the lion-hearted) I know all about her; she would have cut off the *Papa's* (*i. e.* Pope's) head, if she had lived; Shah-Khaunems may do very well for you, with your laws and customs, but they would never do here." The Shah said, "the King's next son is the *Ameer-al-askar*, (*i. e.* Commander of the Army) is he not? the French talked to me a great deal about him—they said he knows how to make an army better than any man in the world, but he is not so good a General as *Bonopart*." I replied, "Please your Majesty, these are things I know nothing about."—"Very well," said the Shah,—"and the next son is, *Serdar-al-Bahr*, (*i. e.* Commander of the Navy) but I suppose much the same as Hassan Ally is Governor of Farsistan, and that he has some Nasr-Oollah-Khan,* to tell him what he is

* Nasr Oollah Khan was nominally the Minister; but actually the dry nurse of the Prince Governor of Farsistan.

“ to do, and how to manage his ship, for what
“ should he know about ships and shipping ; where
“ could he learn it ? ” — “ Your Majesty,” said I,
“ is greatly mistaken, in respect to His Royal
“ Highness the Duke of Clarence, who is as good
“ an officer as any in the British fleet, and has
“ seen as much service as most of them. The
“ King sent him on board ship, when he was not,
“ (I believe) twelve years old, and gave strict
“ orders that His Royal Highness should be treated
“ in the same way, and made to do the same duty,
“ as the gentlemen’s sons who were put there to
“ learn their profession ; in time he was appointed
“ to the command of a ship, and has regularly
“ risen, like his brother-officers in the Navy,
“ to the rank he now holds.” — “ *Wullah !* ” said
the King, “ what a wonderful country your’s is,
“ and what wonderful people you are ; I should
“ have a pretty piece of work with the mother of
“ one of my Princes, if I proposed to take her son,
“ and send him down to Bushire, to put him on
“ board a *Khishtee* ; ” (*i. e.* a bark or ship) and he
laughed very heartily. The Shah kept conversing
about the Royal Family, till at last he said : —
“ Come, Mr. Ambassador, let you and I make a
“ match. What say you to Abbas’ son marrying
“ the Prince of Wales’s daughter ; where would
“ all the Kings of the earth be compared to such a
“ King and Queen ! England, all India, all Persia,
“ *Younga Dunieh* (*i. e.* all America !!) these would

“ be real *Shah aulems*, these would be the true
 “ *Kaisers*,* true *Fugfoors*! no joke, no child’s
 “ play ;” and then he went on to parody the well
 known verse at Delhi :—

“ *Egher der dunia Shah est—een est, een est, een est.*”

If there is a king in the world, this is he, this is he, this is he.

After the Shah had amused himself with this idea for sometime, and had built all sorts of castles in the air, he said :—“ Come, the thing’s done, and I
 “ shall send you, to-night, the usual *sheerene*,
 “ (sweetmeats) on the *ahed*,” (*fiançailles*.)†

We had now arrived opposite to the little village of Tikmedash, and I was in hopes the Shah would have permitted me to take leave; for the night-fall had come on, and drops of rain fell thick and fast; instead of which he said ;—“ Well, I hear you and
 “ Meerza Bozurg are going to turn farmers here.
 “ I shall come, as I go by, and see your large
 “ cows, your fine sheep, and other things, and
 “ when I encamp at Oujoon, I hope you will be
 “ able to send me twice as much provision as the
 “ village does now.”—“ Please your Majesty,” I

* Kaiser is applied to the Roman Emperors : *Fugfoor* to those of China and Tartary.

† It was comical enough, that in the course of this royal soliloquy, for I answered nothing, the same words nearly, which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Henry of Monmouth, when courting Katherine of France, should have been used by the Shah. Surely this is another proof, how closely our great Bard copied nature—“ Compound a boy half *Persian*, half English, that shall go to Constantinople, and take the Turk by the beard.”

replied, "our plan is to send you nothing at all
"but what you pay for, and to pay you no-
"thing but your taxes."—"Oh, oh, you want to
"make a French republic,—but I will come *Bono-*
"*part* over you." I said, "no, please your Ma-
"jesty, we want to make you something like the
"King of England."—"Aye, aye," replied the
Shah, "if you can do that you will be clever
"fellows indeed!"

The rain now began to fall apace, and the King's
munzil was full three miles distant; the torches
carried before the Shah were lighted, but the wind
and rain extinguished them almost as fast as they
were lighted, and left us very nearly in the dark;
the Shah put his horse into a gallop, and I easily
understood there was a good deal of confusion
behind us. The royal tents were pitched on the
opposite side of a deep ravine, to cross which
there was a narrow and tortuous road, or rather
path, on each bank—to discover this, in the dark,
was next to impossible, to rein up was equally so,
for the cavalry behind, at the pace we were going,
must have inevitably come upon us, before they
could have stopped; so down we went, all together,
in the dark, and we heard from behind us those
kind of cries and noises, which but too plainly
bespoke that many accidents had happened. Upon
the top of the opposite bank the royal *feraushes*
were trying all they could to keep their torches
alight, but in the midst of the storm, which now

raged with great violence, the light the torches afforded was rather darkness visible, than any thing else. I rode with the Shah to his very tent ropes, where he alighted, and ran with haste within the perdehs, calling out, however, to the torch bearers:—"take a torch and go with the Ambassador to Tikmedash;" and to me, "*Khodeh haufez*, (*i. e.* good bye.) I shall send you the shereene to night, so do not go to supper before it comes."

Now the instant the Shah was out of sight, out went the torches, and away went the torch-bearers, and I was left in the middle of about two thousand cavalry, who were scampering about at all angles, and whose horses were every now and then getting entangled in the different tent ropes and thrown down;—mine, therefore, was a situation rather to be pitied than envied, and I scarcely hoped to get out of it without some accident. My good fortune, however, brought me in contact with the Georgian *Gholaum*, who had been sent to me when I met the King: he was a very clever, quick person, and as soon as he perceived how I was hemmed in, he began to bawl out,—“Make room for the *Shah Zadeh*,” (*i. e.* the Prince)—hearing this from a person whom most about us knew to be a great favorite of the Shah’s, they easily believed he had one of the little princes under his care, and so made the best way for us they could. This kind person was so good as to accompany me

across the ravine, and would have conducted me to Tikmedash; but very shortly after we had crossed that dangerous spot, to my great surprise, but also to my great joy, I was met by all the men of the village, coming to look after me and escort me home.

The Shah's line of march on his return differed from that which was observed on his proceeding from Sultania to Oujoon. The army moved from Oujoon to Tæheran by detachments and different routes. The Shah had with him, body guard and all together, about two thousand cavalry. These marched in two divisions from fifty to sixty abreast. The Shah rode in front, in the middle of the first division, from twenty to thirty yards a-head; on each side of his horse were eight estafettes or shotters, dressed in yellow broad cloth, trimmed with silver, having feathers in their caps, and silver sticks in their hands: the Shah wore a plain scarlet cloth coat, with diamond buttons, formed with a number of small diamonds: the furniture of his horse was plain gold, his sword quite plain, and his head piece was the same as that worn by the Gholaums: two persons rode about ten yards behind him,—his calean and his cloak bearer: the cloak was of that thick cloth, which in Persia is called *bagrass*; the color was crimson, and differed in no wise from the common best *chook-e-bau-roone*, except in the beauty of its gold agraffe. In the front, about the middle of the first division,

was carried a large silk flag, or more properly the standard of Persia : the ground green, and the device, in the middle, the lion and the sun, most richly embroidered ; and this appeared to be carried in the middle of the King's *nokareh khaneh*, or military band, and at each end of this division were two large plain green silk flags. Between the two divisions, there was a space of at least two hundred yards, in the middle of which were five or six led horses in plain housings, for His Majesty's use on the road, hawkmen and greyhounds, and about fifty swivels, called *zembourchs*, mounted on camels, with their gunners dressed in scarlet with black caps. The second division had three flags, placed in the same position as the King's flags were, but they were of red, or rather, plain crimson silk.

A little after ten o'clock, the little village of Tikmedash was thrown into confusion by a general cry of "*Feraush-Shah-mee-áiend*" — (the King's Feraushes are coming); the storm had abated, and they were able to make use of torches : they had enquired the way to my tents, and were greatly surprised to find I lodged in the Khedkodah's little cabin ; here, however, they made their appearance, bringing with them three beautifully painted trays, on which were very large silver and old china dishes, filled with different meats and rices of the most delicious cookery, as well as the finest sweetmeats I ever tasted ; they also delivered

me a very flattering message from the Shah, and said, he had expressly charged them to tell me he would have sent me wine, but he had no such article in his possession ; they then said, they would return in the morning* for the trays and dishes. After these gentlemen, gratified with a present, had departed, I called the old Khedkhodah and one or two of the principal men of the village, and said to them,—“ Come, the Shah has often “ eat of your meat, now you shall eat of his. Bis-
“ millah;” and we all sat down together. When we had finished, the old man rose up and said,—
“ Well, this is a thing I never saw in my sleep,
“ that I should eat of the King’s meat.”—But if he was delighted, the women and children of the village were almost out of their senses at getting some of the sweetmeats and the remains of the pillaws.

The great Ministers, and the whole of the Defter Khaneh, remained on the ground at Oujoon, it being expected, if the weather continued favorable, that the Shah would make his return to

* When the Feraushes came in the morning, they gave a most lamentable list of the fatal and dreadful accidents which had happened in passing the ravine ; and they also said, that if His Majesty had been three yards more to the right than he was, he must have fallen over a precipice at least twenty feet perpendicular. Please to remember, I rode to the right of the Shah, and when I came home at night, I had told Matthew my groom, I was convinced, my horse’s fore feet had been for a short time off the ground, but I suspect he took a bound to avoid the danger. I hope I was properly thankful to God for so great an escape.

Tæheran rather a hunting party, than a march. I therefore left Tikmedash the next morning, to return to Oujoon, where I found Meerza Sheffee, Meerza Bozurg, and the Ameen-ed-Dowlah. They had received the news of what had happened the night before; and they spoke of the Shah's escape with wonder, but with great joy. They also spoke of my very long conversation with the Shah, as of a thing that had never happened before,—such audiences being granted as a great favor, and always made very short. They were extremely anxious to learn what we could have talked about for such a length of time; and, as none of the Shah's attendants were near enough to hear distinctly what passed, they could only get at it through me; and this increased their anxiety. I gave them a general account of what took place; but Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-Dowlah, could with difficulty be persuaded, that they had not been at times the subjects of our discourse. I assured them that Meerza Bozurg's was the only Minister's name which had been mentioned throughout the ride; but, as the Meerza neither asked me how, nor in what manner* it was mentioned, and seemed to care but little about it, I said nothing farther on the subject. The two or three days after this, which we stayed together till the

* This was one of the Meerza's peculiarities; he never seemed to care what was said of him, or about him, to the Shah.

camp broke up, the attentions and civilities of these noblemen towards us, made the time pass very agreeably. On the day the Ministers moved, the gentlemen of the Mission, and myself, repaired to the winter-quarters assigned to us at Tauris.

Every one now began to make himself useful, in the different ways assigned to him; and I sincerely wish it were in the power of my pen, to describe the delight and satisfaction I received from the readiness and alacrity, with which every gentleman undertook the service recommended to him. To my excellent and ingenious friend, Sir James Sutherland, I have already acknowledged my obligations; but I have great and sincere pleasure in mentioning here, what I have not done before,—that, at my request, he was so good as to furnish the Prince Royal with the most beautiful models, of his own making, of wagons, carts, tumbrils, wheelbarrows,* ploughs, spades, &c. &c.; and, in addition to this, to hold a kind of regular school,

* When the wheelbarrows were placed before the Prince Royal, one of the Persian noblemen (who always affect to despise European improvements) said: “This is all mighty well, but it will consume a considerable space of time to empty these wheelbarrows.”—Sir James said to him, “Indeed, Sir, it will not;—and if you only get into the wheelbarrow, I will show you it will not.”—The Prince insisted on his making the experiment. Sir James trundled him away at a quick rate; and approaching a muddy part of the square, he gave the wheelbarrow a cant, and turned, to the great entertainment of the Prince and the spectators, the Persian Khan into the mud.

for instructing the young Persians put under his care, in surveying, mapping, geometry, &c. &c. My lamented friend, the late Dr. Campbell, employed himself in attending such sick persons as required his assistance,—(and they gradually became very numerous,)—and in teaching English to several Persian youths put under his care. Sir Henry Willock had enough to do in superintending the troop and detachment of Sepoys, and occasionally assisting in copying dispatches; and I esteemed myself fortunate in having so amiable, so able a companion and assistant, as Mr. Thomas Henry Sheridan,—a young gentleman, whose suavity of manner, and lively conversation, endeared him to us all. To this hour I lament his death. The neglect I have experienced, I have borne as I might; but the neglect with which he was most unjustly treated, I still sorrow on, because I believe it abridged his valuable life,—at least, if I may judge from the last letters I received from him. Very shortly after my return to England, I had the misfortune to act as one of his executors, instead of joining such of his family friends, who were willing to endeavour to bring his merit into notice. As to myself, I was at all calls on the Prince Royal's service; and such of the gentlemen of the Mission, who are now living, I dare say, (if there were occasion for it) will vouch, that in this service a full third of my time was passed on horseback. I have always flattered myself with

the belief, that there never was a happier set of fellows, than we were. Every day that I was at home, we rode out together ; and once or twice in the week, as business allowed, we went out shooting.

By the recommendation of Meerza Bozurg, the Prince Royal appointed, as our Mehmander, Hyder Ally Khan, a young man of such genuine good nature, such pleasing manners, and such eager and uniform desire to supply all our wants, and execute all our wishes, that he soon became a general favorite, and has since risen, as I predicted he would, to a very high rank in the Ministry at Tæheran : his love for the Meerza was literally veneration.

The course of the winter in Azarbaijan, if I may judge from the two winters I passed there, is—in the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, a slight snow falls, generally attended with strong gales from the N.W.;—about the middle, sometimes a little earlier, of the last month, what is called the winter snow, falls, and the surface of the ground is never seen again till the middle of April, when vegetation starts into life, as if by magic. As soon as the heavens have discharged this load of snow, for it generally lies from three to four feet deep on the ground, the weather becomes settled into a bright, clear, and severe frost, with the most brilliant sunshine imaginable. Sometimes, indeed, there is a second

small fall of snow, and sometimes not. I had no thermometer graduated lower than 16 degrees below Zero, and therefore I had no means to ascertain the precise degree of cold to which the country is exposed,—for about the middle of December the mercury sank into the bulb, from which it never rose again till the middle of February; yet, fenced by their covering of snow, several species of geranium, myrtles, and other tender plants, live through the winter. My Indian companions, however, were soon pinched, notwithstanding all the warm clothing I could purchase for them; and though a sad dysentery broke out amongst them, yet, through the care and medical skill of Doctor Campbell, and the attention of Sir Henry Willock, in making them take exercise in doors, I did not lose a man. It fortunately happened, that I possessed a few dozen of very old and very fine Port wine; which, after Doctor Campbell had told me, that it appeared, when given in small quantities, to be more powerfully efficient in stopping the effects of the disorder than any other medicaments, was entirely kept for their use.

When His Royal Highness returned from his campaign, which Meerza Bozurg and myself had had the greatest difficulty in making a strictly defensive one, my frequent interviews and conversations with him, gave me ample opportunity of estimating his abilities and character,—and I

was quite astonished at the extent of the one, and at the manly and firm complexion of the other. He was extremely anxious to send his eldest son, Mohammed to England, to be educated there. He asked me to give him a copy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* for the plates, which he could understand; and he sent for Doctor Campbell, *and seriously asked him to translate the whole letterpress*, which he could not understand. Several detached parts, on Gunnery, Fortification, &c., were translated amongst us, and delivered to him, and on these he set great value. He always spoke of Sir James Sutherland, as a person who could do every thing but make a man.

The Prince, during the winter, sent us an invitation to attend him at a *battu*.* The scene of action was from eight to ten miles distant from Tauris, in a valley, three sides of which were bounded by rocky mountains, tolerably high,—and the fourth opening to a plain. Several regiments of the Serbaz, or infantry, at Tauris, had for some time been previously dispatched to a certain distance, to hem in, and drive to the table-land of these mountains, the deer and other game which might be lying between them and the proposed *point de chasse*. When the animals arrived on this table-land, which was extensive, they were

* I almost fear those who recollect the hunting party in the Highlands, described in *Waverley*, will accuse me of piracy.

suffered for some days to remain in peace and quietness,—and were only contradicted when they attempted to retreat from it.

On the appointed day, long before the dawn broke, the Mission joined the Prince Royal outside the walls of Tauris. The suite of His Royal Highness to the number of about one hundred horsemen, consisted of noblemen invited to partake, and of Georgian favorites and Gholaums, permitted to enjoy, the sport. At our arrival on the ground, we found a very ample and excellent Persian breakfast prepared for us, which, as the morning was very cold, and a smart ride had given us a sharp appetite, was very acceptable. This finished, the Prince prepared himself for action, by pulling off his *caba*, or coat, having a cloth band, something like the list of cloth, tightly swathed round each of his legs from the ankle to the knee; and by throwing aside his cap and shawl, and binding a handkerchief very closely round his head. He then set out, to enter the valley at the part which opened to the plain, attended by about a dozen persons on foot, each carrying a rifle gun for his use; first of all, however, appointing a person to each gentleman of the Mission, to place him in a favorable situation, and to attend him whilst there. In proper time after the Prince's departure, we heard the signal for the Serbaz on the table land to advance,—and very shortly afterwards a brisk fire of musquetry

commenced in the bottom of the valley, which soon increased to a continued rattle : then it was that such of the deer and other animals, as were not killed or mortally wounded by the Prince and his party in the bottom, endeavoured to escape by scaling and clambering up the sides of the mountains on which the other sportsmen were placed, and which consequently afforded them opportunities of firing at them when they came within reach of their guns.

The heavy Persian rifles were capable of throwing their balls from one side of the valley to the other, and therefore as every body shoots where, and at what he likes, the amusement is always attended with serious risk and danger ; so much so, that in the preceding year, a Georgian, who was a great favorite with the prince, was shot dead, as he stood close by his master's side, and it is very seldom indeed that these battus take place without the occurrence, either from the firing, or from the rush of the deer, of some fearful and severe accident. Placed even as we were, there were few or any of us who could say that in the course of the sport balls had not struck within a few feet, nay, within a few inches of some of us ; and though, perhaps, one was apparently well secured in front by a rock, yet it was no uncommon thing to hear a ball come whizzing from behind, fired by a person placed above you. The sport continued between three and four hours, and as far

as I recollect, it was found that when finished upwards of 160 bucks had been killed. Amongst us Sir James Sutherland was the only one fortunate enough to kill a deer dead ; and no one in these parties is ever allowed to claim a wounded buck as his, unless he follows him till he drops, which several of the Persians, in their eagerness to signalize themselves before their Prince, always do, though it is a service of imminent danger, since as long as the animal can keep his legs, every one who catches a glimpse of him fires at him. When the sport ceased, by the Prince's order refreshments were prepared, and we mounted to return to the city. His Royal Highness told me that several accidents had taken place amongst the party in the valley, by the rush of the deer, and that one or two of the Serbaz had been wounded, but not dangerously. I believe there are but few courts or countries in the world where the differences between prince and subject, superior and inferior, are more strictly and rigidly required, or more willingly granted, than in Persia ; and yet, on occasions of this sort, all etiquette seems laid aside ; every one rides as he pleases, and such as are permitted to partake of the sport, fire as they please, without any other consideration than that of killing the animal they fire at, and thus often disappoint either the Prince or their superior of the shot which he could otherwise have, and not unfrequently put him in imminent danger.

The snow was on the ground, and the frost intense ; nevertheless the greater part of our way home was employed by the Prince and the Persians in feats of horsemanship. His Royal Highness several times, on full gallop, threw on the ground his black cap which he wore on his head, and when he had reached a distance from it of from twenty to thirty yards, he turned round on his saddle, the horse still keeping his gallop, and fired his rifle at the cap, which the ball invariably struck. After this, one of his attendants presented him with a very long spear, and on his Royal Highness calling by name to two or three noblemen present, and also to two or three of his own Georgians, they formed a party to go through what I know not how better to describe than by calling it the spear exercise. One part of this pleased me much. The Prince was supposed to be pursued, and he kept the point of his spear behind him in such position and such motion, as to render it utterly impossible for his adversary to force his horse in that quarter so near him as to reach either the Prince's horse or himself with his sabre. But when the spectators could expect no such thing, the Prince struck his spear with force into the ground, where it stood upright, turned his horse as if it were on a pivot, which, of course, brought the rider unexpectedly face to face with his pursuers, fired both his pistols in their faces, turned his horse again in the same wonderful man-

ner, then turned himself on his saddle, fired his gun, snatched up his spear and rode off, and to my great surprise had reloaded his pistols in so short a space of time, as to appear almost incredible. When his Royal Highness rejoined us on the road, he said to me, “ Meerza Bozurg has told me how
“ much you were with that famous Zund horse-
“ man, Luft Ally ; did you ever see him do more
“ than this ?”

The winter proved long and severe—our intercourse with Tæheran and the southern parts of the Empire was for many weeks interrupted ; but as soon as it opened, I received fresh dispatches from the Governor-General, ordering me immediately to leave Persia,* acquainting me that he had appointed Surgeon Jukes, of the Bombay Establishment, to take charge of the British interests at Tæheran, until the arrival there of General Malcolm ; and also informing me that these arrangements were officially communicated to the Shah, accompanied by a strong request that his Majesty would, from that time forward, cease to hold any communication with me, or to consider me as a person accredited to him. Lord Minto had certainly not given me any great reason to respect or admire him ; but when Meerza Sheffee,

* It would have been as well for my lord and his adviser, if they had looked into Vattel or Wiquefort, and instructed themselves, as to what justifies a Minister leaving the territories of a Sovereign to whom he is accredited, and by whom he has been once acknowledged, before he issued these orders.

in his letter to me, told me, that on these dispatches being read to the Shah, he had publicly called the Governor-General *fool* and *madman*, I did feel (little as it may be believed in Leadenhall-street) very sorry that *the dignity of the Company's Indian Government* should be spoken of in such terms. A gentlemanly mind, placed even in the highest of all high stations, will always grieve to be obliged to convey reprehension to an inferior, and will invariably endeavour to convey it in terms no harsher than the occasion may require ; but Lord Minto's mind (to me at least) was not a mind of this temper, and though I held an appointment under my Sovereign's sign manual, and under the great seal of England, his Lordship forgot himself so much, as to treat me as if I was solely under his orders,—as if I had committed some enormous crime,—or had been guilty of some egregious folly ;—and to use language which, if I had compromised my Sovereign's honor, or injured the interest of his Kingdom, his gracious and noble mind would never have commanded faults, heavy even as these, to be rebuked with. The dreamer Abdoul Hassan, when those about him persuaded him to play the Caliph, still played it like a gentleman.

I confess, without reserve, my patience was now exhausted ; and being a native of that part of the King's dominions where that virtue is perhaps less exercised than in some others, I did, on this

occasion, let my heart run before my head, and in as plain English as I could make use of, I gave his Lordship my opinion both of his style and his measures, winding up the whole nearly in the words which Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Queen Katherine :—

————— “ that again
“ I do refuse you for my Judge, and here
“ Before you all appeal unto the *King*,
“ To bring my whole cause 'fore His Majesty,
“ And to be judg'd by him.”

I believe I have already said that fuel at Tauris is scarce and dear, I will now add that it is bad in its kind ; and to make a fire wherewith to cook *à l'Anglaise*, it must be laid on in very large masses. It generally consists of the boughs and slender stems of the wild plum, wild cherry, apricots, or other species of wild or worn-out fruit trees ; and even this wretched stuff is sold by weight. For chamber purposes, the Persians invariably use charcoal, in large brazen or chaffing dishes—this is rendered wholesome by the charcoal being lighted out of doors, where the noxious vapour arising from it is suffered to evaporate ; and when the mass is burnt completely pure and bright, it is then brought into the room. Considering how *vitally* necessary fire and firing were in such a temperature of the atmosphere to my Indian companions, and indeed to ourselves, the expense of this article produced a frightful and vexatious item in my monthly accounts, and I

could perform no greater act of charity towards the poorer Persians, than that of sending them from time to time small supplies of fuel.

The principal part of the firing made use of by my friends at Tikmedash and other such villages, is nothing more than the dung of their cattle, collected, made into cakes, and dried in the sun in the summer, which, if it can be afforded to be used in considerable quantities, produce a fire, not very unlike, in appearance or heat, that of peat. It is fortunate that Persian cooking, whether for the King or the clown, seldom requires a fierce fire, but is indebted for its excellence to a slow one,—enough, in the cook's language, to keep the pot or the saucepan on a simmer.

I have often heard of Arabian hospitality : I have sometimes experienced it. I have read many a sad epithet applied to the peasant of Persia, and I have often witnessed the gross injustice of these epithets when so applied ; but, tell me, reader, which exercises the greater act of hospitality, he, who on the arrival of a stranger, boils his rice, kills his lamb, dresses it, and partakes of it with the stranger,—or he who, when the mercury has sunk into the bulb of the thermometer, and the snow even covers the cottage in which he lives, possessing only a small quantity of good fuel, preserves that for the use of the stranger, lights it in a separate room for the sole comfort of his guest, and derives himself no other benefit from it, but

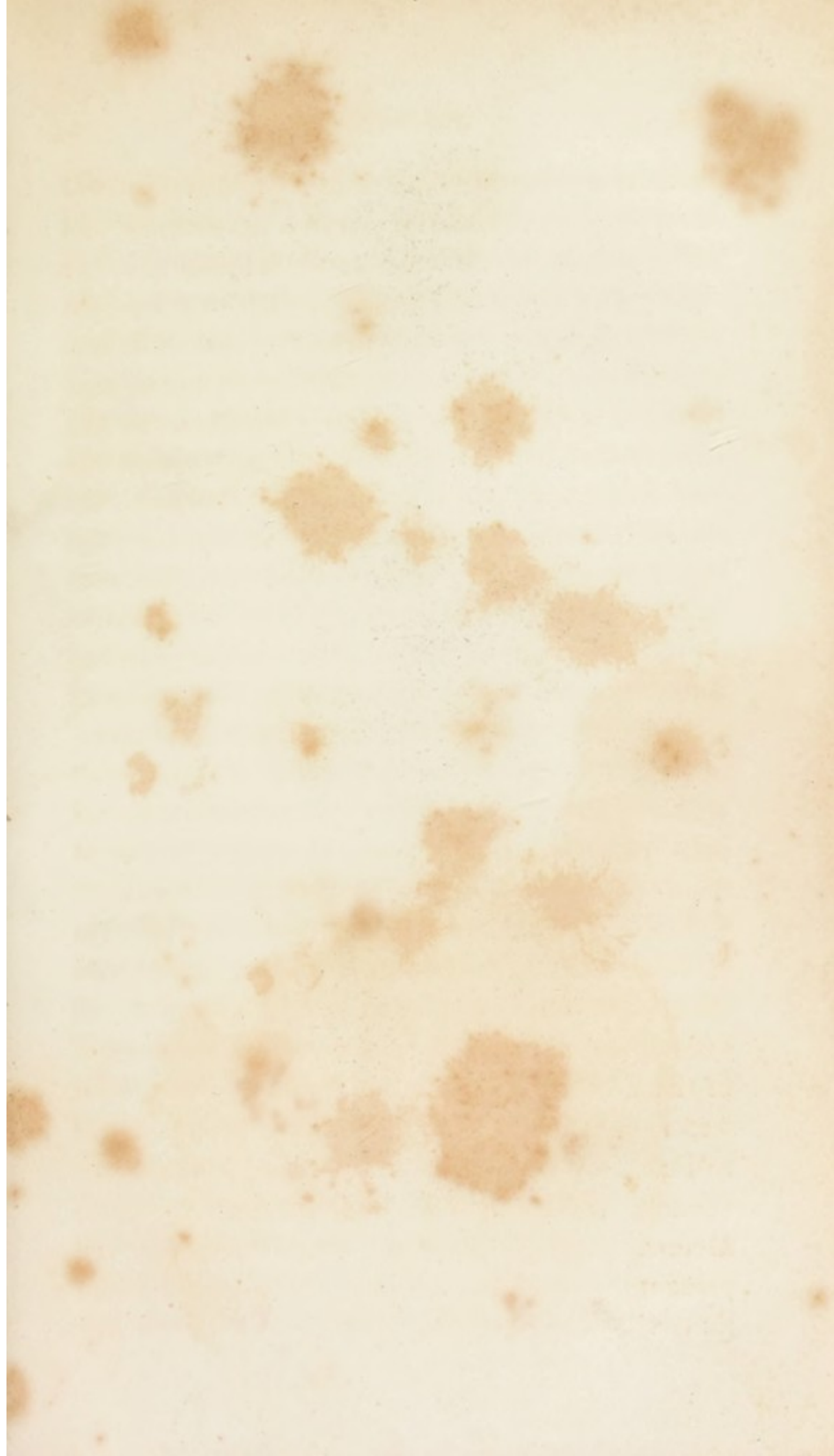
that of honoring the person whom he has received under his roof?

Selfishness is not an inherent Asiatic vice : for the truth of this, if they were alive, I would appeal to the very early servants of the East India Company ; nay, I would appeal to persons even of my own standing in their service, to report and record the many noble, disinterested acts of charity, generosity, and assistance, they have witnessed bestowed by Asiatics on people living, thinking, and believing, differently from themselves. Early travellers are full of such instances ; some of the late ones prefer sarcasm and sneer. In every part of the East which I have visited, if Europeans have not increased the propensity of the natives to vice, it has not been their fault ; for (generally speaking) they have exhibited to them very perfect examples of selfishness, rapacity, chicanery, and the very *crapule* of debauchery : how this may be hereafter, when there shall be a freer importation of hungry attorneys, and of another particular class of the London community, it is much wiser to speculate upon in silence than prophetically to commit to paper. If the constitution of the East India Company had great deformities, it also had great beauties ; but deformities and beauties, like Lady Macduff and her children, are all gone “ at one fell swoop.”

Early in the spring, Sir Robert Adair acquainted me, that he had succeeded in prevailing on the

Porte to send a Minister into Persia, authorized to arrange and settle a variety of matters and questions, in which the Grand Seignor and the Shah were equally concerned ; and that I might safely assure the Persian Ministry, that if it was wished, a resident Turkish Minister should be sent to the Court of Tæheran ; it being sincerely the desire of the Ottoman Ministry to cultivate the very closest and most intimate friendship and good understanding between the Court of Tæheran and that of Constantinople. When I carried an account to Meerza Bozurg of the nature of Sir Robert's dispatches, I scarcely ever saw a man more delighted ; a messenger was immediately dispatched to Meerza Sheffee, with translated extracts of them ; and, as I learnt afterwards, the intelligence they contained, was regarded as important, and afforded as much satisfaction at Tæheran as it had done at Tauris.

After consulting the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg, and reckoning ourselves sure, if there should be need of the co-operation, or, at all events, if it should be necessary to ask the consent of the Porte to the plan, we should receive it ;—it was agreed that I should address a private letter to that great statesman and merchant, the late Sir Francis Baring, disclosing to him such parts of Meerza Bozurg's plans of commerce as for the present were to the purpose, and assuring him that, if within the range of his commercial ac-





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A Persian employed by Sir J. Sutherland.

Sketched from Life by Sir J. S.

quaintance, any one should be willing to send a vessel to Trebizonde, laden with certain articles which I pointed out, the Prince Royal, on its arrival at that port, being notified to him by me, would instantly pay into my hands, not only the value of a *bonâ fide* invoice of the whole cargo, but also twenty-five per cent. profit thereon. The lamented death of Sir Francis (which none of his friends could have greater cause to grieve for than myself) prevented me receiving an answer to this letter, but I trust the reader will accept the circumstance of its being written as a proof that the Prince and Meerza Bozurg contemplated very serious changes in the commerce of their country.

When the weather became sufficiently temperate, Sir James Sutherland, with the full approbation of the Prince Royal, was dispatched towards the Caspian Sea, and along a considerable line of the Persian and Russian frontier, to make accurate surveys of those interesting portions of the empire: he was attended by his Persian scholars, with whose docility and improvement he always expressed, and expresses himself, much pleased; whilst these youths, on their part, beheld and treated him with that reverence and respect which ignorance is so ready and so willing to bestow on intelligence. How well, how accurately, Sir James executed the task assigned him, the public, from the map which he presented to me, and which I published last year, is now able to judge.

For my collection of maps at Boultribrooke I

have purchased at high prices, patronized and cried up by high persons (some of whom are as able to judge of maps of the moon as of Persia) a variety of maps of that empire, and of particular parts of it, not one of which (contradict it who pleases) has the smallest pretension to vie in the accuracy with which the different ranges and ramifications of the mountains, rivers, and the course of the rivers, and the position of the cities, are laid down; or in the clearness and neatness of execution, with that map now furnished to the world by my excellent and most ingenious friend. The French gentlemen opposed to us in Persia, were gentlemen and men of science; and though I never had the pleasure of conversing with any one of them, I will be bound to say, whenever Sutherland's labours come under their inspection, they will speak of them with the praise they deserve. And I must be permitted to doubt whether any of them, on their return to France, presented any document to Bonaparte (who, by-the-bye, never employed but such cats as could catch mice) superior to this, as far as it goes. I am proud to say that the King not only permitted a copy of this map to be presented to him, but with that readiness to promote science in all its branches, which has invariably distinguished the royal family, and more particularly our present gracious Sovereign, His Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow on him a signal mark of his royal approbation and favor.

For myself, I was now glad to be able to pay a

visit to my little kind villagers at Tikmedash, on whom, however, I found the severity of the winter had borne very hard, as they had lost a very considerable part of their stock, from the insufficiency of winter keep. In the midst of these almost unsophisticated peasants,* Mr. Sheridan, whom I took with me, and myself, passed as happy a week as possible, eating again of their bread, and drinking of their cup, totally forgetting that there was in the world such a person as Lord Minto, and thinking no farther of business than as it related to the great plans which the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg had in view. The peasants regarded me in farming (but without the same reason) pretty much in the way Sutherland's scholars in geometry did him.

On my return to Tauris, his Royal Highness desired me to visit different parts of the province, and investigate how far *bunds*, or artificial lakes, might be formed, for increasing cultivation by means of irrigation; and though my opinion on such subjects probably was, as Squire Western says, not worth "a brass varthing," still I was glad to be so employed, because if I had remained in Persia, it all tended to one great end. By the Prince Royal's desire, I also visited, in company with a Persian nobleman, holding high rank in the army, a large portion of the line of the Arras, the new fort on that river called Abbas-abad, began on a

* "Ha! there are three of us that are sophisticated."—*Lear*.

plan furnished by the able engineers whom Bonaparte had sent into Persia, and ridiculously *improved* (as they said) by the additions and alterations of the *abler* Persian engineers; and from thence I visited the ancient city, or rather the ruins, of Nakshivan. My observations, such as they were, were laid in writing before the Prince Royal and Meerza Bozurg, and according to the ideas I had formed on what I had seen, and on as careful an examination of it as my abilities and circumstances allowed, both they and I were quite surprised at the extent to which several parts of the province seemed capable of being improved.

Sur ces entrefaites, I received private intelligence from England which set my heart at rest as to the light in which what I had done in Persia was viewed in England; and from India I received intelligence that General Malcolm had sailed from thence in the character of Envoy General from the Governor to the Shah; and that probably at the moment I received the letters containing this information, he was either landing or landed at Bushire. It was not very long after this before I received official dispatches from England, acquainting me that my tendered resignation of my appointment was graciously accepted; that his Majesty had been pleased to appoint Sir Gore Ouseley his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Tæheran, and that on this occasion he had commanded Marquis Wel-

lesley to convey to me (I am truly willing to acknowledge in terms far beyond my merit) the King's most gracious and most unqualified approbation of the whole of my conduct in Persia.

I had played a game of tremendous responsibility—I had set myself in the very breach against folly in power—I had put myself in array against ambition, supported by powerful connexions—not by my own choice—not by my own seeking, for I had endeavoured to accommodate myself to circumstances as long as it was in my power to do so, but being called into action, *and be it carefully remembered*, acting (unworthy, I admit, of so high a character) as the representative of *my King*, I did,—as I trust I always shall do when the name of my Sovereign is concerned,—I say, I did all in my power to prevent *a subject* and subjects treating it with disrespect; and also to prevent so disgraceful an exhibition to the Persians and their Monarch, as that of a subject, by his own authority, being able to cancel and annul a power and appointment which had been communicated to the latter by a letter of credence from our common Sovereign, *the King*, and acted upon and acknowledged by the Shah and his Ministers.

In addition to these serious considerations, I had formed engagements with the Persian court, for which I had no authority; I had done several things for which I had no instructions—I was a person having little acquaintance amongst the

great, and even such of those as had done me the honor at different times to express a favorable opinion of my former services, were out of power, whilst I had had reason to know, that at the India House, out of the twenty-four directors, there were only two who viewed my appointment from the Crown with common temper, and not many more who shewed me the civility commonly due from one gentleman to another. He must be well nerved indeed, who, *pedente lite*, can look at such a situation with indifference, or who, having a family dependant on his labours, can lay his head on his pillow and expect much sleep. Will, therefore, any man of common-sense tell me what is the reward which would prevail with him voluntarily to undergo nine months such existence as I had just passed through? * I was not, I am not, ass enough to imagine that the whole of my conduct through such a mass of confused and perverted circumstances, could have been *totus teres atque rotundus* ;” but what supported me under

* There is a very pretty Persian apologue on the difference between mental and corporeal suffering. A King and his minister were discussing the subject, and differed in opinion. The minister maintained the first to be most severe, and to convince his Sovereign of it, he took a lamb, broke its leg, shut it up, and put food before it. He took another, shut it up with a tiger, which was bound by a strong chain, so that the beast could spring near, but not seize the lamb, and put food also before him. In the morning he carried the King to see the effect of the experiment. The lamb with the broken leg had eaten up all the food placed before him ; the other was found dead from fright. This apologue was in the edition of the *Khelul* or *Damizet*, I gave the Prince Royal.

an almost breathless anxiety, which seemed from its intenseness to have no end; was, that if for any mistake I had made want of judgment could be admitted in extenuation, I might then conscientiously and safely apply to myself

Nil concire sibi nullâ pallescere culpâ.

In again casting my eyes over Mr. Sheridan's private Journal, there is a very considerable hiatus, probably caused by that gentleman's frequent indisposition and full public employment, and out of which many leaves were evidently torn before it came into my possession. I find I have omitted to mention, that on the 5th of February, Baron Wrede, dispatched on the part of General Tormesoff, the Russian Governor-General of Teflis and the regions of the Caucasus, arrived at Tauris. The memoranda which my friend has preserved of the transactions of the Baron's Mission, and of the British Mission in relation to it, are very ample; and as they afford matter whereon to found a very just idea as to what extent the Court of Tæheran was at that time inclined to shape her foreign policy, in accordance with the views and interests of England, and of the unreserved confidence Meerza Bozurg placed in me, I shall throw such parts of what my friend has preserved on this subject, as can now with safety and propriety, be made public, into a note, which will be found in the appendix.

Towards the end of June, the Shah notified to me, through Meerza Sheffee, his desire that I

should join the royal camp, on its arrival in the plain of Sultania, which, as I had heard that General Malcolm was expected to arrive there much about the same time, I confess I should have been glad of a sufficient excuse to have declined. Meerza Hassan, however, Meerza Bozurg's eldest son, had been constituted Minister to the Prince Royal, in the place of his father, who was now entirely employed about the Shah's affairs, under the title of Kaimacam. There was a good deal of business, in which the Prince was much interested, to be transacted with the Shah; and as Meerza Hassan was directed to proceed to Sultania for that purpose, the Prince Royal, and Meerza Bozurg, who was then at Tauris, were pleased to think it might be useful and agreeable to His Royal Highness, if I accompanied the Meerza to the royal camp. Though I could not with propriety have avoided complying with the Shah's wishes, yet I must confess that the pleasure of Meerza Hassan's company on the road, and the hope of being of some little service to the Prince, made the journey much more agreeable to me, than it otherwise would have been. Accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan, I joined Meerza Hassan, and proceeded with him to the royal camp. The Shah had reached Sultania two or three days before us. He received me with great courtesy, and flattered me so much as to say, that the only part of the dispatches which he had received from

Meerza Abdul Hassan, his Minister in England, which was disagreeable to him, was that which acquainted him that my resignation of my appointment at his Court had been accepted. He thanked me for all I had done, expressed himself greatly satisfied with the reception Meerza Abdoul Hassan had met with in England, and still more so with the alterations in his favor which had been made in the treaty that I had negociated.

Notwithstanding a good deal of absurd opposition on the part of the Ameen-ed-dowlah, the conferences I had attended on the affairs of the Prince Royal, were in their result as favorable and as satisfactory as it was possible to expect. The third night after my arrival I had a private audience of the Shah, which lasted from nine in the evening till midnight, and it may amuse the reader to be told, that such was the jealousy of Meerza Sheffee and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, at this most unusual conduct of the Shah, that on my leaving the royal apartment, they both of them were in waiting for the purpose of entreating me to pass a little time with them before I retired to rest. What had probably more excited their jealousy than any thing else, was the very great length of the audience, and the circumstance of Meerza Hassan being sent for at a certain part of it, and remaining closeted with the Shah and myself for the better part of half an hour.

The two old ministers were most anxious to

know not only what had generally passed, but were more particularly desirous of knowing all that the Shah had said to me, or I had said to the Shah, on their subject. I told them that I had so many obligations to them both, that it was impossible I could say any thing to the Shah that related to them personally, but what was favorable to them both ; but that I had been consulted on very high and very delicate matters of state, and that on those matters I had delivered my opinions, such as they were, without bias, and without reserve. I then related to them, as if in confidence, several things which the Shah had determined to communicate to them, on the morrow, and concluded by saying :—" the Shah has determined to leave the
" whole of the Russian business in the hands of the
" Prince Royal, Meerza Bozurg, Meerza Hassan,
" and, as long as I stay in Persia, of myself ; and let
" me advise you, as a sincere friend, not to attempt
" making any alteration in this arrangement, for
" the Shah's mind is firmly made up on this plan,
" and to attempt to argue against its propriety
" will not be for your interest, either with his
" Majesty or the Prince." It was quite laughable to see the consequence this memorable audience gave me the next day with all sorts of persons in the camp,—but one consequence of it was not quite so agreeable ; namely, that of being pestered to put forth and support all sorts of idle and foolish pretensions with the two Ministers, whom it was

now considered, would grant any request I made, however unreasonable it might be.

Shortly after this, General Malcolm arrived in the royal camp, and the Shah intimated to me his wish that I should be present at the audience he designed to give him. I answered, that I would most willingly comply with His Majesty's wishes, provided General Malcolm permitted me to present him to the Shah; this being objected to, on the part of the General, I considered it my duty to interfere no farther in the matter, and on the day in which the audience took place, I made a little party of pleasure, with some Persian friends, to visit and pass the day at some beautiful springs issuing from a rock, at the foot of a mountain, a little distance from the camp; at which place, on a very beautiful spot, the Shah had caused to be erected a simple building, sufficient to protect a party from suffering from the fervid rays of the sun.

General Malcolm did me the favor of paying me a visit, which I returned; and immediately on his arrival in the royal camp, I officially communicated to him the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley, as well as the permission I had received to return to England, immediately on the arrival of Sir Gore in Persia. What had been arranged between the Shah, Meerza Hassan, and myself, had cut out business enough for us at Tauris, to which place therefore we speedily returned.

Arrived there, I learned that the Prince was absent at Abbasabad, whither he had gone to give some directions in person, and to examine what had been done since he last visited the fortress. With Meerza Bozurg, who had remained in Tauris, I had a long and most interesting conference. I told him (as I was authorised to do by the Shah) every word which had passed between His Majesty and myself, except a little matter which personally related to His Majesty; and which, though the Shah did not forbid the disclosure of it to the Meerza, I considered it most prudent to withhold. The Meerza then told me that he was aware, when I left Tauris for the royal camp, that the Shah would converse very freely with me, but added, "I had no idea he " would have done so in the manner you relate." I was rather astonished, and vexed to see, that though every thing had been settled, not only according to, but even beyond our expectation, the Meerza received the account of it with an indifference so palpable, that I could not help asking him the cause of it:—he flattered me so far as to say, "all this would be delightful if you were to " remain with us, but as it is, I am sure one half " of it will never be done—however, you must " lose no time in going to the Prince, and telling " him what you have told me."

There was one part of what the Shah communicated to me which vexed and shocked me very

much,—it was his intentions towards Mohammed Nebee Khan. No doubt this person's conduct had been highly injudicious, and deserving, perhaps, of a harsher epithet; but it was easy to see, from the terms in which the Shah spoke of him, and the circumstances he related to me concerning him, that Meerza Bozurg had never forgotten what he called “taking the fire from under the Arab pots,” in the Dushtistan. My connexion with this person had much changed from the former intimacy of it; yet when I became aware of the very dreadful precipice on which he stood, a recollection of former friendship induced me to attempt softening the Shah's mind towards him. All I could obtain from the Monarch was, *it shall not happen whilst you are in the country*. I now made another effort for him with Meerza Bozurg, and asked him to join me in beseeching the Prince to put himself between this unfortunate man and the deadly wrath of the Shah. The Meerza then said: “I will now disclose to you what I find the Shah has not, and, therefore, I suspect him not to be acquainted with these facts to the extent that I am. I will now disclose to you his unjustifiable and pernicious intrigues at Schyras; and then tell me whether you can ask me to go, or can go yourself, to the Prince, and request of him to interest himself in favor of a man, who would willingly embroil everything and everybody in the Empire, to gratify his own ambition.”

Fully acquainted as I was with Meerza Bozurg's gentle and humane nature, and knowing as I did how often he had exerted himself with the Shah for others, I was quite thunderstruck with his sternness on this occasion ; but the Meerza's Arab feelings and blood were up ; and persons who had been dear to him, and useful to his former sovereign, Luft Ally Khan, had been greatly injured or ruined, and he was inexorable.

Immediately after this, I waited on the Prince at Abbasabad. I scarce need say that he received me most kindly, for he never received me otherwise. Meerza Hassan, his Minister, on his return to him, had told him as far as he knew of it, what had passed between the Shah and myself ; but when I detailed to him the rest, he was pleased to say, I had rendered him services he could never requite. I remained with His Royal Highness three days, when I returned to Tauris ; and the Shah having now reached the Chemen Oujoon, I proceeded thither with Meerza Bozurg to pay my duty to him.

General Malcolm and his suite were also in camp. The General had brought with him, as a present from the Bengal Government to the Shah, twelve beautiful field-pieces, with harness, and every requisite for their being used in the field as horse-artillery. A part of his suite consisted of the late excellent and lamented Captain Charles Christie ; of Lieutenant Lindsay of the Madras artillery ; of

Ensign Monteith, and Doctor Charles Cormick ; all of which gentlemen I expressed my wish to General Malcolm to retain in Persia for the public service ; with this wish the General complied. Whoever is in charge of our affairs at the Court of Tæheran, unless Persia is altered much since my day, will easily perceive how much his own character, comfort, reputation, and influence, amongst the Persians, depend upon the hearty and cheerful service of his countrymen in the different lines in which they are employed under him ; and it is with feelings of most grateful obligation I now again declare, that the ready, cheerful and willing services I received from every gentleman in my suite, can never, whilst I live, be obliterated from my memory. Some of these excellent persons, unfortunately for the service to which they belonged, and still more unfortunately for their relations and friends, are already gone to where I, in the course of nature, must soon go ; but before I go, let me repeat again and again, they were a set of men, for talent, for industry, and for amiable manners, which it would be difficult to find such as could surpass, and not easy to find such as could equal. Poor Captain Christie, and Lieutenant Lindsay, by their indefatigable perseverance had brought, when I left Persia, the one, several of the regiments of the Prince's infantry, and the other, the corps of horse-artillery, considering the shortness of the time they had been employed, to a state

of perfection that was quite astonishing. And what is equally to the credit of those gallant officers, they were both adored by the officers and men under their tuition ; though in the beginning they had often been obliged to treat the latter with a degree of severity that could not then have been practised with safety at Constantinople. The Prince Royal, however, had much merit in this respect ; for whenever a punishment was inflicted, and complained of to him, he invariably gave the offender a double portion of it, and by this means soon put an end to complaint. My excellent friend, Doctor Cormick, to this day remains the friend, the favorite, the physician, of the Prince Royal.*

When I returned to Tauris, the Prince Royal had moved towards the Caucasian frontier with a very respectable force ; and as long as the Shah remained in camp at Oujoon, and the Prince on the frontier, nearly the whole of my time was taken up in riding, as I was called from one camp to the other,—so that if I did possess any influence, it was by no means *sine cura*.

The promised and expected Minister from the Porte arrived in the autumn. I sent the gentle-

* The account of the death of this amiable person and sincere friend came to my knowledge as the sheets were passing through the press. He was sent for to the Prince Royal, who was attacked with the malignant fever, then raging in Persia, was seized with it himself on the road, at a caravanserai, and died without the consolation of one friend or countryman to close his eyes."

men of the Mission and the troop to accompany the Persian Nobleman who was appointed to meet and escort him into Tauris; and the next day I desired to visit him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He was delighted to find a person so well acquainted with what the Turks call "Jaunem Stambole" as I was, and who had lived so long amongst the Osmanlees as I had done; besides, it was a great joy and satisfaction to him, to be able to converse with me in Arabic without the necessity of an interpreter. I had designed to make my visit one of compliment, and very short; but when I got up to depart he begged of me to pass into another room with him. There he spoke of Sir Robert Adair, as I believe every Turk at that time did speak of him, with rapture. He disclosed to me the instructions he had received from his Court on several points of his Mission; and also shewed me a written order addressed to him, that in any case of difficulty or doubt arising, he should apply to me for advice and assistance. All this, most probably, was owing to the good opinion Sir Robert Adair entertained of my proceedings, and consequently of the favorable report he had made of me to the Porte. It was to this gentleman that I thought it my duty, as the Minister of my country, to give a public entertainment, for which the Prince Royal lent me the use of his Palace, a favor which enabled me to render the fête more brilliant, by

illuminations, the exhibition of the best fire-works procurable, by feats of rope dancing and jugglery, and by the presence of

“ Ambubaiarum collegia Pharmacopolæ

“ Mendici, misnæ balatrones—hoc genus omne.”

The Effendi was received in the first great square of the palace, by Lieut. Willock's troop, drawn up, with their colours flying; and escorted by them to the place, where he dismounted, under a continued roar of Persian field-pieces and cannon; and though the feast and shows were protracted far beyond midnight, I had the satisfaction next morning to hear, not only that no accident had happened, but also, what was nearly as pleasing, that although there were several hundreds, I believe I may say thousands, of persons of all sorts present, no one went away displeased or dissatisfied.

On the approach of winter, the Shah broke up his camp at Oujoon, and the Prince Royal returned to Tauris. Our winter was passed pretty much in the same manner as the preceding one, except that His Royal Highness invited the Mission to a banquet, which was splendidly conducted. I dispatched Lieut. Willock and the troop to Bushire, to be in readiness whenever Sir Gore Ouseley arrived there, to escort him to the capital; and I left Tauris to be in time (as I thought) to receive my audience of leave of the Shah, and to be present at Tæheran, on the festival of the Nourouze.

Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Cormick, and Sir James Sutherland, the latter of whom wished to go with me to England, were my companions on the journey. By the particular desire of the Prince Royal, and on receiving a very warm invitation from the old Khan, we took the route to Marauga, where we were most hospitably and handsomely entertained by him for several days. The morning on which we left Marauga was gloomy and threatening, and the old Khan pressed and recommended us much to remain with him till we could better judge of what it was likely to turn to; and the more to incline us to this, he told us fearful stories of the horrid snow-storms, to which the country we were to pass through was subject at that time of year. I had, however, various reasons for wishing to get to Tæheran as soon as possible, and so out we set. Our first day's journey was short, and our resting place at a village of no great consequence; where, however, by order of the Khan, every thing had been most amply provided for our convenience and comfort. When we dismounted, the snow began to fall, and the heavens appeared to be loaded with it: through the night it continued to snow, so that the village was absolutely buried in it; but when the morning broke, there was an intermission. The muleteers, however, were unwilling to proceed, and remonstrated strongly against our doing so, especially as we had to travel something near forty miles to our next stage,

through a country wild and desolate in the extreme; and in which neither lodging nor food could be procured, in case any accident should prevent us reaching the destined place of halt. Under these circumstances, I judged it proper to consult our Mehmandar, who, at first, recommended our return to Marauga, whilst it was in our power; but whilst our conference on the subject lasted, the sky put on a treacherous appearance, and it was agreed to proceed. Now, let me record it to the honor of these poor villagers, that though our long stay there would have been most costly and cumbersome to them, they were full as loud as the muleteers in expressing their advice against our departure under such appearances.

More time, however, than ought to have been, was spent in getting ready; for we had to do with some persons who thought if they could protract our departure to a certain period of the day, there was a great chance that it might be given up altogether. It was evident, therefore, when we started, that if our day's march was as fortunate as we could wish or expect, still it must train into two or three hours of the night before it was finished. For some time the sun shone, and every thing went on prosperously; but a little after he had passed the meridian, the weather changed to the most dreadful appearance I ever witnessed; the snow began to fall in flakes so large and so thick, that it was impossible to per-

ceive any thing distinctly at the distance of thirty yards, and with this arose a most bitter cold wind, which seemed to play along the surface of the snow lying on the ground, for no other purpose than that of detaching from it small minute particles, to hurl unceasingly in our faces. It was soon found, or rather suspected, that we had lost the road, and of course now commenced great confusion, and the unreserved expression of a variety of conflicting opinions; the baggage mules sunk in the snow, and the horses often plunged deep in it; so that the muleteers had often great difficulty to extricate the one, and the riders were obliged to dismount to extricate the other; the cold became intense, and most piercing, and it was evident that without some great effort, we were destined to pass the night in the open air, and if so, many of us, probably, to perish. Every one now pretended to advise, and the muleteers were loud, and unqualified, in their curses and reprobations of our temerity. I called the Mehmandar to me, and asked him if he knew any thing of the direction of the road, and what was his opinion of our situation, and whether it were possible to regain the village we had left. As to the first he professed complete ignorance, as to the second, he said he thought it nearly as bad as it could be; and as to the last, we were just as likely to reach the place we were going to, as to regain the village we had left; with this difference,—that

at the first we should find every thing prepared for our comfort, and that at the last we should find nothing. In proceeding forward, however, there was one consideration that was more seriously alarming than any other ; it was, that between us and our proposed halting place, there ran a brook, which, probably, before we reached it, would be covered over with snow ; that the banks of it, in all places, except at the proper ford, were abrupt and high, and the water, in many of the pools into which it was gathered, was deep enough to drown horse and man, and that it was quite certain the night would be fully shut in before we could reach the valley through which it ran. I now assembled the whole party, and asked if there was any one amongst them who would undertake to guide us to our halting place ; promising him who undertook it, if he was successful, a very handsome reward. A servant of the Mehmandar came forward, and said he had frequently travelled the road, that he believed us to be then out of it, but that if he was not interfered with, he thought he should be able to regain it ; and if, before it was quite dark, he could arrive at, or be able distinctly to see a certain *teppah* or mound, he had no doubt of being able to cross the brook in perfect safety, and consequently to conduct us at last to our lodgings. On hearing this, I made the Mehmandar proclaim, that the next person who presumed to put forth an opinion about the road, or attempted

to interfere with the guide, should be knocked off his horse into the snow, and I afterwards desired him to place his servant at the head of the line of our march.

A short time after this, I became exceedingly alarmed on account of Mr. Sheridan; his health at all times was none of the strongest, and having dropped into the rear, for the purpose of speaking to one of my servants, when I rejoined him he complained to me of being extremely sleepy, begged of me to let him stay where he was, and take his chance, for he found it impossible to proceed farther without rest. I knew too well what this portended, and I agreed with Sir James Sutherland to take him between us, and never lose sight of him till the end of our journey, being well convinced that if he got out of our sight, he would get off his horse, would lie down, and if it were only for a few minutes, he would never arise from the place alive. The night was now closing apace; it had been agreed with the guide, who had gone a good way ahead, that whenever he saw the teppeh or mound, he should telegraph it to us, by putting his shawl on the point of his spear, and waving it:—a very few minutes more, and the signal, if he was fortunate enough to see the wished-for mark, would be impossible to be discerned by us, and a very few minutes after that, would render it impossible for the guide to discern the teppeh, even if he were

close at it. Our progress against all the impediments we had to contend with, was awfully slow ; the peril of our situation increased ; I therefore proposed to the muleteers to abandon fourteen of the heaviest laden baggage mules, and to indemnify them for their loss ; and to this it is probable we all owed our lives. I had strained my eyes for some time to the front without success, and had turned my head towards the rear, repeating to myself :—" He dies, and makes no signal—O God " forgive him !" when Sir James Sutherland called out :—" There is the shawl waving." We soon came up with this worthy person ; he carried us across the brook in safety, and about one o'clock in the morning, having for some little time before discovered the lights which the villagers kept burning for us, we entered the village ; but it was as much as some of the horses could do to reach it ; and had it been situated a couple of miles more distant, they must have failed. It was our original intention to have rested here but a night, but the condition in which men and animals had reached it, rendered a full week's rest necessary before we could proceed on our journey. During this time, camels were dispatched to bring in the baggage left on the mules ; the poor animals were found dead on the spot where we were compelled to abandon them, and their carcasses were half devoured by the wolves. They had been seen at a distance by some one searching for lost cattle, and

a report had been forwarded to the Shah, that the English Minister and his companions had lost their lives in the snow. My own, and the Mehmandar's dispatches, however, to Meerza Sheffee, reached Tæheran the day after this report was circulated in the city.

In due time we reached Tæheran, without any other accident worth notice, except that which took place at the little town of Sugs-e-bad, where in consequence of the rapacity and ill-behaviour of some of the Persians of the party, we were all of us very near being knocked on the head; the whole town having risen up against us. On this occasion, the Mehmandar behaved with equal spirit and judgment; and the next morning, when the town's people had cooled, and had had time to reflect on the nature of the scrape they had gotten into by insulting me, who was perfectly innocent of any offence towards them, they crowded, on my departure, round my horse, begging me to intercede with the Shah for their pardon, which I did; but so good an opportunity of levying a good round fine was not permitted to escape, and with this, I believe, they congratulated themselves on escaping the *felek** and the gallows, which some of them were not far short of deserving, for in the course of the contest severe wounds had been inflicted. The people of this little town are notori-

* The sort of stocks in which the feet are confined when a culprit receives the bastinado on the soles of the feet.

ously turbulent and ill-conditioned, and from that circumstance their town has obtained the name of Sugs-e-bad, that is, the “habitation of dogs.”

Meerza Bozurg had been for some time at Tæheran, and he had been kind enough to prepare lodgings for me in a part of his own house. The day after my arrival, the Shah sent for me, and conversed with me on a great variety of topics, generally relating to himself and family. Shortly after this, Meerza Bozurg came to me one evening, and told me he was commanded by the Shah to communicate his Majesty's desire to be informed, as to what would be most acceptable and agreeable to me in the way of presents, and pressed me very much to accept of the badge of the Lion and the Sun, which he told me should be prepared as rich and as handsome as if it were for the Shah himself. I told the Meerza, that with regard to the first, the smallest token of the Shah's esteem I should highly prize ; that with regard to the last, I had before declined it, and received what my Sovereign had now graciously permitted me to accept and use, and which would always remain in my family as a mark of the Shah's favor, and that, therefore, I again begged the Shah's permission to decline receiving the badge of the Lion and the Sun—that I believed it was customary for persons in my situation, on signing treaties between their Sovereign and foreign potentates, to receive a complimentary present, which, I also

believed, generally consisted of a snuff-box ; and that as he, the Meerza, knew very well I was anything but rich, it would be more convenient and agreeable to me to receive in money, than in any other shape. The Meerza replied, all this the Shah knows, but it is his wish to do something more for you. About three days after this, Meerza Sheffee sent me word that he was commanded by the Shah to pay me a visit in the evening, and at the breaking up of the evening court, both himself and Meerza Bozurg came to me.

Meerza Sheffee, after a very flattering peroration on my behaviour, conduct, and services in Persia, said, that the Shah having understood from Meerza Bozurg that I was not rich, had determined to send me the next day twenty thousand tomans, nearly twenty thousand pounds. If the roof of the house had fallen, I could not have been more surprised or more put off my guard than I was at this unexpected announcement ; and before I could either recover myself or reply, Meerza Bozurg seized my hand and warmly pressed me to accept the Shah's most magnificent gift. At last I said, " My dear good friends ! what you " have just told me of the Shah's generous intentions towards me, seems so extraordinary that I " can hardly credit it :"—here Meerza Sheffee took me up with some warmth, and said, " *Wullah !* " *Wullah !*—by God, by God,—*Reeshcund ne mee* " *koonem*,—I am not joking,—*een pool der Kezeh*

“ *guszashtand ve mohur kerdaiand*—the money is
 “ already put up in bags and sealed.” I said, “ my
 “ dear Meerza, you mistake me—what I said does
 “ not proceed from any doubt of the Shah’s noble
 “ and generous nature, with which I am most
 “ thoroughly acquainted, but from my own con-
 “ sciousness of having done nothing to merit so
 “ signal a mark of his munificence—but *goush*
 “ *koon*, (*i. e.* give ear) you are both of you men
 “ of honor, and, therefore, know that good cha-
 “ racter is preferable to gold. But of Meerza
 “ Bozurg, when I was a youth, I learnt much,
 “ and saw in him enough to admire; but there
 “ was no part of his character I more admired, or
 “ have more attempted to imitate, than his con-
 “ sistent independence and singleness of heart as
 “ to riches.* If the master, therefore, professed
 “ to be, and remains, a *derveish*, does it become
 “ the pupil to wish for more than the master?
 “ besides, recollect, I have negociated and signed
 “ a treaty with the Shah, the nature of which,
 “ were I now to accept such a gift from His Ma-
 “ jesty, would afford room and cause enough for
 “ my enemies to traduce me, my friends to blame
 “ me, and my conscience to accuse me to my
 “ dying hour of rashly putting *my honour* “ on
 “ my sleeve for daws to peck at.” It is very true

* “ From thee that bosom spring of rapture flows,
 “ Which only virtue, tranquil virtue, knows.”

“ I am not rich, but since I have been with you,
“ I have had an unexpected increase of fortune
“ by the death of my wife’s father ; and besides
“ all this, I will not permit myself to doubt that
“ I shall not, on my return to England, be em-
“ ployed in some way or other advantageous to
“ me.” Both these Ministers continued to press
the matter upon me ; but when Meerza Sheffee
left the room, Meerza Bozurg got up, embraced
me, and said, “ Azeerem ! my dear, you have acted
“ like yourself, and the Shah will now see how well
“ I knew you, and what a man he has had to deal
“ with, for I told him you never would consent to
“ receive the money.” On my return to England, I
communicated this circumstance to one dear, la-
mented, and most honoured friend, who advised
me, as matters stood, to say nothing about it ;
but added, “ had our common friends, Henry Lord
“ Melville and Sir Francis Baring, being alive, I
“ would have advised you to communicate it to
“ them.” The next day, one of the King’s favorite
Georgians brought me one thousand tomans in
lieu of the snuff-box, and a piece of jewellery
which the Shah had once worn in his cap, with a
patent authorising me to wear it in Persia in my
hat. This sort of aigraffe makes a considerable
shew, and may be worth from 2 to 300*l*. I now
ventured to make a request to the Shah, which
was, that he would honour me so far as to give
me one of the Chook-e-Bauroonee’s* which he had

* Literally, Cloaks against rain.

worn, and particularly desired it might be one without the gold aigraffe.

In the evening, Meerza Bozurg informed me, the Shah had determined to send me next morning one of his Cashmere shawl cloaks, with a diamond loop. I besought the Meerza to prevent this, as all I wished was something which was of little value in itself, but would be of the highest value to me, as having been once on his Majesty's person. On the day after this, the Shah, to the surprise and astonishment of every body, appeared at the morning court in a common *Chookee Bauroonee*, and after sitting in it for some time, he took it from his shoulders, and calling to Meerza Bozurg, said: "take this, as a mark of my highest favor, "to your friend the English Minister." This cloak is now at Boultibrooke, but greatly injured, by having been some time under water, in consequence of the loss of *La Pomone*. The Persians are frequently represented as greedy, mean, and craving,—all that I can say is, from first to last, in twenty-seven years' acquaintance with them, they were never such to me; and that if I had chosen to have done so, I might have returned to England laden with presents from all sorts of persons.

January the 8th, 1834. I had just written the last words of the foregoing paragraph, when the *Hereford Journal*, published this day, is put into my hands; there is an article in it containing the account of the death of Abbas Meerza, the Prince Royal, at Persia. I hope I shall not be accused

of affectation, if I say I read this with sincere and deep sorrow. I received from His Royal Highness one uniform succession of the kindest acts of attention; I was admitted by him to a degree of intimacy, in which, when we were by ourselves, all etiquette and restraint were set aside; and, consequently, I became acquainted with his many and great virtues, as well as with his ability and nobleness of mind.* He was, when I left Persia, in 1811, the hope and pride of his country; and his death happening before that of his father, will probably be followed by political changes of the utmost importance.

To return to where I broke off. The Shah, at my next audience, asked me if I had any curiosity to see his collection of jewels, which, he said, as he had been given to understand I had formerly dealt pretty largely in such articles, might afford me some pleasure. The crown of Persia, the state

* I saw His Royal Highness on different occasions, the best personification of Vernon's description of *Harry of Monmouth* my eyes ever beheld:—

—————“ all furnished, all in arms,
 “ All plumed;— * * *
 “ Glittering in golden coats, like images;
 “ As full of spirit as the month of May,
 “ And gorgeous as the sun at Midsummer.
 * * * * *
 “ I saw young (Abbas,) with his beaver on,
 “ His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,—
 * * * * *
 “ And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
 “ As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
 “ To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
 “ And witch the world with noble horsemanship.”

shield, the state dagger, sword and mace, (as far as I now recollect) were shewn to me and the gentlemen who accompanied me to Tæheran; the remainder of the royal jewels were shewn to me, in company with Meerza Bozurg, in a private room of the palace. The crown is very heavy, indeed; but no doubt the weight of it might be considerably diminished, were the jewels which compose a part of it, reset by skilful European workmen. Many of the stones are of a very large size,—but these, generally speaking, are more or less affected by imperfections, either in the water, color, or by flaws: but there are quantities of middle-sized stones, that is, from twenty to forty carats, which are, perhaps, the finest specimens in the world. The pearls employed round the edge of the crown, if their number be considered, are quite wonderful,—and may, certainly, be pronounced unmatched; and the one on which the poet Saadi has founded a fable, stands by itself. It must be admitted, however, that on some of the pearls, age has had the effect which it always will have on this species of jewellery. The shield, the dagger, the sword, and the mace, correspond in value, beauty, and richness of display, with the crown. On state occasions, such as the audience of ambassadors, &c., the shield, the mace, and the sword, are borne by the side of the *Takht*, or throne, on which the Shah sits, by three of the handsomest Georgian Gholams, whose dresses on

this occasion glitter with gold and precious stones. —In viewing the jewels shewn to me, with Meerza Bozurg, we met with our old acquaintances, the Bazubunds, which had belonged to Lutf Ally Khan, and which are spoken of in my first volume. Amongst the others, I was particularly struck with what I know not how to give the reader an idea of, but by calling it the King's Tippet, as it is a covering for part of his back, his shoulders, and his arms, which is only used on the very highest occasions. It is a piece of pearl-work of the most beautiful pattern; the pearls are worked on velvet, but they stand so close together that little, if any, of the velvet is visible. It took me a good hour to examine this single article, which I have no fear of saying cannot be matched in the world. There was not a single pearl employed in forming this most gorgeous trapping, less in size than the largest marrow-fat pea I ever saw raised in England,—and many, I should suppose from a hundred and fifty to two hundred, the size of that sort of wild plum which is known in the country by the name of bullison,—and throughout the whole of these pearls, it would puzzle the best jeweller who should examine them most critically, to discover in more than four or five, a serious fault. The tassel, which on such occasions is appended to the state dagger, is formed of pearls of the most uncommon size and beauty; and the emerald which forms

the top of the tassel, is perhaps the largest perfect one in the world,—it is indeed a jewel one cannot look on without admiration at its colour and brilliancy. In short, the exhibition was such, as safely to be pronounced unique; but it must not be forgotten to be mentioned that it contained no ruby, above thirteen carats, which could pretend to be deemed perfect; and notwithstanding all that has been said of the very large perfect rubies in the possession of the Rajah of Pegu, and the King of Ceylon, I do believe there never has been one in the world, of this description, that much exceeded this weight, except the Abdul Hassanee, the fate of which is narrated in a note in my first volume. For some days after I had seen these jewels, I attempted to make an estimate of their value, but I got so much confused in the recollection of their weight, and the allowance to be made in some of them for their imperfection in water and colour, that I gave it up as impossible. I cannot, however, think I shall much mislead the reader if I say, that on a moderate, perhaps a low, calculation, their value cannot be less than fifteen* millions of our money. The

* It appears from Fraser's *Life of Nadir Shah*, that he carried away from Delhi, jewels, from the Emperor and Omrahs, to the amount of twenty-five crores of rupees; utensils and handles of weapons, set with jewels, with the peacock throne, and nine others, set with precious stones, amounting to nine crores; total amount of crores of rupees, thirty-four; which, according to him, would then have made forty-two millions sterling. I am convinced, therefore, I have not exaggerated the value of the jewels shewn me at Tæheran.

next time I had an audience of the Shah, he paid me the compliment I have already related,* and asked me what I thought of the collection on the whole. "Please your Majesty," said I, "all the time I was viewing it, I could not help thinking myself in Alladeen's garden."† "Aye, aye," replied the Shah, laughing, "it is worth while to shew you these sort of things,—you are a judge of them."

Every thing having been now arranged for my return to Tauris, the Shah gave me my official audience of leave; at which he delivered to me a letter for the King, in which he told me he had strongly recommended me to the favor of my Sovereign, and had expressed his wish that in every transaction which might take place hereafter, between England and Persia, as far as it

* See note in the first vol.

† "He then came down from the terrace, and stopped in the garden to examine the fruit, which he had only seen for an instant as he passed along. The trees of this garden were all full of the most extraordinary fruit. Each tree bore a sort of different color. Some were white, others sparkling and transparent like crystal; some were red, and of different shades; others green, blue, violet, some of a yellowish hue, in short, almost of every color. The white were pearls, the sparkling and transparent were diamonds, the deep red were rubies, the pale a particular sort of ruby, called *Bahais*; the green, emeralds; the blue, turquois; the violet, amethysts; those tinged with yellow, topazes; in the same manner, all the other colored fruits were varieties of precious stones; and the whole of them were of the largest size, and more perfect than any that were ever seen in the world."—*Arabian Nights, Story of Alladeen.*

respected the latter, my opinion should be asked and considered as his own. The next day, the Shah sent me a letter addressed to the Chairman of the East India Company. The Ministers now all paid me a visit of ceremony, which I returned, and the day was fixed for my departure. In the evening of the preceding day, between the morning and evening courts, I received the Shah's commands to repair to the Palace, on reaching which, I was admitted to his presence in a room which formed one side of a small quadrangular court, and I found Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg in attendance. His Majesty told me as it was most probable we should never meet again, he had sent for me once more before I left Tæheran. The Shah then began to talk to me in such terms, both of himself and myself, that I could stand it no longer, and I burst into tears, and Meerza Bozurg fairly sobbed aloud. In the middle of all this, to my infinite surprise, I found the Shah's hand on my shoulder, and heard him say in an indistinct voice, "Go,—God go with you, prosper you, and protect you!" The Shah instantly left the room through one door, and the Meerzas and myself left it by an opposite one.

Everything being settled, we commenced our journey of return to Tauris, where Meerza Bozurg promised to be, very shortly after we should arrive. We took the common route from Tæheran to Tauris, and, in consequence, passed through Mianeh,

which is said to be afflicted with an insect of the bug kind, called in Persia *milleh*, whose bite is so extremely venomous, as generally to endanger life. I do not mean to say such an insect may not, or does not exist, but I do mean to say that accidents from them must be very uncommon ; for I visited Mianeh very often, and frequently passed the night under no very new roof, and with rather a numerous set of attendants, and no accident ever happened to any of us ; besides which, I offered a pretty considerable premium to any person who would bring me one of these insects, alive or dead, without success. Sir William Ouseley states himself to have been more fortunate in this respect ; but he also states another circumstance, on which, I must say, his informant wished to practise on his credulity ; namely, that “ it was related (to him) “ that a servant of Sir Harford Jones had died in “ consequence of their bites,” since no one about, or belonging to me, ever met with such a fate,—at least if it did, it never came to my knowledge. I cannot help also remarking, that there appears a material difference between the insect which Sir William says he kept “ in brown paper for some weeks and then lost,” and the insect described to me by the Persians, who uniformly represented the *milleh* as more approaching to the millipedes, or wood louse, than the bug. The stories told by the Persians (particularly the lower classes) about the fatal bite of this insect, are awful, and quite enough to disturb at Mianeh the rest of a strong-

hearted person, and I was by such persons considered as committing the act of a madman, when I insisted on having a light at night in my sleeping-room at Mianeh. I was, as Sir William Ouseley appears to have been, extremely anxious to possess a specimen of these much-talked about insects, and when I found money could not procure me one, I applied for the interference of Meerza Hassan, the minister of the province, but still without success. I conversed with Meerza Bozurg on the subject, who said he had often heard of the milleh, but never had seen the insect ; had often heard of death being inflicted by its bite, but had never witnessed it, or received a credible account of its having taken place from such cause ; but added, "several of my servants, at various
"times, have been bitten by some insect at Mia-
"neh, which has, for a time, caused them almost
"intolerable pain, and been attended by high
"fever." I can safely say, that at Bagdad and other places, I have often and often witnessed the various effects which the insertion, by bite or sting, of the venomous secretion of different reptiles and insects, have produced on different persons ; and I well remember a servant of my own, at Bagdad, nearly losing his life by the sting of a hornet, which, though painful enough for a time, is seldom attended with any danger of life. I have, therefore, settled my belief on the subject of the milleh to be, that there is at Mianeh a venomous insect, very rarely found, whose bite, to those of a bad

habit of body, does occasion serious inconveniences, particularly when it obliges the patient, for the cure of it, "to be sewed up in a cow's hide."*

We passed through Zengan, where there was stationed a little *Shah-zadeh*, or Prince, about nine years old; he received us with great state, and acted the Prince with laughable solemnity. He afterwards sent me, by his lala, an invitation to sup with him. I asked this gentleman, before I gave an answer, if it was designed the Prince should be present. He said, "No;" on which I said, "Please to make my humble respects to the Prince, and tell him I must decline to accept his invitation." The lala appeared amazed, and said:—"The fire-works are prepared, the tumblers, jugglers, &c. are commanded, and the viands in progress of preparation."—"All this may be very true," I replied, "but there is one thing wanting to induce me to witness the one, or partake of the other—that is, the presence of the Prince; I cannot be the guest of an invisible host." The Meerza left me apparently much out of humour, and I was surprised, in about a couple of hours afterwards, to find he had returned to say the Prince had altered his mind, and would sup with us. The entertainment was like all other Persian entertainments, but the self-possession, courtly behaviour, and phrases, of the little boy, were remarkable enough.

* See Sir William Ouseley's Travels in Persia, vol.

On my return to Tauris I commenced closing every thing I had now to do with the Mission, and I was glad to learn that Meerza Bozurg arrived there shortly after me. I had, as I thought, reason to hope that I might enjoy a week or two of ease and comfort before my departure for England, but in this I reckoned without my host; for an accident took place which might have led to serious consequences, if Meerza Bozurg had not been returned, or if I had left the city.

With the guns and stores sent from Bengal, there was also sent a storekeeper, a very ingenious and useful man, in his way. Upon (I recollect not now what) a quarrel between this person and a Persian in the market, the one drew his sword, and the other his poignard, and the Persian received a severe wound. The storekeeper was immediately seized by the Persian bystanders, and carried off, and the first intimation I had of the business, was from a servant of Meerza Bozurg's desiring me to come to the Meerza's house without delay. I was at first apprehensive something had happened to the Meerza, but the man, in the way there, told me the Meerza was very well, and desired to see me in the little room I have formerly described. On entering, I perceived the Meerza to be in considerable agitation, and he immediately not only acquainted me with all that had happened, but that all the moollahs and men of the law at Tauris, were assembled in another

part of the house, and were loud and clamorous for the immediate punishment of the storekeeper, in consequence of the Persian's wound being so severe as to be considered mortal. After consulting with the Meerza, it was agreed that we should both of us proceed together to the room in which the men of the law, and the men of the church, were assembled.

Immediately on our entrance, unawed by the presence of Meerza Bozurg, they began to talk to me in a very high tone, saying:—"That if the Shah chose to bring infidels to wound and murder the faithful, *they* would not suffer it," and a great deal of that sort of stuff; and claiming also that the storekeeper should instantly suffer capital punishment, for drawing the blood of a Mohammedan, whether the wound were mortal or not. I permitted every one of them to talk as long and as loud as they pleased, and I then said:—

"Gentlemen!" no one can lament more than I do, the accident which has happened; nobody can be less willing to screen a culprit than I am;—but I have a duty to perform,—I am here representing the King of England, and the man is an Englishman; therefore, the first thing I have to do, (mind I neither say he is guilty or not guilty) but the first thing I have to do, is to demand that he be delivered into my hands; and, to cut the business short, I tell you at once, if this is denied, I will use every means in my power to

“ release him by force, if necessary, even if I
“ perish in the attempt. It is beneath me to reply
“ to all the nonsense you have been talking about
“ the Shah, and our coming here, though I shall
“ certainly report your words to His Majesty, but
“ if you have any sense, you must know, that we
“ come here to assist you, to serve you, and I will
“ add, to instruct you : and if you, gentlemen, are
“ dull enough not to comprehend this, the Shah
“ and his Ministers are not.

“ In what part of the world is it that an accident
“ of this sort might not have happened ? Where
“ is the security, that if Persians and Englishmen
“ serve together, it may not happen again ? Much
“ as we must all lament the circumstance, it is
“ now our duty to make use of it so far as to lay
“ down certain rules, as guides for our conduct on
“ future occasions, of this sort, if such should un-
“ fortunately (which I hope not) happen.

“ I will begin by distinctly declaring to you,
“ that for certain crimes, I consider all foreigners
“ to be amenable to the laws of the country in
“ which they reside, and as I know enough of the
“ Mohammedan law, to know, that by it, accurate
“ distinction is made between *murder*, *man-*
“ *slaughter*, and *justifiable homicide*, I conceive
“ there can be but little difficulty or discussion as
“ to the mode of our proceeding in the present
“ case ; I only claim to have the custody of my
“ countryman till his trial, to be present at the

“ examination of all the witnesses, to have the
“ power of re-examining them before the judges,
“ and to have their depositions taken down in
“ writing; these are things which I think, for
“ your own credit, you will consent to. You
“ have two distinct modes of trial, *the Shahr* and
“ *the Ourf*. It shall be at the choice of the
“ plaintiff whether Persian or English, to choose
“ which of these he will adopt, but having made
“ his election, he shall not afterwards change it.
“ If the former be adopted, the cause shall be tried
“ before the highest local, legal authorities, or, if
“ demanded, by either party, before the highest
“ legal authority at the capital;—if the latter be
“ adopted, it shall be either before the governor of
“ the town or province, or, on the demand of
“ either party, before the Shah himself; and in all
“ these cases, the Ambassador, if he chooses, shall
“ either be present, or shall appoint a person to
“ be present, on his part, who shall have the
“ full power of speaking on all points which he
“ may judge proper; and in the event of an En-
“ glishman being condemned, I claim the privilege
“ that the execution of the sentence be transferred
“ to me, or my successor, with a proviso, however,
“ *that one person* belonging to the Government,
“ may be present to see that it is performed; but
“ if the Ambassador can agree with the plaintiff
“ for the price of blood, he shall be able to do so.”

Though I suffered frequent interruptions, I was

heard with more patience than I expected, and the first symptom that I had made any impression, was the dispatch of an order that the storekeeper should be sent to my house; and after a little time I got these fanatic gentlemen, by the assistance of Meerza Bozurg, to acknowledge that what I proposed was reasonable and proper, and strictly agreeable to law. Perhaps this assent was more easily obtained, when in a cooler temper they recollected that the whole of their first tirade to me, was not exactly of a nature that they would be very willing should be literally reported to the Shah, for they had certainly (to say nothing worse of it) spoken very disrespectfully of His Majesty.

On my return home, I had the pleasure to find the wound of the Persian had been greatly exaggerated, and that he was not in the least danger from it; and the still greater pleasure, on questioning the storekeeper, to find that he was by no means so much in fault as the moollah had represented him to be; in short, if he had used a stick instead of a sword, I should rather have applauded than reprimanded him, as he received much provocation, and the Persian was the first to display his weapon.

It is the custom in Persia to soil the horses in the spring of the year. Several fine *chemens*, or meadows, in different parts of the kingdom, are appropriated for receiving the royal stud; and the horses of Ministers and other great men, are gene-

rally sent to such of their friends as are governors of provinces or districts, which possess pasturage fit for that purpose ;—those persons who have not the advantage of doing this, purchase green meat for their horses, and at that time of year quantities of this are daily brought into most towns and cities in the empire, in the shape of green barley, trefoil, lucerne, and spring grasses, and sold at very moderate and reasonable rates. Thirty days is the usual time to keep a horse on this sort of food, during which he is never worked, and at the end of it, he is considered to have been freed from all impurities in his blood, and is then carried to the *hammum*, or hot bath, to be cleansed of his outward impurities. My horses, except such as I had used on my journey to Tæheran, had been received and put to grass by my worthy village-friends at Tikmedash, who now brought them into Tauris in the highest condition. The expressions of these persons, on my approaching departure, were strong, and I have every reason to believe they were sincere, at least, I know those which I made to them in return were so; and, in a letter which I received from my lamented friend, Mr. Sheridan, after my arrival in England, he informed me he had been to pass a day or two amongst them, and that they spoke of me, to him, with the greatest affection. Shenstone says:—

“ Whoe’er has travelled life’s dull round,
“ Where’er his stages may have been,
“ May sigh to think he still has found,
“ The warmest welcome at an inn.”

How far this satirical observation of the poet is true, I will leave others to determine, but I can safely say, that having now travelled "life's dull round" for seventy years, the transactions of sixty of which I can well remember "the kindest well-comes," generally speaking, which I have received, have been from and amongst the lower and middling classes of society. "'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true," that most of us as we advance in rank, wealth, and prosperity, become more selfish and more hard-hearted; and there are some, I fear, who attain this odious disposition to so great a degree of perfection, and "make such sinners of their memories as to credit their own lie," and consider themselves as being made of different materials to their neighbours; but whatever they may think, "there in their forehead sits a bare-ribb'd death," who is so "fell a serjeant," so "strict in his arrest,"—and so unmannerly in the execution of his warrant, that he takes no heed to the lamentations of the proud, nor to the supplications of the poor.*

I trust the coarse, but warm and genuine, hospitality and kindness of these worthy villagers will never depart from my memory, nor that I shall ever forget the first invitation I received to their

* "This is a true saying,"—"For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? *now*, *if thou didst receive it*, why dost *thou glory* as if thou hadst not received it?"

roof, for it is recorded in words which, I pity him who has once read, if he ever forgets them :—

“ Hic tamen hanc mecum poteris requiescere noctem

“ Fronde super viridi—sunt nobis *milia poma*

“ *Castaneæ molles, et pressi copia lactis*

“ Et jam summa procul villarum culmina fumant

“ *Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbra.*

I have already said more, perhaps, about myself than may be agreeable to the reader, and, therefore, I will cut short my parting with Abbas Meerza ; and confine myself to saying, that His Royal Highness presented me with a very handsome diamond snuff-box, presented to him by the Grand Seignor, and a beautiful Cashmire shawl cloak, taken off his own shoulders :—that he put under my care, to proceed to England, two Persian youths, of good families, to be educated there and instructed ; the one, in medicine and astronomy, the other, in painting ; and that if his good wishes and recommendations had prevailed, they would have left me nothing to desire.

It was a matter of heartfelt concern to me, to see the effect the loss of his son, Meerza Hassan, was daily producing in the appearance and mind of Meerza Bozurg, and I am certain that nothing but his devotion to Abbas Meerza, whom he had educated from a child, and his attachment to the Shah, prevented him from withdrawing from the world altogether. I have heard many persons, on various occasions of disappointment, talk very

finely, but I have never seen a man who so practically put *accident* and the world at defiance to ruffle him, as Meerza Bozurg. His manners corresponded with his professions, they were simple and noble ; and without the advantage of a good figure, and with very weak eyes, there was something about him irresistible. Deeply acquainted with the Persian and Arabic languages, and the learning of his country and of the East, a warm admirer and thorough master of its poetry, and liberal in his opinions, *he was* an accomplished Persian gentleman. He had seen all that Persia could shew of life, from the highest to the lowest turns of fortune ; and he had borne great prosperity and the bitterest adversity with equal indifference. His quickness and observation soon enabled him to discover whether the person he was conversing with was intimately acquainted with the subject on which he talked ; if he was, the Meerza never ceased to get from him as much information as he could ; if he was not, the Meerza troubled him but little afterwards with questions, or with much more than general conversation. To the truth of this, I am sure, many of the French gentlemen who were in Persia, and Colonel Sutherland, will vouch. His affection for his old friends in Farsistan and at Schyras never varied,—and especially for such of them as had been the servants, or in the employ of the Zund Princes, it was warm, sincere and uniform ; and for many of these

he had exerted himself in such a manner, that with a sovereign less aware of his merit than Fath Ally Shah, it might have brought his loyalty to the reigning family under suspicion. During the time of Hajee Ibrahim's power, nothing could prevail on Meerza Bozurg to court him, or to speak of him with common temper and patience; whilst that treacherous scoundrel neither feared nor courted any man in the empire so much as Meerza Bozurg.

I hope I am sincerely attached to the religion taught me in my infancy; and this, upon a conviction of its beauty and holiness, brought about by such an examination of its doctrines as my engagements and small ability has allowed; and strange as it may appear, I sincerely believe, only with a more acute mind, this to have been the case with Meerza Bozurg—how far with this excellent person it might have remained the case, if he had the advantage of being acquainted with the dead, and some of the living, languages of Europe, it would be presumption in me to say, and folly to guess. Our differences in faith never made a difference in our friendship, and I am unwilling to believe there was any person out of his own family that he had a greater affection for than myself. His presents to me on our parting were singular; the words by which he accompanied these were still more singular. “I give you my
“ two prayer-carpets, because they are perfectly

“ *halaul*,* and because ever since you have been
 “ in Persia, whenever upon them I have entreated
 “ for any person the divine favor, your name has
 “ always been mentioned. I give you this little
 “ bowl of Tuteneg, because you have a journey
 “ to make in hot weather, and throughout this
 “ you will have daily occasion for this bowl to
 “ drink water, and when you do drink, it will re-
 “ mind you of me. I give you a shawl, the best
 “ we have, which has been worn by Hassan’s mo-
 “ ther, and which I desire may be worn by the
 “ mother of your lately born son. I give you
 “ this box of the true Moomiahyah, which I got
 “ on purpose for you from the Shah, in case you
 “ should meet with an accident on the road.”
 Reader, let me not know that you think the dia-
 monds and money I had received more valuable
 than these simple gifts of the Meerza, for if you
 do, I fear I shall not think the better of you
 afterwards ;—for my own part, some of them

“ *Inspoliata feram tremulo.*”†

The Turkish Minister, Abdul Wahib Effendi,
 having finished, to his satisfaction, the business
 on which he was deputed, and hearing that my
 departure for Constantinople was soon to take

* Lawfully obtained.

† For I regard them as memorials of

“ ——— Those loved companions of my youth,

“ When life was luxury, and friendship truth.

Rogers's Pleasures of Memory.

place, expressed a wish that we should travel together. To this proposition I readily consented, and I believe by so doing I had an opportunity of paying the Effendi very acceptable attentions. He confessed to me that when the Mission was first proposed to him at Constantinople, he had no great wish to accept it, as he had heard enough to alarm him, as to the manner in which orthodox Musselmans were treated in Persia, and added, "I have been agreeably disappointed, and have passed my time as pleasantly as I could have wished, for much of which I believe I may thank Meerza Bozurg and yourself." He was a very amiable person; and I am bound to say, that in my opinion the Ministers at the Porte, in employing him, made a very judicious selection. He told me that the only person he had met with in Persia, who had attempted to draw him into a religious discussion was the Shaik-us-Sàlam, at Tauris, but "you know," said he, "the moollahs are the rudest and greatest blockheads in Turkey, and so I suppose they are in Persia."

Before I commence my journey, I would willingly put down a few scattered observations on general subjects, which though perhaps of no great worth, may not be displeasing. I have purposely omitted particular descriptions of different cities and buildings, which I visited, and of the prospects which, in the course of my journey presented themselves to my view, because there

are books enough on the subject already; and I honestly avow I have never, from the mere verbal description of any person, been able to form more than a very confused and imperfect idea of a landscape, so that I am not vain enough to suppose that I possess a talent which I cannot discover in persons of greater and better ability than myself. I will go farther even than this, and declare, that such is the dullness of my perception, that I have often visited places with a plate in my hand, professing to be a sketch or view of such places, and have been much puzzled to find out the similitude of the one to the other, unless there happened to be a mountain, the shape of which could not well be altered, or a dome which the artist had compunction of conscience enough not to turn into a square tower. That there are numberless beautiful and picturesque views in Persia, there is no doubt; but the want of wood and water, two essential requisites to constitute perfect scenery, is generally a great drawback to the pleasures these views afford: and I think whoever has travelled through Persia, and various parts of Anatolia, as I have done, will feel what I felt, the infinite superiority of the latter in richness, in beauty, in grandeur of parts, and in picturesqueness.

I have not attempted to give an estimate, much less an account of the Revenue of the Persian Empire, because I would not willingly mislead, and

because Meerza Bozurg told me its amount varied every year very considerably. He also said, the accounts delivered into the Royal Treasury are so confused and perplexed, that were they even laid before me, I should not be able to come to an accurate, and consequently satisfactory, result. All, therefore, I learnt from him was, that the present system of collection was bad, and ought to be changed; that the system of *sader* or “requisition,” and *peishcush* was worse, and ought to be abolished; and that the sums which annually passed into the provincial treasuries, (except that of Azarbaijan, which exhibited a deficit) and from them paid into the Royal treasury, were sufficient to defray the expenses of those provinces, and the general disbursements of the Empire; and in most years produced also a surplus, so that the treasury at Tæheran had been for some years in a state of accumulation, but to what amount, the Meerza either could not, or (which I scarcely believe) would not inform me.

Sir John Malcolm states the amount of the fixed revenue of Persia at about three millions sterling;* and he thinks the Revenue collected under the

* “Darius Hystaspes divided Persia into twenty Satrapes, or Governments; and, according to the authority of Herodotus, he fixed its revenue at an amount equal to £2,807,437 of our money, a sum which Dr. Robertson deems so small as to be almost irreconcilable with the many facts concerning the mines, magnificence, and luxury of the East. The learned historian would be surprised to learn that this amount *corresponds almost to a fraction* with the revenue which is at this moment collected

Ourf may be as much more, making together six millions; and he has accompanied this assertion with a great deal of very amusing detail, which I strongly recommend the reader who has a taste for political economy, to consult, and then if he does not come to the same conclusion that I do, and which it appears, Meerza Bozurg did, I shall be surprised; namely, that from the very circumstances Sir John states, it is impossible to put down any fixed sum as being the amount of the Persian Revenue. It is enough for us to know that at the time I left Persia, and I believe at the present moment, she has no public debt, and that *communibus annis* the receipts exceed the expenses of the Empire.

The Government of some of the Provinces, and of many of the large districts in Persia are so far hereditary, as that the person placed at the head of them is always a member of a family whom the Shah has found it either impossible or inconvenient to dispossess. Besides these, there are

“ in Persia, and that kingdom is certainly, at this period, in a
“ flourishing condition.”—*Malcolm's Persia*.

Now I neither affirm nor deny what Sir John has here stated on the authority of Herodotus, because I take it for granted he has quoted him correctly; but if the whole matter contained in this note be fact, I feel it right to call the reader's attention to it as a very curious one:

The fixed Revenue of Persia is founded on principles of collection, stated in the Koran. Was Mohammed in possession of any document which shewed him the fiscal laws of Persia as they stood under Darius Hystaspes—or was he so able a financier as to have hit on a law of finance that would equally in all ages suit Arabia, Persia, and all the East.

portions of land similar to what in England, we should call estates, which have been in the possession of their present proprietors for a long series of years. This class of persons, however, is not very numerous.* Meerza Bozurg is one of them; and it speaks volumes in favor of the moderation and ability with which the several successive members of this family must have conducted themselves, that from the time of their first emigration from Mekka,—where, as I have said before, they still possess the original family dwelling,—though they have been uniformly employed, in the very highest departments of the state under good and bad, under tyrannical and under mild Monarchs, they still have been able to preserve to themselves the possession of their primitive property.

Estates like these are generally farmed to the royal collector of the district in which they happen to be, or else managed for the proprietor by an agent on the spot; for in all the different ways in which I have entered Persian society, I never was introduced to such a person or character, as that we designate by the name of country gentleman—though I suspect many of the family Khans, Governors of Provinces or districts, to live pretty

* “I was told by Meerza Bozurg, the Prime Minister of the Prince Abbas Meerza, that his *personal* estate had been in his family for several years.”—*Malcolm*, p. 486. I take it for granted the Meerza was speaking of what we call *real* and not *personal* estate.

much in the same way as our earls and barons did under our first Norman kings.

The church in Persia has much less power than the church in Turkey, because it is principally a stipendiary church dependent on the Shah for the payment of the salaries of its ministers. For this state of ecclesiastical things Persia is indebted to Nadir Shah, who confiscated to the state the immense revenues which the church then possessed; and chopped off the head of the Moollah Bashi! who first remonstrated against the confiscation and then endeavoured to dethrone him. In all Mohammedan countries the revenues of the church have arisen from two sources, Royal grants and wakfs or legacies. The power of bestowing the last is not abolished in Persia, but the fashion seems to have become nearly obsolete, and to be much in the same state as that amongst us of leaving money for the foundation of alms houses, schools, and those sort of things; and as to royal grants, the moollahs and priests may rather hope than expect to receive them.

Till the priesthood in Persia becomes more enlightened than it is at present, it appears to me, that the Shah will act wisely in making the church of Persia as much as possible a stipendiary church: and had this been done in Turkey, I conceive it might have saved some of the Ottoman emperors from being dethroned, and prevented

many serious commotions in the Provinces. The priesthood in Turkey awes the throne—in Persia the throne awes the priesthood—at Constantinople the Mufti issues a Fetwa to dethrone the sovereign—at Tæheran the Shah may, if he so incline, hang the Mufti, and no one will care or think much about the matter. In Turkey the ignorant, self-conceited, fanatic moollah is beheld with the utmost reverence; in Persia the person holding the same station, and possessing the same qualities, is laughed at, and is almost a proverbial joke; religion, except in the performance of its outward ceremonies, speaking generally, sits very lightly on a Persian. In Persia, one may, without risk, dispute on any point of the Mohammedan faith, even to doubting the prophetic mission of Mahommed, (which, however, no man of good taste or good feeling, except under particular circumstances, would think of doing.) In Turkey, to embark in such a conversation, would cost the Christian, most likely, either apostacy, or life. I never saw a *karagoos*, or puppet pantomime, acted in Persia, in which there was not the part of a blundering, self-conceited moollah, who gets into all sorts of scrapes, and at last, to the great contentment of the audience, or rather of the spectators, gets his head broken. Heaven protect the man who should be bold enough to make such an exhibition in the streets of Constantinople!

On the subject of the administration of justice,

the reader will remember my having already mentioned that it is divided into two branches, one called *Shehr*, or *Shehr Ullah*, the other called *Ourf*. Sir John Malcolm has mentioned these, and translated the first, "*written law*;" the second, "*customary law*." With submission, I find myself compelled to remark, that what Sir John afterwards says on these subjects is not so distinct and clear as some other parts of his laborious work. Meninski translates the word *Shehr*, which is Arabic, *via recta (par excellence) lex canon religionis, religio, justitia, jus*,—the two latter again, in opposition to human justice, and human law; and I can safely affirm, that it is never appealed to without being designated *Shehr ullah (canon Dei)* or the law of God, and therefore its judgments are, or ought to be, strictly confined to the *dicta* contained in the Koran, and so far, indeed, may be called "*written law*." But this branch can neither be administered by the King, nor by a Governor of a province, but by what may be termed a spiritual lawyer or judge. Any person dissatisfied with a decision under the *Ourf*, may, by simply exclaiming *Shehr-ullah!* or *Shehr shereef!* remove his cause from the inferior to the superior court, and so be judged, according to his opinion, by divine, instead of human, law.

I am not aware that if this should not be quite intelligible to my reader, I can explain it better than by laying before him the following passage,

extracted from the incomparable and invaluable work of the Chevalier d'Ohsson, on the Turkish Empire.

“ D'après les principes de la loi, tous les états
 “ Mahometans ont pour maxime fondamentale
 “ d'établir dans les provinces, dans les villes, et
 “ partout où il y a des hommes réunis en société,
 “ deux officiers principaux sous cette dénomina-
 “ tion de Hakim, qui signifie ordonnateur comman-
 “ dant. L'un est revêtu du pouvoir des lois :
 “ l'autre, de celui des armes ; et pour les dis-
 “ tinguer entre eux, on appelle le premier Hakim-
 “ el-Schèry (ministre de la justice) ; le second,
 “ Hakim-ul-Ourf (ministre du pouvoir arbitraire,
 “ ou plutôt de la force publique). L'usage a ce-
 “ pendant consacré dans la bouche du vulgaire le
 “ mot Zabith pour ceux-ci, et le mot de Hakim
 “ pour ceux-là ; de ce titre de Hakim dérive le
 “ mot de Mehkemé,* qui répond à sanctuaire de

* During my residence at Bagdad, when I had nothing to do, I frequently attended the Mehkemeh, where the Cadi got through as much business in the course of the morning as would serve our judges and juries for a week ; and I believe, generally speaking, with full as much *substantial justice* as is dealt out in any of our courts, where quibble, expense, and delay, seem to be standing dishes to those who either make or are invited to such entertainments. The Turks are considered as barbarians, but no man with them is ruined by the law. The English, as we must not doubt, are highly civilized, but can they say the same thing ? The Arabs, Turks, and Persians, may bless God, that though they have locusts and other scourges, which afflict their country—they have no attorneys !

The most amusing causes at the Mehkemeh were those of ladies suing a divorce from their husbands. “ God's fish !” as Charles the

“ la justice, et qui est consacré à tous les tribunaux de l'empire.”

If we consider the state of society in which those were, to whom Mohammed promulgated the system of law laid down, in the Koran ; if we consider the knowledge the Arabs possessed at that time of government, agriculture, and commerce ; if we consider the independence of spirit on which they prided themselves ; and if we consider the wants and necessities which such a government as the Prophet proposed to them would require, we shall naturally imagine that the taxes and impositions contained in the Koran would be moderate in their amount, and simple in their nature ; and so we find them—and I believe, that in all the Mohammedan states these cases are strictly legal, or such as could be recovered or enforced by the *Shehr ullah*, and it is

Second said, “ my old friend the Cadi, settled a case of that sort in as many minutes as it would have taken Doctor's Commons, and the House of Lords, years.” The causes for which a Mohammedan woman can demand a divorce, are clearly and broadly laid down in the Koran,—her evidence is sufficient, because the Mohammedan law supposes, and justly supposes, that the woman must be violently aggrieved, before the innate modesty of her sex, would allow her publicly to appear, to make charges of a certain description against her husband. In five minutes, and for about five shillings and sixpence, she gets her business done. Compare this with the expense and delay of such a case in other places, and then tell me *utrum horum major accipe*. There is one case almost too horrible to suppose, and certainly too horrible to mention, in which the Mohammedan law acts with such delicacy, that the woman has only to lay her slipper reversed, that is the sole upwards, before the Cadi, and the case is finished.

quite certain that the application of their produce is very strictly and guardedly pointed out in the volume which authorises their collection. All taxes beyond these are levied by the *Ourf* by “*Le Ministre du pouvoir arbitraire, ou plutôt de la force publique.*” Sir John Malcolm appears to have understood this when he talks of the fixed revenue of Persia, but I think it will be perceived that he has omitted to tell his reader, why it is the fixed revenue—I completely agree with all he has so well expressed in the following paragraph.

“The principles, however, upon which the whole of the fixed revenue of Persia is settled, are at once just and moderate; and the system is so *perfectly understood*, that it is attended with neither difficulty nor oppression; but unfortunately for that country, its monarchs have never been satisfied with the produce of this revenue, and the justice and moderation of the established assessments have only served to make the inhabitants of Persia feel more sensibly those *irregular* and oppressive taxes to which they are continually exposed.”

In the first rank of these irregular and oppressive taxes, Sir John puts the *pieshcush*, or presents expected to be made on the Nourouze or other occasions; and informs us, on the authority of Mr. Morier, that Hajee Mohammed Hussein Khan,*

* “And we are reconciled to a belief of this fact from the instance of a Governor of a Province, who has for *several years past*

in the year 1808, presented to the Shah fifty-five mules, each covered with a fine Cashmire shawl, and carrying a load of 1,000 tomauns. All this may be very true.—But I beg to say, as one of Alexander's successors did to the historian, when reading his work to him :—"Where was I all the "time?"

Mr. Morier was at that time very young in Persia, and what between a barbarous foreign accent, and scant knowledge of the language, could scarcely make himself understood in the very commonest colloquy ; and I think it will hardly require an oath to make the reader believe, that I was more behind the scenes than Mr. Morier.—The mules were there,—the shawls were there,—and the bags were there,—and I have little doubt that the money was in them,—but to whom the money really belonged, it would puzzle Mr. Morier, as I am sure it would me, to swear. Every one has heard of borrowing of Peter to pay Paul, but this I do know,—the Ameen-ed-dowlah's public *pieshcush* was the bait of a trap to catch others, and regulated in private between the Shah and himself. It is more than probable it may be said, how do you know this?—why, because the same man attempted to practice something in the same way on me ; he wanted me to consent, that the present I had to make to the Shah, when it was sent, should be accompanied

never made an annual present of less than one hundred thousand tomauns."—MALCOLM.

by pearls, shawls, &c. which he would lend me for the occasion, and which should be returned ; and when he found me obstinate, or, as he called it, *perverse*, in refusing such loan, he said the present I had to make, (although reader, it amounted to between 11 and 12,000*l.*) “*was not worthy to be laid before the King,*” and, like a blockhead, began to talk to me (as no doubt he did on these occasions to others, with whom his words would have more effect) of the terrible inconvenience of the King’s coolness.* Sir John Malcolm styles this person respectable ; and says, “this respectable nobleman,† who is Minister of Finance and Go-

* I told this gentleman, in as plain Persian as I could speak, “What I have been commanded by my sovereign to present to the Shah, is sent to him as a mark of His Majesty’s esteem and regard ; and if it were the veriest trifle in the world, instead of being a jewel of such magnificence as the one I am charged with, I will believe, until I know it to be otherwise, that His Persian Majesty would view it and receive it in a proper manner. But if I was certain that the Shah considered my present and *your peishcush* in the same light, I should regard it as my indispensable duty to return that with which I have been entrusted, into the gracious hands of my Sovereign, and tell him my reasons for so doing ;—*if kings and subjects* are jumbled together in your head, they are not in mine.” This was “the first to the Corinthians,” (brass) and ought to have been the last, but it was not. I found afterwards that this had been reported to the Shah, who had good-sense enough to say, “the Fringee is right.”

† Sir John Malcolm appears to me to be particularly infelicitous in his choice of the persons on whom he has thought fit to bestow his praises. Hajee Ibrahim was as execrable a scoundrel as ever lived ; he was the Macbeth of Persia,—he was the cause of the murder of his King, with the hope of taking his place ; he failed—but he would have tried the tragedy a second time, had Fath Ally Shah been less attentive to what was going on, or less inclined (as

“ vernor of Isfahaun, and of all the districts subor-
 “ dinate to that city, derives his power of making
 “ these splendid offerings to his sovereign, from
 “ the most legitimate of all sources,—the general

poor Lutf Ally Khan was) to take counsel from his Ministers.
 This man could truly say

“ The castle of *Lutf Ally* I will surprise,
 “ Seize upon Fars—give to the edge o’ the sword
 “ His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
 “ That trace in him their line.”

And I am happy to add, that he received throughout Persia, what
 Sir John’s countryman did throughout Scotland—

“ Curses not loud but deep, mouth honor, breath,
 “ Which the poor heart would fain deny and dare not.”

Now for the other gentleman, or nobleman. There was not a gentleman on my Mission, who does not know that the Ameen-ed-Dowlah’s knowledge of reading and writing was about equal to that of one of our washerwomen, and his ignorance, except in the *Ourf* of Persian finance, was so gross, and his manners so bad, that he was the constant joke of his brother Ministers. The Shah’s opinion of him was one day expressed to me in very few words:—“ He is
 “ an ass, and of no very high breed, but he is useful, and will bear
 “ a devilish great burthen.” For myself, as an English gentleman, I must unlearn all I have learnt, before I praise a traitor, or think a *blockhead*, though he be a nobleman, a respectable person. Strong and acute as the mind of Sir John Malcolm was in some respects, I doubt if on all occasions it altogether withstood Persian flattery.

“ Καλόν γε λέγεις, ὦ Ιππία. καὶ τῇ Ἑλίων πόλει της σοφίας
 “ αναδημα, την δόξαν ειναι τήνσην, καὶ τοῖς γόνεῦσι τοῖς σοῖς. ἀτὰρ
 “ τι δὴ λέγεις ἡμῖν περι τοῦ Αχιλλέως τε καὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως; πότε-
 “ ρον ἀμείνω καὶ κατὰ τι Φης εἶναι.”—*Platonis Hippias Minor (de Mendacia.)* Taylor’s Translation runs thus:—“ The reputation of
 “ your wisdom, O Hippias, will be a fair monument of glory to your
 “ family and country. And what say you to our question concern-
 “ ing Achilles and Ulysses? [that is, Hajee Ibrahim and the Ameen
 “ ed-dowlah,] Whether of the two think you was the greatest
 “ [rogue] and in what respect?”

“*improvement of the country committed to his charge.*” I will leave the reader to make his own reflections on this passage;—I will only say, as our transatlantic countrymen do,—“I guess,” if Sir John’s History of Persia be ever published at Isfahaun, it will be found that more than one erratum is marked in this passage.

Sir John puts next what is called *sadir*; which, I agree with him, means “public requisition,” the amount of which depends entirely on the *ourf*, and is exceedingly oppressive, for it arises entirely from the caprice of the Monarch, or the representations made to him by Hajee Mohammed Hussein Khan and his satellites. For myself, I am inclined to regard the *soursaut* or purveyance as a very heavy tax on the subject;—but, however, without mentioning other irregular and oppressive means of procuring money from the subject, I think I have said enough to establish my position, that the amount of a revenue, which depends so much on *sic volo sic jubeo*, can have no fixed amount. It is not my design, nor my wish, to write a critique on Sir John Malcolm’s book, which in many parts is excellent, and the best book which has yet appeared on Persia, save and except that prince of travellers, Chardin. Nobody knows better the value, or more unreservedly subscribes to the truth of the old Persian proverb, “*Nemee dānem,—ra-het e jaunem,*” (i. e. *discere nescio est tranquillitas animæ meæ,*) than I do,—but if I speak, I

will endeavour to speak truth, or at least, what I believe to be true.—“*Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*,” ought to be in every honest man’s mind when he puts his thoughts to paper.

Every body knows that the title by which the Grand Seignor holds the Ottoman Empire, is that of being the *visible* representative (such as it is) of the Imaum or legal successor of the Prophet. Every body also knows that the Shah of Persia holds his throne by quite a different title, namely, the longest and strongest sword; for with the Persians the *visible*, or rather *invisible*, Imaum, is at the bottom of a well at Sermen Rey, near Bagdad; and should it please him to come out of it, (which I sincerely hope it will not, for his re-appearance is immediately to precede the destruction of this world) the Persians and their King are bound to receive him as their Imaum, King, and Lord. As Persia stands at present, therefore, the Government of it is as purely despotic as can be imagined; and this despotism, though with curtailed influence, descends all through the Zabiths, of whatever description they may be, high or low. The Shah can do whatever he pleases; the Governors, in their different districts, can do much in this way, and the only risk they run is subjecting themselves to the Shah’s displeasure; for as to being accountable to the *subject* for injuring him, I will be bound to say (the words are untranslatable into Persian) “the aggrieved person may cry out

shehr ullah, but unless he has somebody to support him at court, "it is as a dog howling in "a desert." The system, in short, is well described by Pope's simile of the stone thrown into still water; the first circle which it makes is strong, the succeeding ones weaker and weaker: it is thus with the Persian Government, but the *primum mobile* of each and every circle, is that heaviest of all stones—despotism.

I will now relate all that *I know*, and all that *I believe*, as to the manner in which the Shah spends his time at Tæheran. Like all other Mohammedans, he rises from bed at the specified hour for the morning prayer, and before he performs it, most probably makes use of the hot bath.* In a very

* To the reader who is not much acquainted with the doctrines of Islam, the following may be acceptable.

"That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, (prayer) Mohammed is said to have declared that *the practice of religion is founded in cleanliness*, which is *the one half of the faith*, and *the key of prayer*, without which it will not be heard by God. That these expressions may, therefore, be the better understood, Al Ghazali reckons four degrees of purification,—of which the first is, the cleansing the body from all pollution, filth and excrements; the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions; the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blamable inclinations and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on God; adding that the body is but the outward shell, in this respect, to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves; and at the same time have their

short time after this, I believe there is a general assemblage of the ladies of the palace, and the very younger children, which a person, whom I consider to have had good means of obtaining information, assured me was anything but an agreeable *passe-temps* for the Shah; for he had then so many complaints to hear, so many jealousies to settle, so many pretensions to jewels and others favors, put forth to him, that perhaps when the Shah said to me one day,—“Your fringes ought to bless God that your law allows you but one wife,” he spoke feelingly. The Shah’s *naushtch* or breakfast is now served and (if the ladies have not been very troublesome) in the apartment in which they have been received; if otherwise, the Shah comes into a small room between the public and private apartments of the palace, where he receives the Ministers before the morning dewan, or court, is held.

“minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy. Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged by some writers, with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins.” Sale’s excellent Preliminary Discourse, page 105.

The curious reader will not lose his time, if, after this, he turn to the directions given by our Saviour, and the scattered observations which St. Paul, in his Epistles, makes on prayer.

The periods appointed in the Koran for Mohammedan prayer are five.—1. In the morning before sun-rise. 2. When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian. 3. Afternoon before sunset. 4. In the evening after sunset, and before the day be shut in. 5. After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night.

The Shah's breakfast, like the breakfast of all other Persians, is extremely light, nor does it consist of other things (though, perhaps, of a more choice quality) than those of a Persian gentleman in easy circumstances, except being served in richer and more beautiful utensils. About eight in summer, and nine in winter, the great ministers are admitted to this private audience, at which every thing is settled that is to pass or be performed at the approaching court; and when any of the ministers take the interests of any individual under their protection, it is at this time they are laid before the Shah: the report of what has passed in the city, during the preceding night, is made here also.

About eleven, generally, the Shah proceeds to the Dewan Khaneh, which is a very large hall, or room, open in front, elevated about four feet from the pavement, and enclosed by the walls of an oblong square court. The Shah, if not on the throne, sits in the upper corner of the room, just at the edge of its elevation, so that the ministers, who stand on the pavement below, may be within convenient distance to hear his Majesty, and to reply. Meerza Sheffee, as Prime Minister,* stands separate from

* Meerza Sheffee, on account of his age, infirmities, and long services, was permitted to support himself, even in the Shah's presence, with a cane, in the choice, neatness, and simplicity of which the old gentleman was particularly curious and nice. Whoever has been accustomed to see copies of the Shah Nameh finely illuminated, will recollect, that in the representation of the Mejlis, or

the rest, and nearest the Shah; and Meerza Bozurg, as his *kaimacam*, or lieutenant, stands close at his principal's left hand. Such as are introduced to an audience, either of ceremony or business, enter the court at the end farthest from the Shah, and remain there in a posture betokening great submission, till their names are called by the master of the ceremonies. The person thus called advances, making reverences to the Shah at certain stations, which are marked on the pavement. When he arrives at the point beyond which he is not permitted to approach the Shah, (which varies according to his rank, and is also marked on the pavement) he stands, with his eyes fixed on the ground, till the Shah speaks to him, which he seldom does before fifteen or twenty minutes have passed, unless, indeed, he be a person of great consequence, or one by whom earlier addressing, the Shah intends to distinguish by this public honor. At this court the governors of provinces, and all other distant officers of rank who may happen to be at the capital, are expected to appear, as well as all other persons in the superior grades of office at the capital, as well military as civil; and on Friday, the ecclesiastics, who may (if wanted), be sent for on other days. The Moollah Bashi, and the Shaik-us-Salam, are the only persons amongst

King's Court, there is almost always a *peer-e-merd* (an old man) who is permitted to make use of his cane to support himself in the presence of the Shah.

this body who have the privilege of sitting in the room with the Shah, but this at a great distance from his Majesty. If any of the King's sons are present, as some of them generally are, they all (even Abbas Meerza) stand by the side of the Shah. At this court all presentations take place, all public honors are conferred, all promotions are declared, and, what may appear strange to us, all public executions of criminals take place, within twenty to thirty feet of the Shah. The present Shah, who is a very humane person, when he first came to the throne, whenever an execution took place, found himself obliged (which the Persians considered as very effeminate*) to turn his head aside. Meerza Bozurg one day made a remark to me, which I think a very judicious one. He said, "Our kings, speaking of them generally, are more
"careless about shedding blood than they other-
"wise would be, perhaps, from the circumstance
"of the frequent executions which take place be-
"fore them ; for depend upon it, the first sight of
"human blood, strikes all of us with more or less
"horror and remorse, but the oftener we see it
"shed, the lighter we esteem its value." This court seldom continues beyond half-past twelve. The ministers, after it breaks up, have generally a few minutes audience with the Shah, before he retires to the harem.

In a short time after this, the King's *chausht*, or

* *Missal e zun* (like a woman.)

dinner is served up, at which the elder princes, from ten years of age and upwards, attend standing, though none of them, but such as are called for, appear. The dinner finished, the Shah retires to his siesta, from which he rises to the evening prayer, and, shortly after that is performed, appears in one of the public apartments of the palace. Here also the ministers, who may be designated the cabinet, attend of course, and all other officers that are summoned. This is considered as a Dewan-e-Khass, or particular court, in opposition to the morning, which is the Dewan-e-Aum, or general court. The evening court, sometimes, especially when the troops are assembling, is held in a balcony, overlooking the great square in the palace. A Persian review, which is called *sogoon*, is on a plan entirely different from ours. The troops are assembled at one end of the square, the Shah's balcony being in the middle, in which, besides the commanding officers of the different troops to be reviewed, are also the great ministers. The commanding officer holds in his hand a roll of his men, and calls them consecutively one by one. The man thus called, starts his horse at full gallop, and brings him up on his haunches immediately under the Shah, who examines both for some time, and sometimes even speaks to the man.

At a private signal from the Shah, if the man, horse, and arms are approved, the commanding-

officer calls out *berow* (pass on) the man then slowly walks his horse to the other end of the square, at which there is a gateway, and he passes out—if disapproved, the officer calls out *baush* (remain,) and such persons retire at a distance opposite to the Shah; and when all the rest have passed in review, they are re-examined. After the prayer appointed to be said at the close of the evening, the Shah appears again in public, by candle-light, and this is generally called *Meglise-Shah*, or the King's Assembly, at which none appear but the great Ministers, and such as have the *entrée*; and amongst these the Poet Laureate, if I may use the expression, and the *Wukaa Nevees*, or King's Historian, seldom fail of being present. This assembly, or court, usually finishes about eight or nine, and the Shah then retires. How the Shah passes his hours from that time to the time of rest, I never could exactly learn, but I have reason to think the present Shah is fond of being read to,—is fond of vocal and instrumental music,—is fond of the conversation and society of such ladies as have agreeable voices, and can divert him with tales and stories,—and particularly fond of hearing such of them as are adepts recite, either the heroic, the lyric, or amatory poetry of Persia, in recitative. It may be imagined, therefore, that he employs this part of his time in some one or other of these modes of relaxation; especially as the Shah himself has what the Per-

sians call a very pretty turn for poetry. This I believe to be the common employment of the Shah in the course of the day. The Persians generally go, and I believe the Shah also goes, to bed at an hour which we should call early. It is seldom, however, that the whole night is passed as we pass it, in bed ; the Persians generally arise from it in the course of the night, take coffee, or some refreshment, and retire again to bed. On the days when the King hunts, hawks, or goes to the gardens, it is notified the day before, that next day there will be no Morning Court ; and if ladies are to be of the party, a *korouk*, or interdiction to persons appearing on the road along which the litters of the ladies are to pass, is also proclaimed, which, if infringed, is most severely punished. The days of the Prince-Governors of provinces, and the very highest class of noblemen, are passed a good deal on this plan.

I know of no situation that I should so little like to fill, as that which may be called a Cabinet Minister of Persia ; and I have, in the course of my acquaintance with many of them, considering their age and infirmities, wondered again and again how they supported themselves under what they had to go through. Meerza Sheffee told me, and I have great reason to believe he told me true (for I saw him at most hours of the night or day) that out of the twenty-four hours he was obliged to employ eighteen in business ; and that

during ten of these he was generally obliged to be on his legs, though he was then, as near as he could guess, seventy-four or seventy-five years of age, and so extremely thin, that nearly undressed, as I have seen him, he looked more like a skeleton than a man ; and invariably, on coming home from the evening Meglis, or Court, he was obliged to lie down, and be well *champooed*, or rubbed, before he could attend his guests at supper. Meerza Bozurg told me, ever since he had been in office under the Khajars, he had made it a rule never to take more than four hours sleep in the night, and one in the day.

The course of life of these Ministers, such as I observed it, is as follows :—the time prescribed for the morning prayer is, when a blue thread can be distinguished from a white one, or what is called by the Persians, “the false dawn.” At this time they arise from bed, and, after prayer, spend a little time in the regulation of their private affairs and household concerns. Immediately after the sun appears above the horizon, the Ministers are visible to a particular class of clients, in a room of their house, called *Mee-aneh*, which is between the harem and the public apartments. There they refresh themselves with a small cup of coffee and a calean—they then proceed to the palace, at which each of them has a small separate room. Their servants generally carry thither their breakfasts, and whilst the Shah

is eating his, they are eating theirs. Nothing can be more uncomfortable than this meal, of which I have often partaken, for the room is crowded with suitors, clerks with papers and reports, and so becomes very hot and close, and the poor Minister talks much and eats little. The time soon arrives for them to appear before the Shah, in his private apartment, to which they are followed, as near as such persons can approach, by a crowd of clients and suitors, jostling one another to get an opportunity of speaking to the Minister, *en passant*. From this time to the breaking up of the Court at the Dewan Khaneh, they remain standing in the presence of the Shah. They then have a short audience of the Shah for private orders, and it is but seldom that they return to their houses to dinner, unless they have some particular person to see or to receive there by order of the Shah—they therefore retire to their own rooms, or assemble in that of one of their colleagues; if the latter, they are considered to be in council, and not generally interrupted; but if the former, they are again subject to the intrusion of their suitors and clients,* and these sometimes

* The reader may wonder that these great men suffer this; but perhaps when he is told, that with most of them the greater part of their revenue proceeds from the protection and assistance afforded to these clients, his wonder may diminish. Meerza Bozurg assured me he lived on the produce and rent of his estate, and added, “ whenever I find myself in debt, I tell Abbas Meerza, and he pays “ it, just as the Zund Princes were used to do for my uncle.”

have so little consideration, that it is difficult to get rid of them, even when the Minister wishes to take his siesta ; and I have frequently seen Meerza Sheffee's favorite attendant, who on such occasions looked after his old master, much in the same manner as a nurse looks after a child, and whom he almost adored, obliged to use thumps and kicks to clear the room. Between the siesta and the evening prayer, persons on business are again admitted ; and the prayers finished, the Ministers again attend the Shah. The hour of sunset arrived, the Court breaks up, and the Ministers return to business and their little apartment.

The time of the Mejles now comes, and they again attend the Shah ; and this finished, they return home between eight and nine in the evening. I have seen Meerza Sheffee come home so weak and worn out, as to be obliged to be helped off his mule, and Meerza Bozurg's legs so swollen when his cloth boots* were taken off, as to be disagreeable to look at, and for sometime afterwards very troublesome to him. One might suppose the remaining part of the twenty-four hours was their own—no such thing—five days

* These boots are crimson strong cloth—they are an indispensable requisite to a court dress—they are fastened under the knee with a strong silk garter to keep them up. Meerza Sheffee could not bear this ligature, and his boots were always about his heels. Meerza Bozurg, whose dress was simplicity itself, always prided himself on what tailors call "a good fit," and was more than commonly careful his boots should show no wrinkle ; he therefore wore the ligature extremely tight.

out of the seven they entertain at supper either some of the higher rank of their clients or their friends :—the first thing indeed, the minister does after supper, and sometimes before, is to sleep or rather doze, leaning his body forward and supporting his head with his hands—when he rouses himself it is to some sort of business : he dozes again—he rouses again—he talks again,—and about eleven o'clock he retires to what may truly be called—his rest. In the city, in the camp, it is pretty near the same routine ; and the only holiday which these great officers know, is when, as poor old Meerza Sheffee was used emphatically to say, “ it pleased God to put it into the Shah’s “ head to hawk or pass a day at the gardens ;” on which occasion the attendance of these ministers is not required, and they have the day to themselves.

I am not aware that there exists in any city of Persia, such a person as a gentleman living on what we should call his means or rents ; for persons of this sort generally some how or other attach themselves to the court, perhaps for the greater security of their property. The profession of a merchant in Persia is highly respectable, if not honorable. The higher class of these have always rooms in the best caravanserai in the city, in which they reside, and there they pass the time from breakfast to dinner, and from the evening prayers to sunset. Such caravanserais are a sort

of exchange, where prices are settled, bargains made, and news picked up. For the style in which such persons live, the reader may refer to what I have said of Hajee Eusoof the jeweller. The retail dealers pass pretty much the same portion of time in their shops in the bazaars, as the merchants do in their chambers at the caravanserais. Living, in all parts of Persia where I have been, is extremely cheap; and necessary and useful house-furniture is easy of acquisition, for it consists of a few copper-cooking pots, and carpets, and cushions, which may be had from very low to very high prices. Persia does not abound in disgusting beggars, though it does in disorderly dervishes.

I do not deem myself much mistaken when I say that full one-third of the surface of the Persian empire is uncultivated and perhaps uncultivable; but, in many parts of it which I have seen, the cultivatable land is capable of great improvement: and one species of improvement which in this country is much attended to, is totally neglected there; I mean the plantation of forest trees; though the consequences, which under a good government, would follow its adoption, would be highly beneficial and important. The fruits of Persia are proverbially good of their kind, and so, generally speaking, are the culinary vegetables, which are produced there. Sir John Malcolm and the author of the Sketches from

Persia, talks much of the cultivation of the potato. Meerza Bozurg's opinion of it, as given to me, the reader will find in a note in the Appendix (N).

I agree with Sir John Malcolm, that from any data we at present possess, it is not possible even to guess with tolerable accuracy at the amount of the population of Persia ; especially, as the chief inhabitants of some of the provinces are Nomadic. Under Nadir Shah, it was terribly reduced ; under Kerim Khan it rapidly revived : during the contentions of the Zunds, it decreased ; under Aga Mohammed Khan it continued to do so : under the present Shah it has again increased greatly. Now, what does all this amount to ? why, that as long as the quality of the government is uncertain, the amount of the population must be so too ; when the government is tolerably steady and good, it increases,—when tyrannic and bad, it decreases,—and thus follows the general law of all population.

The breed of man, as an animal, is far superior in Persia to the breed of beasts. Amongst the former, a deformed or weak one is seldom seen ; amongst the latter, it is rare to see any thing very much to be admired ; and of what there is of this sort, much is brought from other countries : horses from Arabia and Turcomania ; sheep and goats from Arabia and Courdistan. It must be confessed, however, that on the southern Persian shores of the Persian Gulf, there is a superb breed of asses, by means of which Persia is supplied with a mag-

nificent breed of mules. As to their kine and cattle, they are very indifferent and poor; but, until the bulk of the nation shall value their flesh more than they do at present, I do not apprehend any great improvement is likely to take place in breed. It is curious to reflect on the pains which man takes to improve the breed, and consequently, the quality of the flesh, of the animal on which he prefers to feed: this, perhaps, is one reason why the sheep in Persia are generally so good.

“What care to tend, to lodge, to cram, to treat him;

“All this he knew, but knew not ’twas to eat him.

“As far as *Lamb* could judge, he reasoned right;

“But as to man, mistook the matter quite.”

I never saw a bull in Persia, which my honest Herefordshire bailiff would not have called a *bug-gaboo*. I never remember seeing above one or two men in Persia, made in a certain part like some of our solid citizens, or like Boniface, “who drinks his ale, eats his ale, and lives on his ale.” There are no people on the face of God’s earth who have less reason to complain of his dealing out to them scantily his best and most precious gift—Intellect!—and I am convinced that few of his creatures, were they under a better form of government, would make greater use of it.

Of ladies of high rank I can give no account, for I never saw the face of one of them; but their sons, generally speaking, are very handsome; and, therefore, if the tree is to be known by its fruit,

some of these ladies must be very beautiful. When Colonel Franklin and myself, many years ago, were in Persia together, we were on such terms of intimacy with two or three families in moderate circumstances, that the women of them did not scruple to join the male part of the family even in our presence. Their figure was good, though slender and light; their complexions, that sort of brunette which the Persians call *Gendowee*, or (wheaten); and their eyes uniformly expressive and brilliant. I fear from what I heard, and what I saw, that with them, as generally throughout the East, the bloom of youth seldom extends, at the utmost, beyond twenty-five years of age.

When I left Persia in 1811, the coin of the Empire was quite pure, and there was less alloy in the Persian gold tomaun, than there is in our coin called the sovereign; their silver rupee was as pure as silver could be; at least the coinage of Tauris was so. The contrast between Turkey and Persia, in this respect, affords matter for reflection. When I joined the Bussora factory, in 1783, the exchange of the Turkish piastre against the pound sterling, was ten; when I came through Constantinople in 1811, it was twenty-five; it has since risen much higher, and the greater part of this mischief has arisen from the outrageous debasement which has since taken place in all the coins of the Empire. Persia has seldom attempted to debase her coin; and if, under particular Princes,

she has attempted to do it, the mischief has not continued long before she returned to a healthful currency. She has had the good sense, or good fortune, never to allow either Jews or Armenians to have any thing to do with her mint. Meerza Bozurg was not, perhaps, so well versed on this subject as to have been able to have debated in the House of Commons, through all its points and nice bearing, the bullion question; but it was well for his country that he knew, and was fully impressed with the truth of, the maxim, that the state which debases its coin, *gains a loss*.

The commerce of Persia, like its population, under the present Shah, has increased prodigiously. When I first arrived at Bussora, about sixty or seventy bales of Indian chintz made the whole of the annual import of this article at Bushire; when I last returned from Persia, this importation had increased to between five or six hundred. At the renewal of the India Company's Charter in 1812, my evidence on the trade of Persia was never asked for, though, perhaps, for many years, I had been as much, if not more, engaged in it, than any other European. I learnt, however, from the public prints, that a person of some note assured the Legislature that it was impossible to increase our exports to Persia, either from this country, or from India;—which, to my mind, is pretty much the same thing as if a person saw a cabbage growing in a certain state, and was to say, this vegetable has no powers

of further increase. We lost an opportunity, especially as things have turned out since, of extending our commerce in Persia, which can never be recalled ; something, however, may be done, if the King's Minister in that country will attend a little to commerce, as matter of diplomacy, and will set his shoulders fairly to the wheel ; and if he is permitted, to lay the report he should be ordered to make, fairly before the British and Indian mercantile world. If I could get at the account of the Russian commerce with Persia, through Georgia, and across the Caspian, I should not be surprised to find, that since the year 1813, it has doubled, trebled, or perhaps quadrupled, its previous amount. He who dogmatically lays down that an export commerce, carried on with a foreign state, and which is increasing in its revenue, increasing in its population, and increasing in its intercourse with the higher civilized states of Europe, cannot be extended, has formed ideas on the subject, entirely different from those which I entertain,—and, I must say, entertain from experience. The Company's Charter of exclusive trade to the East is at an end : all, therefore, that I have said above, (accuse me not of vanity) if Persia continues quiet, and is not entirely in the grasp of Russia, as Turkey seems to be, is very well worth the serious attention of the King and his Ministers.

Most kinds of grain are produced in Persia in great abundance and perfection ; in all the pro-

vinces, more or less, rice (the blessing of the East) is produced ; in some of them, to a perfection, in point of delicacy, and flavor, and nourishment, that I have never met with any where else. If we look only at the face of the country, we shall at once perceive that it must abound in minerals both of the superior and inferior orders. The provinces bordering on the Caspian, possess coal; and there is no doubt that there are others which enjoy the same blessing. If we ever again stand on the same footing with Persia as we did in 1811, it would be well worth the attention of the King's Government, to employ, under the orders of His Minister at Tæheran, a skilful mineralogist, to investigate and examine the unknown, but suspected (at least by me) subterranean treasures of that country. The Persians at that time would have been delighted to have received, and assisted such a person in his researches,—what they may do now is more than I can tell.

If Persia has not lost (as I believe she has not) any of the arts of which she anciently was mistress, I cannot say that she has acquired many new ones. The dyes of Persia, when applied to wool or silk, are of the very richest and most brilliant order ; and her enamelling in relievo, has not yet, that I have seen, been imitated in Europe. I will not say water in Persia is silver, but I will say it is gold—therefore her acquaintance with hydraulics has been of long standing, and is considerable.

“Necessity is the mother of invention,” and, perhaps, when our ancestors knew little more on this subject, than that if a pitcher was dipped into a well, it would fill itself, the Persians were acquainted with many of the most powerful properties of this blessed and most extraordinary fluid.

Experimental philosophy, the true *principium et fons*, is not known in Persia.—Her literature, as compared with that of Europe, is not worth talking about.—Her geography laughable.—Her astronomy worse; for it is the Ptolemean system.—Her poetry, to our cold souls, bombast.—Her chemistry paltry, and little practised, except by some noodle pursuing that *ignis fatuus*, the philosopher’s stone:—and as to her medicine and surgery, God help the patient!* To astrology she

* Justice requires that to this catalogue of ignorance I should add, that as a nation, the Persians have a desire to learn, and genius to profit by instruction. The following may, however, tend to give the reader a notion how far Persian physicians may be confided in.

When I was at Schyras, in the reign of Jaafer Khan, a great Khan of the royal tribe of Zund was afflicted with the leprosy. The King was extremely interested about him, and consulted the Hakim Bashi, or chief physician, or court physician, as to what could be done for his relief. This learned person recommended that the patient should daily be made to swallow a certain quantity of china-ware broken fine. The disease, however, was obstinate, and did not yield to the prescription. The King took it into his head that the fault lay in the insufficiency of the dose, and so ordered the patient to swallow a double one. This, however, produced no alteration in the state of the leper. The Hakim Bashi was consulted again, and he laid the failure of success to the account

is devoted,—and the *Monejem Bashi* or head reader of the stars, is an appointment of great honor and power; for he who can make me believe that he knows when the heavens are favorable to me, when unfavorable to me, when it is proper for me to act, and when to be still,—when pleasure, if attempted, will end in disappointment,—has surely no mean sway over my actions. And the power of the *Monejem Bashi* would be omnipotent, were it not sometimes interfered with by the superstition of taking *faals*, or decisions from the Koran, or Hafez.

of the china administered *not being sufficiently old*. In consequence, the oldest and finest china in the Palace was broken up, ground to powder in quantities, and given to the afflicted Khan, with just the same success that the less valuable china had been.

The Hakim Bashi now delivered it as his opinion that the disease was occasioned by *impurity of blood*; the only sure way to remedy which was, to draw blood from the patient and put it back again, *i. e.* to cause him to drink it. This last prescription, aided, perhaps, by the *very old china*, certainly cured the poor man's leprosy, and, indeed, all his other complaints, if he had any; for before I left Schyras, I saw his corpse carried to the grave. Eastern physicians have, at all times, pursued a system of practice different from that of their brethren in Europe. The Caliph Al Wauthek laboured under a dropsical complaint, brought on by intemperance. The physicians not being able to assuage the violence of the malady, at last thought of ordering the patient to be put into an oven heated as highly as he could possibly bear it. It is said that from the first experiment made of this recipe, the Caliph received considerable relief, which induced him to make a second trial, and to order the oven to be more intensely heated. In this he was obeyed, but perceiving when too late that the heat was beyond his endurance, he beckoned to be taken out, but not time enough to save his life or to prevent his being baked.

It is curious, after so many Greek works have been translated into Arabic and Persian, that the reading of them by the Orientals should have had so little effect on their national compositions—but whoever has tried translation must have felt how stubbornly the idiom of one language resists amalgamation with another, and that a real good critical taste, is not only the most difficult, but the last thing a man attains, especially where the model is in opposition to the taste of his country and contrary to the genius of his language.

Every thing I had to do at Tauris was now finished;—the accounts were made up,—the archives delivered to Mr. Sheridan,—the necessary preparations for the journey to England of my two young friends completed, and they themselves put officially under the care of my excellent friend, Sir James Sutherland. The Persians have a custom worthy of observance by all who travel in countries where the comforts of the journey depend so much on the supplies you carry with you as they do in Persia,—which is, of making the first stage of the journey a very short one, that is, within an easy distance of the city from which you start, so that if you have forgotten anything, or anything necessary in your preparations is found to have been omitted, the fault may be rectified, without great trouble or loss of time.

The gentlemen of the Mission who were at Tauris, were so kind as to accompany me to

where my tent was pitched ; and the next morning we parted, on my part, with feelings of sincere friendship and gratitude, not only for the great assistance I had on many occasions received from them, but also for a general and ready acquiescence with such wishes as I had at different times found necessary to express to them, and, on their part, they did me the honor to express much regret at my departure. It is, perhaps, a melancholy reflection, but, nevertheless, as human nature is constituted, a correct one, that our perception of pleasure is seldom, if ever, so strong and vivid as our perception of pain, and that most of us can, if we will, recollect, that in many of the greatest and best instances which have happened to us of the former, we have frequently not been aware of its real worth and value, till some time after. The sense of pain, however slight, every one knows is vivid enough, whilst a long and uninterrupted enjoyment of health, the greatest, and, perhaps, the strongest, of all pleasures, seldom makes the impression it ought at the time we are enjoying it.

My excellent mehmander, Hyder Ally Khan, was directed to proceed with me as far as Erzerroom, and it had been settled that the Turkish minister, Hyder Ally Khan, and myself, should, on the part of Abbas Meerza, make several confidential communications to the Beglerbeg there ; and in this respect His Royal Highness did me the

honor of telling Hyder Ally Khan not to take a single step without consulting me upon it, and receiving my approbation. On our arrival at Eszeroom, the Beglerbeg was found to be one of those ignorant, narrow-minded, prejudiced Turks, who in that empire are sometimes by chance, and sometimes by corruption, lifted into office.

The Beglerbeg of Erivan, one of the highest officers and noblemen in the Persian empire, had, during his residence at Tauris, the preceding winter, made me promise, that if I returned to England through the countries under his government, I would pass, at least, a week with him ; and the extreme attention and politeness with which he received us, made the time we staid with him pass very agreeably. He seemed to study in what manner he could amuse us most. One day he made a party for us on the banks of some beautiful natural pools, between ten and fifteen miles distant from Erivan, in which are quantities of trout, of the very highest flavor I ever tasted, and whose skin is as beautiful as their flesh is excellent. The water of these pools, for they can scarcely be called lakes, is perfectly limpid and clear, but by no means deep, and the bottom, which appears to be a fine gravel, is apparent in most places, though before the nets were laid down none of us could discover a fish. As soon as the nets had been properly laid, from half-a-dozen to ten of the Beglerbeg's horsemen plunged their horses into the

pool, and rode about in all directions. When this had continued about half an hour, the nets were withdrawn, and were found to contain about a score of trouts, from a pound and a half to two pounds and a half, the most beautiful fish I ever beheld. On the bank of one of the pools, the Beglerbeg had erected a sort of little rough shed to cook in, and near to it was pitched a commodious tent. The fish were speedily served up broiled, and, what surprised me, was to see that the Beglerbeg's cook understood the advantage of "crimping," to the full as well as Sir Humphrey Davy. I have eaten the Wye salmon in as great perfection as it is possible to eat it, but, *me judice*, these trout, in point of flavor, exceed the Wye salmon as much as a turbot does a flounder.

After dining luxuriously, the Khan proposed amusing ourselves by firing at a mark, with ball; and directed some of his Georgian slaves in attendance, to prepare from the wild flowers which grew on the margin of the pools, balls of them, made in the fashion of cowslip balls, which they afterwards threw up in the air for him to fire at with a single bullet. As far as I recollect, he did not once miss to strike these balls, and the point he chose to fire at them, was when they had reached their highest point of ascent. On our way, some of that species of grouse which is so common in Persia, were started, and one of them marked down. I dismounted, walked up to it,

sprung it, and killed the bird on the wing. If the Beglerbeg expressed much astonishment at this feat, my astonishment certainly exceeded his, that he who had successively struck with a single bullet a body in motion in the air, should consider it as a matter of any nicety to kill a bird flying, with small shot.

Our first stage from Erivan, and a very short one, was to the three Churches ; or, as they are commonly called, *Ouach Miatzin*. The Armenian Patriarch, who resides there, received me with great politeness and hospitality. He had already visited me whilst I was the guest of the Beglerbeg, at Erivan. The little French he spoke was difficult to be understood, for it was mixed with great numbers of Italian and Latin words, forming altogether a most beautiful jargon. He had been at St. Petersburg, talked much of the honors he had received there ; but, like a true Perso-Armenian, considered Persia not only as superior to every other place in the world, but, in short, as the only place in it in which any man would live by choice. This confirmed the opinion I have always entertained, that had Meerza Bozurg's scheme for the settlement of these people been carried into execution, it would have produced an instant reaction of emigration of them from Russia, to the land of their fathers, so dearly cherished by their ancestors, and so frequently sighed for by themselves. I doubt whether a good, thorough-paced Julfa Ar-

menian, does not think the religious error of the Mohammedan lighter, and more excusable, than that of the Greek.

I ought not to have left Erivan without saying, that having carefully examined the nature and conditions of its fortifications, the repulse which the Russians met with in the year 1809, when they attempted to storm them, surprised me greatly ; and if the result spoke highly in favor of Persian courage, it said but little in favor of either Russian bravery or science, provided the besieging army were serious, as there is every reason to consider that they were. Sir James Sutherland and myself viewed together this fortress, so highly vaunted by the Persians ; and in every other part but that fronting the river, we could not refrain from smiling ; on that side, indeed, nature has furnished it with a glorious rampart, formed by the almost perpendicular rock on which it stands.

Nor must I omit to mention, that from the Convent of Ouach Miatzin, Ararat presents its lofty peak, in great grandeur and magnificence. I am sorry to say, that the learning of the monks belonging to the convent, is by no means in proportion to the severity of their fasts and ordinances ; and I am not sure that there is one amongst the whole who can read the Gospels in the language in which they were originally written. Of legends, of miracles, of visions, of martyrs, and of the appearances and defeats of the devil, their lore

was prodigious, and some of their accounts very amusing. The Patriarch's politeness and hospitality induced me to remain three days with him. When we parted early in the morning, at the door of the convent, to which the Patriarch attended me, in the very act of mounting my horse, he offered to present me with the oldest copy of the Scriptures (which he held in his hand) that the convent possessed. I would gladly have accepted it, if I had not thought that, taken from such a place, and offered by such a person, there would be something like sacrilege in receiving it.

We reached Erzeroom, without much to interest us in the course of our journey from Erivan, except the great rapidity, and consequently extreme force of the Arras at the place where we forded it; (which made it necessary for each baggage-mule to have two persons, one on the one side, and one on the other, to protect and support him during the transit; for if he stumbled and fell, the current, though shallow, was so strong, that he could not, by his own efforts, have regained his legs;) and, except the difference which we perceived, (with much regret) the moment we had crossed the frontier, between the manners of the Turks and those of the Persians. If a Turk, at Constantinople, considers it as adding to his consequence to be haughty and rude to a stranger, a Turk, on this frontier, seems to consider it *his duty* to be brutal and savage to him: and, on our

entrance into Erzerroom, I had the misfortune to witness as brutal an act of malignity as can well be imagined.

The day previous to our arrival there, I desired the Tartar who accompanied me, to take proper means to acquaint the Beglerbeg that we should reach Erzerroom about twelve o'clock the next day; that I hoped he would direct proper lodgings to be prepared for me; and that I was accompanied by a Persian nobleman, who had acted as my Mehmander throughout the Persian territories. I did not ask that we should be met at a certain distance from the city, but left that entirely to the discretion of the Beglerbeg. My excellent friend, the Effendi, with whom I had now become very intimate, dispatched a note to the Beglerbeg, by the same person who carried to him the Tartar's communication. The consequence was, that the next morning, about eleven o'clock, we were met about two miles distant from Erzerroom, by an inferior officer of the Beglerbeg's household, accompanied by about twenty horsemen, and perhaps fifty vagabond, savage, beggarly-dressed foot, who were stated to be janissaries, and whose presence I was desired to look on as a singular mark of honor and respect.

Ismael the Tartar, who had been long employed by me whilst I was at Bagdad; and whom I had requested Sir Stratford Canning to direct to proceed to Tauris for the purpose of accompanying

me through the Turkish territories to Constantinople, had witnessed not only the respect I had been accustomed to receive at Bagdad, but the marked attention shown to me by all ranks of persons in Persia. Consequently, on seeing what sort of *cortège* was sent to meet us, he came up to me, and said in Arabic—"Sir, I never saw a greater set of scoundrels packed together than those which the Beglerbeg has set out to meet us; I am almost afraid, from some conversation I have overheard, to trust you amongst them;" and sure enough I had not been long amongst them, before they gave me reason rather to regret than rejoice in their company.

In all Turkish processions or alloys, the firing of musquetry makes a part of the ceremony, and the customary compliments of meeting were scarcely finished between myself and the Turkish officer, before the redoubtable janissaries began to honor us with this mark of respect, which from the manner in which it was performed, we should have been better pleased if they had withheld; for I soon perceived from a certain noise in the air, that most of the musquets which they discharged were loaded with ball; and also that they were discharged without the smallest attention or care, how or where they were pointed. My Persian servants, whose attachment to me was not stronger than mine to them, kept close to me, and Hyder Ally Khan, though brave and bold as a

lion, began to show that his situation was by no means pleasant to him.

I had caused the Tartar once or twice to mention to the Beglerbeg's officer our joint wish that the firing of the musquetry should cease; but either he could not or he would not put a stop to it. At last, just as we were entering the city, one of the Persian servants of the Khan received a ball in his thigh, which most unfortunately broke it. This caused, as well as it might, a great deal of confusion. The Turks instantly, loudly, and warmly asserted that it was an accident, and that they were extremely sorry it should have happened; but both the Khan and myself, from what we saw, were very little inclined to consider it as such.

I consulted for a minute with the Khan, and told him it was necessary on the spot to determine whether we should consider what had taken place as *an accident*, or as *an intended piece of brutality*—in the first case, there was no impropriety in our entering the city—in the other, my opinion was, that we should immediately order our tents to be pitched, remain where we were, and consult together what future measures were most advisable to be pursued—adding, however, that the adoption of the latter would, in the present situation of things at Tæheran and Constantinople, naturally bring with it such serious consequences, as made me but little desirous to recom-

mend it, particularly as it would not improve the condition of the poor sufferer. The Khan, as I expected, was at first violent, but I calmed him by saying "My dear Hyder Ally, remember we are " directed by your master, the Prince, to act together, and it is my opinion it will be better to " enter the city and communicate this resolution " in such terms to the Turkish officer, as will " not prevent our afterwards taking such measures as may seem best to us : I will therefore " desire Ismael, the Tartar, to report that we are " willing, until it shall be farther investigated, to " consider what has happened as *an accident*." The Effendi had left us some time before the affair took place ; and it was fortunate he had done so, for the Khan spoke Turkish well, and was in such a towering passion, that he probably would have said something which would have wounded the feelings of that amiable person, for which I should have been very sorry.

Under this arrangement we entered the city ; and after consulting together for some time, we determined to address a joint note to the Beglerbeg, which our friend, the Effendi, undertook to deliver to him. The composition of this note was left to me. The principal point urged in it was, that by prompt and signal satisfaction, the Beglerbeg would prevent the Khan and myself from going into any further investigation of this most unfortunate and extraordinary business ;

which, in such case, we were willing (though rather against our consciences) to consider as *an accident*, principally with a view to prevent more serious discussions on the subject both at Tæheran and Constantinople. The satisfaction demanded in the note was—that an officer of high rank should be instantly despatched to the Shah to apologise to his Majesty for what had happened ; that he should be accompanied by the Turk who had fired the musquet, and be dealt with according to his Majesty's pleasure ; and that a liberal compensation should be made to the poor sufferer.

To this Note an answer was not received till the following morning, though the Effendi had been promised that an answer should be returned the same evening. When the answer reached us, it was found to be evasive and shuffling, which induced me to try my hand at a single shot at the Beglerbeg.—In this I told him ; “ that if some
“ thing satisfactory was not done in the course of
“ two hours, the Khan and myself should consider
“ ourselves compelled to go into a minute examination of the whole affair ; and that having collected all the evidence and information we could
“ on the subject, and having drawn up, as eye
“ witnesses, a fair and impartial report, we should
“ dispatch one copy of those papers to His Persian
“ Majesty, and another to the British Ambassador,
“ and Persian Chargé d’Affaires, at Constantinople ;
“ that with the former a Persian chapper would

“ be dispatched in the evening to Tæheran, whilst
“ Ismail Tartar would at the same time start off
“ with the latter for Constantinople,”—concluding
with—“ your Excellency must be aware, that the
“ British Ambassador and the Persian Chargé
“ d’Affaires will probably think it right to demand
“ your removal from your Government, and though
“ I am sorry for it, there is a greater probability
“ that the King of Persia will demand your Ex-
“ cellency’s head.”

This last note had not been long delivered before the Effendi came to us ; he told us, that the Beglerbeg had sent for him, shewn him my note, and asked his advice as to the manner in which he should act, complaining bitterly, however, at the same time, of the expressions I had made use of to him ; the Effendi then proceeded to say, that he had told the Beglerbeg, that he believed I had said nothing in the note, but what was very likely to happen, if he persisted in refusing proper satisfaction for the serious insult which had been offered to the Khan and myself, and that he had advised him to write me a very civil answer to my note, and to inform me that he had deputed the Effendi to make such arrangements with us as might be satisfactory to both.

The Effendi then delivered to me a note from the Beglerbeg, and we began to consult together what should be done.

The first thing that we insisted on was that the

man who had fired the musquet should be sent to Tæheran. Now, reader, prepare to hear something strange, but which will give you a tolerable idea of what sort of power the Beglerbeg possessed in the city and province, and perhaps give you some idea of the cause which afterwards rendered their capture so easy to the Russians. After a good deal of beating about the bush, and finding the Khan and myself steadily persisting in our demand, the Effendi said in a hesitating voice :—" My kind
" friends, I am compelled to confess to you that
" which I would willingly conceal ; the offender
" is a janissary, and such is the state of insubordi-
" nation and power of that corps in this city, that
" if the Beglerbeg attempts to send him to Tæhe-
" ran in the manner you desire, it will be fol-
" lowed by an immediate insurrection, the ultimate
" consequences of which, if it takes place, it is im-
" possible to foresee. The power of all the offi-
" cers appointed by the Porte along the whole
" Turkish frontiers bordering on Russia and Per-
" sia, is extremely feeble ; the real power is in the
" hands of the Ions* and janissaries, and I am
" sorry to say, you have had an unfortunate spe-
" cimen how brutal the latter are. After this
" confession, I must leave it to your prudence and
" good judgment, to withdraw or persist in such
" a demand."

It was now concluded that the man should be

* Principal men.

sent to us to express his sorrow (which he did very coarsely) for what had happened; that a person of rank should be sent to make a proper apology to the Shah, and that a liberal compensation should be made to the sufferer.

This accident, (if accident it was) evidently rendered any confidential communication with the Beglerbeg, from the Prince Royal, useless, and convinced me that how intimately soever the Courts of Tæheran and Constantinople might be brought to approximate to each other, still Persia could not rationally expect from these brutal Turks on the frontier, a hearty co-operation, even where their mutual interests might be most virtually concerned.

I moved out of Erzerroom to pursue my journey a day before the Effendi, and pitched my little tents, according to the old Persian rule, at a short distance from the city, where, the next day, I was joined by the Effendi, and from whence I took leave of Hyder Ally Khan, and my other Persian friends, and proceeded on my way towards Constantinople. The country between Erzerroom and Tocat is beautifully romantic, and where we fell in with the Euphrates, it is a stream about the size of the Severn at Shrewsbury; its banks, in several places, are as picturesque as can be possibly imagined. The weather we experienced was much like that in England in the same month, with every now and then a violent thunderstorm.

We had not journed above six or seven days from Erzerroom before we found that there were few of the villages at which we arrived, where the plague was not raging; and in a little *cofla*, or caravan, which joined us from one of them, there was more than one accident happened. In the districts through which we passed, it did not seem to me that the cultivation of corn much exceeded what the consumption required,—the flocks were numerous; the pasturages extremely rich; and the mountains, in many places, contained qualities of fine timber of the Turkey and common oak and beech.

The country between Tocat and Constantinople has been so often described by others, that I shall confine myself to saying, that we safely reached the Turkish capital, and were there received by Sir Stratford Canning with that hospitality and politeness for which he was so much distinguished during his residence at Constantinople.

Whilst I remained at Constantinople, I was invited to a public audience of the Grand Vizir, which Sir Stratford very politely gave me his sanction to attend; and at which I publicly received the thanks of the Porte for my conduct towards the Turkish Minister in Persia, and for the services I had formerly rendered to the Porte at Bagdad. Almost immediately on my return from this interview, a very valuable snuff box, richly set with diamonds, was sent from the Porte to Sir Stratford, with a desire that he would pre-

sent it to me, which he did, accompanied by a letter to him from Mr. Berto Pisani, the then first Dragoman to His Majesty's Embassy at the Porte. This letter stated, that he, Mr. Berto Pisani, had been charged by the Porte with the delivery of the box for me, to Sir Stratford, and also charged with a very flattering message, implying that the Porte never could forget the services I had rendered her in Egypt, at Bagdad, and in Persia.

I must also not forget, that during my stay, my worthy friend, the Effendi, was constantly sending me presents of fruits and flowers, both exquisite in their kinds, and in short, taking every other means in his power to manifest how much he felt my conduct towards him in Persia.

That great man, (in the highest and best sense of the words in which they can be applied) the late Lord Collingwood, had ordered to Constantinople, H. M. ship, *La Pomone*, for the purpose of conveying the Persian Ambassador, (if he accompanied me) and myself, from thence to England. She was commanded by Captain Robert Barrie, a gentleman whose high professional character, amiable and polite manners, are too well known to require that I should dwell on them. The frigate, as usual, lay off the Dardanelles, so that when we proceeded to her, we embarked at Constantinople, on board a Greek vessel, bound for the then happy, but since most unfortunate island of Scio. Immediately before *La Pomone* had been

dispatched on her present voyage, she had, under the command of Captain Barrie, fought a most desperate and successful action against some French ships and batteries in Cicogne Bay, in the island of Sardinia; it is true, she had, in her way to Constantinople, been ordered to touch at Malta, that she might there receive such repairs as could be speedily effected; but her commander, after all, considered her, as to the sea, to be in a state of weakness, rather than strength.

Our passage from the Dardanelles to Malta was neither a very good, nor a very bad one, but as we were put under quarantine on our arrival, and only allowed to row about one of the harbours in the barge, I had but a very imperfect sight of the works, and consequently of their real strength and magnitude; still, however, I saw enough to excite my wonder and astonishment. General Oakes did me the honor of coming under the stern of *La Pomone*, for the purpose of paying his compliments to me, and I conversed with him from the cabin windows. A circumstance happened, simple in itself, but which afterwards made a strange impression on the mind of many a brave fellow on board *La Pomone*.

A bomb-boat put off from the shore towards the ship, she was rowed by Jews, who were also owners of the merchandise she contained:—on nearing the vessel, one of the petty officers desired the Jews to keep off; whilst the officer was otherwise em-

ployed, the Jews and their boat contrived to get under the bows of the ship, and finding their trade positively interdicted, they, in revenge, nailed a piece of copper against her bow :—when this was discovered, there seemed to be a general opinion amongst the men, and some of the inferior officers, that poor old La Pomone would never reach England in safety.

From Malta we touched at Cagliari, where Mr. Hill, our Minister, received me very politely. He gave me a hint that some kind of change might probably soon take place in the politics of Russia, and delivered into my charge a packet, which he told me, that it was of the utmost consequence that Marquis Wellesley, who was then Secretary of State for foreign affairs, should, if possible, receive before Lord William Bentinck sailed from England. Having a leading brisk wind through the Straits, the view of Gibraltar was more brief than I could have wished; still, however, I had the pleasure of seeing that which I had all my life longed to behold, that fortress which every Britain reads of with delight, and views (if such be his luck) with pride and astonishment.

I was now fast approaching, what most persons in my situation, frequently term the “happy shores” of Old England. But, alas! to me, except in the blessing of my own family, the great kindness with which I was received by several old and attached friends, and the notice renewed

to me, which, for some time, I had invariably received from two persons of the highest birth, and purest and most ancient nobility, (one of whom has but a little time since ceased to exist) the "happy shores" of Old England were shores of disappointment, and of literal and metaphorical shipwreck !

About 1 P. M. (as near as I recollect) on the 11th of October, 1811, *La Pomone* made the Bill of Portland, which a fog, that had rested on the water from daylight to that hour cleared away, and allowed us to see very distinctly. In a conversation with Captain Barrie, I understood from him, that going through the Needles would probably accelerate our arrival at Portsmouth by some hours ; in consequence of which, I told him all that Mr. Hill had told me of the importance it was, that the dispatches he had given into my charge should reach the Foreign Office before Lord William Bentinck sailed : and, indeed, as far as was prudent, I communicated to him a part of what had passed between Mr. Hill and myself. Barrie, with that zeal for the promotion of the public service which he uniformly displayed, immediately determined to pass through the Needles.

As the ship approached these formidable rocks, the twilight commenced ; and when we had to pass the point of risk, night was setting fast in. The breeze was light, every sail *La Pomone* could carry

was spread ; and if the sight was grand, it was at the same time most awful, for the surge from under the vessel appeared to rebound against the rock, and it seemed as if, from the quarter-deck, one might touch the great Needle with a walking-cane. The Master, according to the rules of H.M. Navy, had the charge of steering the vessel ; but Barrie's anxiety had induced him to take a position forwards : at once I heard him call out, "Hurst Light is open!"—and instantly repeat, "the Light is open, by God!"—running at the same time toward the quarter-deck. The Master still hesitated to give the necessary steering order, and whilst they were speaking, (for it was all matter of an instant) poor La Pomone struck, never to swim again. In less than ten minutes, her masts were all by the board—her gallant trim all destroyed ;—and, in ten more, the powder was in such a state, that we could no longer make signals with cannon. Our first attempt naturally was to endeavour to get the vessel off the rock on which she had struck, in which, if we had succeeded, more of us would have been lost than saved ; for, from the injury she had received, it was afterwards manifest, that she must have gone down the instant she floated into deep water. The tide was ebbing, and therefore against the pilot-boats, from Yarmouth, reaching us, in consequence of our having, in the early part of our misfortune, signalled them. It was about twelve

at night when the first of them reached us ; and, long before that, it was evident there was not the smallest chance of the ship being saved ; but it was not quite so clear, that the rising of the tide might not lift her off the rock into deep water, where she would certainly slip from under us,—this was, therefore, a matter of some anxiety, and made many anxious to quit her as soon as possible.*

The order and subordination which now reigned on board *La Pomone*, spoke volumes in praise of Captain Barrie : as the pilot-boats arrived, the men were drafted into them by roll-call, the sick and infirm first, and then the marines : no breaking open liquor—no pilfering—but one deep expression of sorrow for Barrie, and one loud lament on the fate of “ old Mother Pomone ! ”

I had with me most admirable servants, thoroughly attached to me, particularly a young Frenchman of the name of Rivoire,—to these I left the care of such articles of value belonging to me as they could save—and admirably they performed their duty : for myself, my only care was Mr. Hill's packet ; and early in the business, Barrie was so good as to place the jolly-boat, with two

* Had the accident happened the night before, when we learnt a gale was blowing, few of us could have been saved to tell our tale ; and even now the sky looked wild, and the upper clouds were moving at a rate sufficiently rapid to justify an apprehension that the nearly calm we were then experiencing, would not be of long duration.

hands in her, astern, to be ready for me whenever I should think fit to leave the vessel.

The effect our misfortune had at first on the minds of some of our passengers, was comical enough. Barrie, at Malta, had received a general officer, as passenger, on board. This gentleman weighed some twenty stone, or more, and was, beside, grievously afflicted with the gout; and though he might have manifested great bravery and courage, in standing fire, this did not appear to be the case, "in standing water." For in his impatience to be saved, he stripped himself to his drawers, got out on the boltsprit to jump into the sea, acknowledging at the same time that he could not swim. Had he been permitted to effect his wish, God knows he would soon have found he possessed one of Falstaff's least valuable qualities, "a prodigious alacrity in sinking."

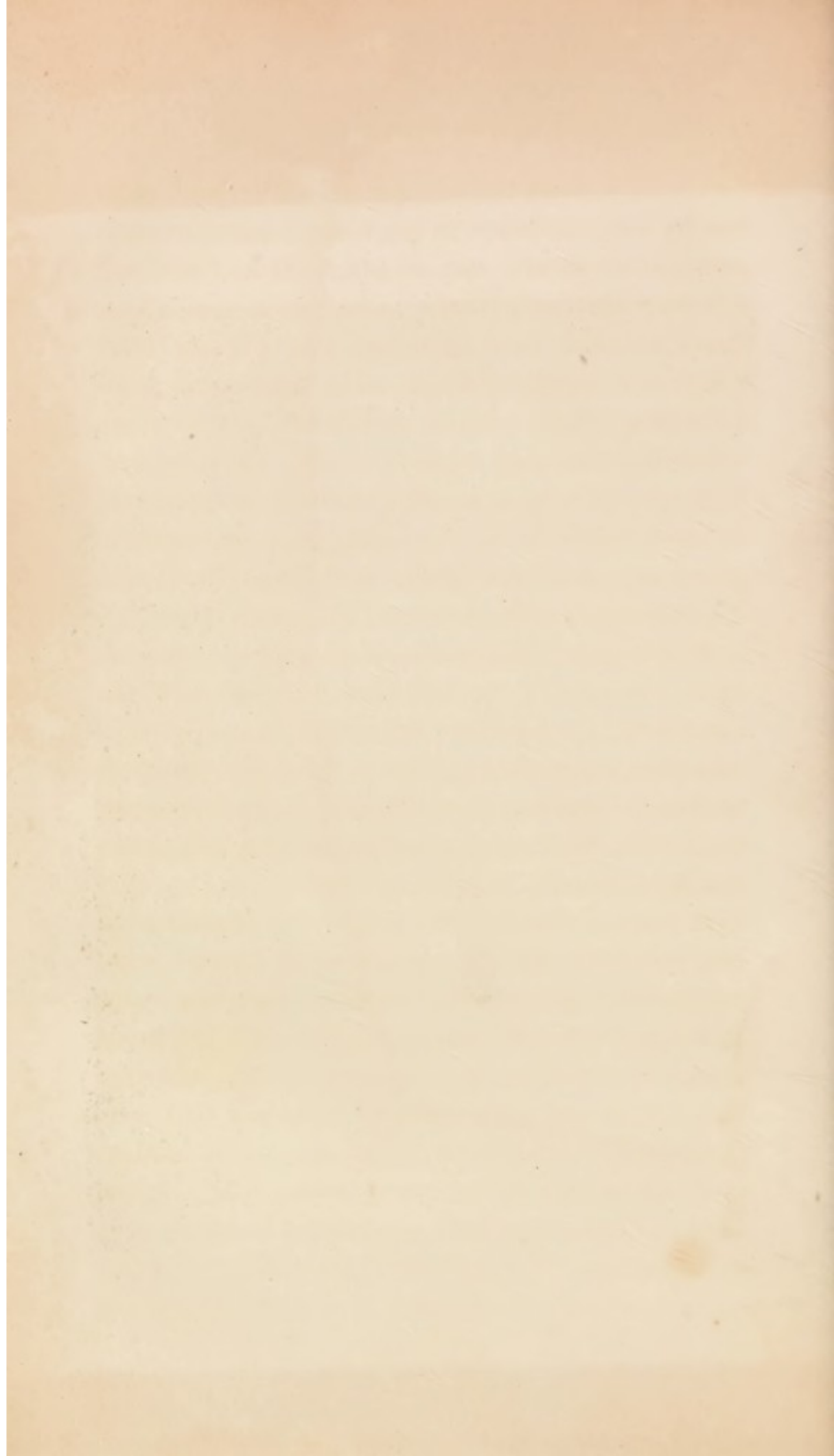
There was another gentleman, a London tradesman (I believe,) whom the lieutenants, with that hospitality which eminently distinguishes the least paid force in His Majesty's service, had, at Malta, admitted to a passage and their mess. Five minutes after *La Pomone* had struck, this gentleman came upon deck with a degree of wildness and fear marked in his face that was quite pitiable. He came up to me. Now the Needle Rock, from the quarter-deck, where we were, absolutely appeared to hang over the ill-fated vessel. "O! Sir!" said he, "the



VIEW of the PROMONTORIES on which LA. PONONIE was WRECKED.

From an original oil painting by Miss Sewell.

By Miss Sewell.



“rock ! the rock !” Sir James Sutherland, who was by me, and loves to his heart a piece of wag-gery, immediately said to him, “Dear Sir, there “is no rock there, what you see is the mizen sail, “and we shall soon be afloat, but she will start “with a tremendous lurch, and I advise you to go “below and take care of your things, that when “this happens they do not roll over one another.” The poor man became calm in an instant, and said to Sir James, “Thank you, Sir,” and went quietly down to protect his things tumbling about when La Pomone should start from the rock.

The curses against the Maltese Jews now became not only *deep* but loud ; and when it was clear poor La Pomone was lost beyond hope of recovery, a deputation from the seamen came aft to Barrie, desiring permission to cover her figure head with what they were pleased to call crape, but was, in fact, a black tarpaulin.

It verged now towards two in the morning. I had remained with Barrie as long as I could be of any use or comfort to him—he now pressed me to leave the wreck, and the jolly-boat was hauled alongside accordingly—but stop, before I get into her, let me pay a just and well-merited tribute to the care and tenderness which Sir James Sutherland, under this trying scene, paid to the Persian boys, who on their part, regarded him in the light of a parent. The little boat, after shipping many a sea, arrived safe at the Escort gun brig, where

I was received with great kindness by the Lieutenant in command, and my arrival reported to the Admiral off Yarmouth. Being, however, something of the wettest, and extremely cold, I sat up the remaining part of the night drinking hot grog, with my noble commander. God knows my poor head suffered for it the next day, so much so, that when I came to write a letter to my wife, to tell her I was safe, and which I designed to put into the post-office at Portsmouth, I found the alphabet, or at least my alphabet, contained more letters, and of more curious forms, than the most skilful grammarian had ever placed there.

It was after three in the evening before I landed at Portsmouth. I went strait to the office of the Port Admiral, Sir Roger Curtis, to report the unfortunate loss of the *Pomone*, and to request of him that my arrival with dispatches of great importance from our Minister at Cagliari, for Marquis Wellesley, might be immediately telegraphed, as well as that if Lord William Bentinck had not sailed, his departure might be delayed till these dispatches had reached Lord Wellesley's hands. This and some other little things relating to personal comfort prevented my leaving Portsmouth till near half-past five.

I had intended to proceed to London without stopping on the road, but, on reaching Liphook, I found myself so much exhausted, that I was

obliged to lie down for a little time, and accordingly I desired that a chaise and four might be ready at one, and that at that time I should be called. Shortly after that hour I started from Liphook, and I had not proceeded above two miles before I was awoke from sleep, and found the chaise overturned in a ditch, but prevented from falling quite to the ground by the bank which supported the hedge : excepting this accident, which caused some delay, I reached London safely on the 12th October, 1811, about five o'clock in the morning. I drove immediately to Downing-street, and lodged there, in proper hands, the dispatches for Marquis Wellesley.

I arrived in London with no more clothes than those on my back, and, as far as I then knew, of what part of my chattels had been saved from the wreck, I might say *omne meum mecum porto*. These clothes were extremely soiled from what happened on board La Pomone, and in the boats, and to make myself tolerably decent to appear before Lord Wellesley, I was obliged to borrow a clean shirt from the master of the hotel at which I took up my lodgings.

About 12 o'clock, Marquis Wellesley granted me an audience. The reception I met with was such as a high-minded, kind-hearted, nobleman, fully acquainted with our interests in Persia, was likely to give. In the first place, his lordship was pleased to say I had acted very judiciously in

putting the telegraph to work at Portsmouth, as the dispatches from Mr. Hill were of great consequence, and he then paid me many compliments, *on the whole of my* conduct in Persia, and at the end of a very long conversation on this subject, I took the liberty of saying, "I doubt, my lord, if the value of what I have done in Persia is fully understood in this country by anybody but yourself." His lordship replied, "Indeed, it is, and by no one better than the Prince Regent."

It is my wish now to write as if I were talking to my pillow, and tell all I did whether favorable or unfavorable to myself; to disclose all I received whether adequate or inadequate to my expectations; to express my sincere gratitude to those who endeavoured to assist me; and to tell such of those who rose up against me, as are now alive, that though, I was blockhead enough to feel greatly disappointed and vexed at the time, yet my heart did rebound from such petty sorrows, though to be assailed by one which I shall carry with me to the grave. He whose elegant mind composed the following most beautiful lines knows well that for wounds of this sort there is no cure, nor any soothing balm but—religion.

"Oh thou! with whom my heart was wont to share
"From reason's dawn each pleasure and each care;
"If thy blest nature now unites above
"An angel's* pity with a Seraph's love,

* "In heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage,
"but are like the angels."

“ Still o’er my life preserve thy mild controul,
“ Correct my views and elevate my soul ;
“ Grant me thy peace and purity of mind,
“ Devout, yet cheerful, active, yet resigned.
“ Grant me like thee, whose heart knew no disguise,
“ Whose blameless wishes never aim’d to rise,
“ To meet the changes time and chance present
“ With modest dignity, and calm content.”* ROGERS.

On leaving England for Persia, a part of the instructions I received from the King was, to prevail on the Shah to appoint a resident Persian Minister to this country, which I had arranged with His Persian Majesty, and a person in this capacity was nominated to accompany me whenever I might return. The first communications I received from my successor, Sir Gore Ouseley, informed me that this part of my instructions was cancelled ; but in the despatches which I received from His Majesty’s Ministers at the same time, not one word of this was mentioned. Nevertheless I made an immediate communication of it to the Shah, with whom, when I came to converse on the business, I found it made an impression which was anything but favorable to my veracity.

In all my transactions with the Shah and his ministers, and indeed with the Persians in general, I had never ventured to assert anything of which I had the least doubt, and their good opinion of me in this respect had hitherto been so established, that however contrary to their judgment anything I said appeared, it nevertheless was easily credited. Here then, just as I was about to leave the country, I was attacked, and

* “ A broken spirit, O God, thou wilt not despise.”

attacked by the Shah himself, on a point on which at least I was most anxious to leave behind me an unblemished reputation ;—to preserve which I would willingly have sacrificed anything belonging to me ; and for this purpose, and to prove to the Shah beyond a doubt, that I had been authorised to ask for the appointment of a resident minister, I made use of the translation of a private letter to me from a friend in office ;—towards that excellent and lamented person my offence was great, because being reported by Sir Gore Ouseley, it brought censure upon him from the minister of the day, Mr. Perceval,—but towards the public, in God Almighty's name, what crime did I commit? yet, if I had robbed the East India Company of as many hundred thousands of pounds* as I saved for them,—if I had vilified my Sovereign to the Persians, instead of uniformly telling them, that next to *my God*, my duty and reverence were due to *the king*,—I could not have been blamed by a certain class of people more than I was for this simple act of self-defence ; and all this was told me even before I was admitted to Marquis Wellesley. I therefore at this interview laid before his lordship the same account of the transaction which I have just given the reader ; Lord Wellesley's answer was the reply of a noble mind and a nobleman :—“ I am sorry
“ you were forced to disclose the contents of a
“ private letter ; but no man is bound to submit

* Vide the beautiful scheme for seizing on the Island of Car-rack by force.

“ to an accusation so nearly affecting his honor,
“ when he has the means in his hands of proving
“ it unfounded.”

Lord Wellesley expressed himself greatly pleased with my having brought to England two Persian youths of good family for their education,—instantly gave the most liberal directions for the establishment of them under the care of Sir James Sutherland,—and a few days afterwards ordered me to present them to him at Apsley House, where he received them in the kindest manner:—all this, as long as my lord continued in office, was continued to them; but afterwards “there arose a King in Egypt who knew not Joseph,” who had a minister, Mr. Cooke, who, let him be as able as ability itself, was to the full, in his manners, as rough as he was able; and knew about as much of Persia as my tom-cat.

These were not the only acts of kindness which I received from Marquis Wellesley. He told me to make out an estimate of my loss by the shipwreck of *La Pomone*, and assured me that it should be made good to me; and to prepare myself as quick as possible for the honor of a private audience of the Prince Regent, which an unfortunate accident, which happened to his Royal Highness, did not permit me to receive before the following month of January.

I reported at the India House, after the delivery to the chairman of the Shah's letter, the whole of the presents I had received,—the one thousand tomans, the two snuff-boxes, &c.; and I heard after-

wards that there had been a discussion amongst the directors, whether I should not be required to deliver them up. Had this been so determined, my intention was to have put the articles into the hands of Marquis Wellesley, with a request to his lordship, that they might, with an expression of my deepest gratitude towards the donors, be returned to them. My reception at the India House, except from one dear person, was that of a culprit, instead of that of a person who had spared neither *body nor mind* to promote the interests of the company.

Some little time after my arrival, it was intimated to me that the Court of Directors were preparing to scrutinize my accounts. This was attempted, but it was found that the nail would not drive; not because the Court of Directors were not willing to strike hard enough with the hammer, but because the wood into which the nail was to be driven was oak, tough and honest enough by nature to resist any force they could apply to the instrument.

When Marquis Wellesley resigned the seals of the Foreign Office, I had no hope of notice from Lord Castlereagh, nor prospect of reward from the India House, though it was clear I had saved the Company the expenditure of "crores of rupees," that is—millions of money. I was therefore advised by some of my best friends to lay my case before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the shape of a petition. The Regent received this

address to him most graciously, and was pleased to express his commands to the Directors that something should be done for me. After a long discussion amongst themselves, and a division on the question, they voted me a present of £5000, which I refused to accept, and reported their resolution to Colonel Mac Mahon, who then held the distinguished office of private secretary to the Regent. He expressed his surprise, and told me he knew it was His Royal Highness's most gracious intention, that something handsome should be done for me; however, there were other speakers on my business at Carlton-House besides myself; and the next time I saw the Colonel, he told me the Regent was very sorry, but his Royal Highness could do no more.

I then asked the Court of Directors for employment. I was answered that the service in India was open to me;—which being translated, is,—“Return to India, where you have appeared as “the King's Envoy, with our brand on your back, “with the rod of Lord Minto hanging over you.”—If this be not adding insult to injury, I know not what is.

Refused employment in all shapes in which I could with honor and even safety to myself enter it,* and my family requiring to be in London to

* I asked to succeed to their agency at the Cape of Good Hope—I asked to succeed to their agency at Constantinople—both refused; surely, neither of these appointments were beyond my pretensions, after *thirty years' service*,—but I was willing to take any thing *I could* take, for the *sake of my family*,—and both these appointments were given to persons who had never been in the Company's service.

finish their education, a friend, partly with my consent, notified to the Court of Directors, that I would accept the £5000 ; it was then put to the vote whether it should be given to me or not, and it was carried in the affirmative, by the casting vote of the chairman. And now, reader, how do you think it was paid ? My salary was to be the same as that which I received at Bagdad, *paid in England, without any deduction* ; but when the Court of Directors came to make this grand present, they made me pay the income tax on my salary, and deducted it from their present, so their gift was reduced to £3,636 !

Now, perhaps some reader may be inclined to say, “ why, you unconscionable fellow, £3,636 is “ more than you and your services are worth put “ together : ” may be so ; but, my worthy friend, please to recollect, that I saved the Company, according to the judgment of those best entitled to pronounce it, some *crores of rupees* ! But, reduce the sum to one million of money ; on which 1 per cent commission is £10,000 ; remember also, that through the friendship of Meerza Bozurg, I defrayed the whole disbursements of the Mission for nine months, for which any other person but myself must have borrowed money at 30 per cent., or any other interest he had been asked : now, in nine months, these disbursements, including civil and military pay, table expenses, &c., could not have been less than £40,000—30 per cent. on this, £9,000 : please also to recollect, that by taking charge of this Mission, I

thought myself bound in honor not to accept the offer most liberally made me by my brother civil servants at Bombay, of placing my name on the Civil Fund, from which, from the instant I arrived in England, I should have received an annuity of £400 per annum.* Turn all these things in your mind, and then vaunt if you can, either the generosity or the justice of the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company towards myself.

I beg to say, that I have related all this without the smallest idea or wish to whine about what has happened.† I have seen enough, and lived long enough, to know, that “the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift;” that “time and chance happen to all men;” and that he, who

* I should now have enjoyed this annuity twenty-two years, making £8,800., deduct £1,000., which I should have paid to have my name put on the list—clear, £7,800! and further more, I should at this moment be in the enjoyment of that which, after my late losses, would be extremely convenient, an annuity for life of £400 per annum.

† It may not, however, be out of the way, just to lay before the reader how differently the Envoy from the Governor-General, the Envoy from the King, and the King's Ambassador, were paid.

Sir John Malcolm, during his four years travels in Persia, received £10,000 per annum, and 1000 rupees a month for Lady Malcolm's expenses during his absence.

Sir Gore Ouseley received £12,700 per annum, a pension of £2000 per annum, and the Privy Council, when he came home.

I received £3,343 per annum, out of which I had to support a family; I lost an annuity of £400, which I might have had; and I got £3,636 as a compensation for being obliged to quit a service to the head of which I had arrived after 31 years standing, and *twenty-three of active and hard employment!*

And though I hope our Saviour's parable of the Lord of the vineyard has been profitably read and pondered on by me, still I cannot consider that the lord of that vineyard in which I consented, at his price, to labour, used me well, or acted like an honest man, when, at the end, and after bearing all the burthen and heat, of the day, he paid me *three farthings*, instead of a *penny*.

like myself, has lived beyond what the inspired writer says, are "the days of our age," and sets his heart very much on that which man can either give him or withhold from him, has a mind differently formed to mine.

I feel that there is work in me yet, if I could get it; but I certainly do pray, that even in my humble situation, by some means or other, God, in his good providence, will afford me an opportunity of manifesting my deep, grateful, and indelible sense of his present Majesty's most gracious condescension towards me. And now, my young readers, if any such I shall have, and any of you happen hereafter to be employed as I have been, preserve in your memories and minds these words, and exhibit them in your practice :—

"Keep innocency, and take heed to the thing that
"is right, for that shall bring a man peace at last."

FEAR GOD, HONOR THE KING,

SERVE YOUR COUNTRY :

leave the rest to that great and good Being

"Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,

"A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

VALE.

NOTES TO THE MISSION.

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NOTE I.

"Interest of Money."—Page 16.

It is curious to observe the same reasoning on the purchase of large jewels, put forth by the oriental jeweller, Hajee Eusoof.—Vide p. 144.

NOTE II.

"More of this Jewel."—Page 16.

Having already stated my opinion, that it was preferable all the presents in Persia should be made in money, there appears an inconsistency in my providing other things for that purpose, but I could not foresee such a "God-send" as this diamond, by which the Company, at the expense of £10,000, gave the Shah that which he estimated at 20,000*l.* or 25,000*l.*—Vide page 144.

NOTE III.

"This most remarkable and gallant Action."—Page 25.

Since the account taken from the Asiatic Register was extracted for this volume, Captain Jenkin Jones, of the Royal Navy, has, much to his honor, vindicated the character of his old commander, by a plain, simple, but most interesting narrative of the whole events which took place, both preceding, and in the battle. The reader will be pleased to remark, that this gallant officer not only was in the battle, but bore a distinguished part in it. I beg, therefore, such of my readers as are interested about the character of Captain Corbett, to refer to the forty-seventh number of the United Service Journal, page 162, in which they will find a letter from Captain Jones, which contains, a complete refutation of the egregious

falsities which appear to have been imposed on Captain Basil Hall, both in respect to the mutiny, and the action with the French frigates. My deep and sincere respect for the memory of my lamented friend, compels me to say, that when the posthumous fame and character of a brother officer were at stake, it would have been better not to have given so hastily to the world an account so totally different from what actually took place.

NOTE IV.

“ Abdullah Aga, a Turk.”—Page 30.

I do not know who is the author of “Sketches of Persia,” but he has taken upon himself to give an account of a conversation between himself and Abdullah Aga, the nature of which astonishes me beyond measure; for he has put into that gentleman’s mouth the following most remarkable words:—

“ Abdulla Aga is a man in whose company I take great pleasure. His understanding is vigorous and strong, and he has sufficient knowledge of the English character to speak his sentiments with freedom and confidence. I shall give the substance of a conversation I had with him about two weeks after my arrival, regarding the present condition of Persia and Turkey, with the resources and character of both which states he is intimately acquainted. Speaking of Turkey, he said he had no idea of its having the power to resist the slightest attack; and, he believed, if left alone, it would soon fall to pieces of itself.— ‘ I am myself a Turk, and know my countrymen well: from the Grand Seignor to the lowest peasant in the empire, they are alike devoid of public virtue and patriotism; and that spirit of religion, which has long been the only bond of union that has kept this unwieldy state together, is every day becoming fainter; and while the Wahâbees are making converts of the inhabitants of Arabia and Syria, the provinces of Turkey in Europe are relaxing from their religious zeal, and becoming every day more ripe for the rule of those Christian nations, under whose power they must soon fall.’

“ I could not help saying I thought he drew an overcharged

“ picture of the weak and distracted state of his country. ‘ You
“ will soon see,’ he said, ‘ whether I am right or wrong. No man,
“ whatever may be his rank, looks beyond his beard in Turkey :
“ if he can find any expedient that gives him a prospect of its
“ growing grey in quiet, he is content ; and where all are so
“ decidedly selfish in their views, who is to provide for the safety
“ of the state, to guard which there must be some common senti-
“ ment of union ?’

“ ‘ What think you of Persia ?’ I asked. ‘ Why, twenty times
“ worse than of Turkey,’ replied he ; ‘ because they are to the full
“ as devoid of every public principle, and much more ignorant.
“ Believe me, you will soon be satisfied that they deserve this cha-
“ racter. Can there be a doubt at the present moment, how they
“ ought to act between you and the French ? and yet you will be
“ able to settle nothing with them that is in the least satisfactory
“ without heavy bribes or harsh measures. ‘ The latter,’ he added,
“ ‘ will be the wisest in the present instance ; for to feed their
“ cupidity is only to whet their appetite, and to encourage them
“ in a course that will, in its result, prove as injurious to these
“ short-sighted fools as to the interests of the English govern-
“ ment.’

“ ‘ The Elchee’s intentions are so friendly,’ I observed in reply,
“ ‘ and his wishes so correspond with their true interests, that they
“ must, I think, meet them, when all the advantages are ex-
“ plained.’—‘ Before you anticipate success from such an expla-
“ nation, you should be certain that those to whom you speak have
“ sense to comprehend you, which the Persians certainly have not.
“ They think of nothing at this moment but the Russians, with
“ whom they have discovered they are not able to contend. ‘ The
“ French pretend to relieve them from this formidable danger,
“ which they have not themselves the courage to face ; and they
“ cling to this promise without ever considering how far those who
“ make it have the means of performing it. They neither under-
“ stand the nature nor distance of the resources of England or
“ France, and are consequently incapable of forming a correct
“ idea of the comparative power which those states possess of

“aiding or injuring them. They know that Bombay is within a month’s sail, Madras six weeks, and Calcutta two months; and they believe you have some ships at these places; but even of these they have no clear idea; and as to Europe, they are as ignorant as an Abyssinian.’

“‘Assuredly,’ said I, ‘you underrate their knowledge.’ ‘I do not,’ said Abdulla; ‘they are worse than I have painted them, and their ignorance is so fortified by pride that there is no hope of their amendment. Why (said he, with animation) what can you expect from men who are ignorant of the surface of the globe? There,’ said he, pointing to a rude Turkish book on geography, which lay near him, and appeared to be a translation from an old geographical grammar—‘there is the only source of my knowledge, which does not place me on a par with one of your school-boys of twelve years of age, and yet I am a wonder among these fools, who are astonished at the extent of my information in this branch of science.’”

Now, reader, let me trouble you with a few remarks on this precious nonsense. For *fourteen years* I knew Abdullah Aga, and I knew him through all the circumstances of life, which can produce the closest intimacy between man and man, lending him money, interfering in his behalf—to screen him from the wrath of his master,—affording him assistance in exile. That his understanding was vigorous and strong, there was not the least doubt; but that he ever spoke his sentiments, with freedom and confidence, to a person nearly a stranger to him, is, from that very circumstance, less likely to have happened, and, as far as I know of him, he must have changed his nature entirely before he would have done so. Is it not very comical that Mr. Peterson, or whoever he is, should have put into Abdullah Aga’s mouth (in paragraphs three and four of this extract, almost word for word) the reasoning on Persia, which General Malcolm used with the government in India. Compare this supposed conversation of Abdullah Aga’s, with the account contained of him in this volume, and then the reader will see, either that Mr. Peterson, or Harford Jones Brydges, has been dealing in fiction.

NOTE V.

“ My old and powerful friend, Meerza Bozurg.”—Page 31.

The following extract is obligingly furnished to me by the politeness of the East India Company ; and it is inserted here, to prove to the reader the intimate connexion that subsisted between us.

Extract of a letter, *ad sensum*, from Meerza Bozurg, to Mr. Harford Jones ; *received 11 May, 1802.*

“ My dear friend. The interest I take in everything which concerns you, and the attention which this government is desirous, on all occasions, of paying to yours, makes me tell you, I cannot think, from what I hear of the state of affairs at Bagdad, that your longer residence there can in any shape be safe, and makes me press you to leave it immediately, on receiving this letter ; assuring you, at the same time, that orders have been given to the Governors of Kermanshah, Hamadan, and other places, to receive you, and the persons in your service, in the handsomest manner. The moment I know your determination to move from Bagdad, his Majesty will despatch a Mehmandar ; and I would have you seriously consider, that the confusion of Bagdad will increase, and where can be the good of your remaining in it ? Remember, that in this country, there is no sort of accommodation, convenience, or respect, which will not, most willingly, be afforded you.”

“ Your *cossid* (messenger) has got a random story of a Frenchman being arrived at Bussorah, and of his being on his way to this Court. As you have not written me anything on this subject, I pay no great attention to the tale ; but if you know anything of this fellow’s business, do not let me remain in ignorance of it one moment.

NOTE IV.

“ The envoy, or elchee, as the Persians.”—Page 35.

This is a fine cock and a bull story of Mr. Peterson’s.—Hajee Baba has not badly quizzed Persians and potatoes, but Peterson is

a much greater quizz, when he tells us the people at Bushire call them *Alou-el-Malcolm* (Malcolm's plum.) God help Mr. Peterson ! In 1783, I ate potatoes at Bushire, at the table of Mr. Galley, our then resident there, who had planted them in the old Dutch garden,—who had strongly recommended them to the merchants, all of whom had expressed the same opinion about them, as the reader will see, if he reads what Meerza Bozurg said to me at Tauris, in 1810.

I find a note of my own stands thus. Much has been said on a certain publication of the advantage that the introduction of the potato root into Persia would confer on the inhabitants. It is impossible to deny that the introduction of any new edible vegetable into a country, if it comes into general use, is an advantage. Long before Sir John Malcolm visited Persia, I gave roots of this plant to several Persians, but I incline to believe the Persians will never hold it in high esteem, or make great use of it, except their whole style and system of cookery is completely changed ; a plain boiled potato, which we consider as excellent, every Persian I have ever offered it to, considered as an abomination ; and the way they treated it, always brought to my mind, what a Turkish gentleman once said to me at Bagdad. He had requested to taste a glass of English porter ; he drank a part of it, and then gravely said to me :—" Do you drink this as physic, or for pleasure ?".

A potato is so stubborn a substance in a Persian ragout, that I know from experience, no Persian *artiste*, when I was in the country, could or would undertake to produce it at table. It so happened, that after a long eulogium on this vegetable, which I had one day made to Meerza Bozurg, he desired me to give him a few of them, accompanied by directions how to dress them. I told him first to order his cook to boil them plain ; if he disliked them that way, the cook might be directed to prepare them *en ragout* ; and if that did not suit his taste, to order them to be served up roasted.

Some time afterwards, I asked him if he had made trial of the potatoes, and how he liked them. He answered he had tried them : boiled, they were eatable, but only as something to keep body and soul together ; in ragout they were detestable ; and roasted, not half so good as a chesnut,—adding, " O ! what a taste you must

“ have to put this coarse vegetable in comparison with God’s most precious gift, rice ! or with the delicate bringal, the bohman, the cauliflower, the carrot, the bean, the harricot ;” and when I told him potatoes were to us what rice was to the Persians, he playfully tapped me on the back, and said :—“ You see God Almighty provides the greatest of all delicacies, and the wholesomest of all food, for the faithful, and leaves you what is only fit for badgers, porcupines, and squirrels.”

NOTE VII.

“ *When Hajee Kheleel expired at Bombay.*”—Page 36.

One mark of attention, esteemed by Marquis Wellesley proper to be shewn to the memory of the unfortunate Hajee Kheleel Khan, was to order that the corpse, in its transit from Bombay to Nejeff, where it was intended it should be buried, should be attended from Bombay to that place, by a civil servant of the Bombay establishment.

Now, for what I know, a Mohammedan in India, accustomed to consider the English as his sovereigns, and sometimes not over and above well instructed in the articles of his faith, might have considered such attendance as a *compliment*, but it seems some how or other to have escaped Marquis Wellesley, that that which might be considered as a compliment at Calcutta, might, in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, be regarded so improper as almost to become an insult.

The gentleman appointed to attend the corpse was Mr. Day, and he was accompanied by, or rather he accompanied, a very near relation of the deceased Khan. The corpse and escort arrived at Bagdad, just at the time when the medical gentleman attached to the residency, and myself, had satisfied ourselves that the plague had recommenced at Bagdad. Mr. Day’s alarm on this account was so great, as to become most tormenting to himself and most ridiculous and troublesome to us, who had stood the plague the preceding year. I therefore re-shipped him for Bussora, as soon as possible, and undertook to receive and execute such wishes as the Khan’s relation expressed to me.

The first conversation I had with him after Mr. Day's departure, convinced me how bitterly he had felt at Bussora, on the way from thence to Bagdad, and at Bagdad, the sarcasms uttered to him on the subject of a *cafer*, or infidel, attending the corpse of one of the faithful to the grave. The Persian moollahs, at the shrines of Nejeff Kerbela, and Kauzemeen, as well as the Persian merchants at Bagdad, were shocked; and on my applying to old Suleiman Paçha, for certain honors to be paid to the corpse, when removed from Bagdad, to be carried to Nejeff, he said :—

“ Very well, as you desire it to be done, it shall be done; but
“ Hajeel Kheleel lived an infidel, and with infidels, and therefore
“ was destined to hell; he was, however, murdered by infidels, and
“ so became a *shahyde*, (martyr) this gave him a chance of paradise;
“ but his former friends have robbed him of this chance, by de-
“ puting an infidel to attend his corpse to the grave; his fate
“ therefore, is now fixed, and you may carry him to the devil in
“ any manner you like best.”

I will take this opportunity to mention, that in three years of plague at Bagdad, Mr. John Hine, the surgeon of the residency, never refused his assistance to any pestiferous person who required it, or would receive it,—that neither he nor I shut ourselves up, and that in respect to myself, passing one day on horse-back through the *porte cochère* of my house, a person, with the plague evidently upon him, clasped my knees, and besought me, for the love of God, that I would direct Mr. Hine to give him his assistance. I relieved myself from him as quick as possible, ran back into the house, and by Mr. Hine's advice, jumped, clothes and all, into a large cistern of cold water, which was always full, for the purpose of supplying the hot baths.

The period at which the plague appeared at Bagdad, was an extremely critical one, it being during the invasion of Egypt by the French, when the supplies of money sent by Suleiman Paçha, to the Grand Vizir, were vitally necessary for the payment and keeping together of the Turkish army, and it therefore became of the utmost importance to prevent the merchants and others from quitting the city, and thereby throwing the commerce of it, and the resources of the Paçhalic, into confusion. This I repeatedly

represented in memorials to the Paçha, who always answered he would remain in the city as long as I did ; thinking, no doubt, I should cry *fire* first. Both of us, however, remained to see the end of the plague, and I to see *the end* of the excellent old Paçha, justly surnamed *Suleiman the Great*, and consequently the commencement of the ruin and delapidation of that great and splendid Paçhalik.

NOTE VIII.

“ *Loss of his life in a very cruel and terrible manner.*”—Page 46.

He was actually cut into small pieces, in the presence of the Shah.

NOTE IX.

“ *Battle of Moorchakoor.*”—Page 177.

“ Les Aghvans rassemblés dans leur camp de Mochacor avoient
 “ abandonné tout le pays qui étoit devant eux, de manière que le
 “ Kan continua sa marche, non-seulement sans obstacle, mais
 “ encore avec des facilités et des secours sur lesquels il ne comptoit pas. Il étoit reçu dans les villes où il passoit avec les acclamations et les épanchemens de joye qu’on devoit au libérateur
 “ de la patrie ; et les habitans de la campagne poussés du même
 “ zèle accouroient en foule sur sa route, et apportoit, de leur
 “ propre mouvement, les vivres et les fourages dont on avoit
 “ besoin.

“ XVIII. Cependant Aschraf, qui connoissoit mieux la valeur
 “ et la discipline des troupes à qui il avoit affaire, ne négligeoit
 “ rien de ce qu’il jugeoit propre à contribuer au succès d’une action
 “ qui alloit décider de son sort. Il avoit reconnu et choisi à loisir
 “ l’emplacement de son camp ; il s’attacha à placer avantageusement ses batteries et à les mettre hors d’insulte en les retranchant
 “ avec soin, et ayant fait d’ailleurs toutes ses dispositions, il se flatta
 “ de réparer par une seconde bataille les breches que celle de Damegan avoit faites à sa réputation et à ses forces.

“ Une si douce illusion ne fut pas de longue durée. Le
 “ dimanche treize de Novembre à huit heures du matin l’ennemi

“ parut en ordre de bataille, et ne différa le moment de l'action,
 “ qu'autant qu'il le falloit pour reprendre haleine et pour mieux former ses rangs.

“ Tahmas-Couli-Kan instruit par expérience de la façon de combattre des rebelles, sembloit n'avoir d'autre crainte que celle de manquer de tems pour rendre sa victoire complète. Il ne daigna pas faire usage de son canon : ses troupes ayant essuyé, sans s'ébranler, le feu de l'artillerie de l'ennemi, celui de la mousqueterie ne put les arrêter ; les Persans s'avancèrent en bon ordre et sans tirer, jusqu'aux batteries qui bordaient d'espace en espace le front de l'armée d'Aschraf, d'où ils firent à bout-touchant leur première décharge.

“ Ils n'eurent pas le tems d'en faire une seconde ; elle n'étoit pas même nécessaire. Une attaque si fière et si brusque pouvoit suffire à déconcerter des troupes plus faites à combattre de pied-ferme que des Aghvans. Ils en furent si étonnés, que ne songeant plus qu'à se soustraire au péril, ils tournèrent bride et reprirent au grand galop le chemin d'Ispahan.—*Hist. de Perse.*

NOTE X.

“ *Dismiss with as little ceremony.*”—Page 201.

Compare this with Lord Minto's conduct in Corsica, to that lamented, gallant, and excellent, officer, the late Sir John Moore. Vide *Life of Sir John*, by his brother, Carrick Moore, Esq., and then determine whether the flaw was in the head or the heart.

NOTE XI.

PERDEHS, or CONAUTS.—Page 240.

Every one conversant with *Travels in Persia*, will recollect how constantly these Whirlwinds, or Sand Spouts, are mentioned as taking place in the large plains.

Whilst I was encamped with the Shah, in the plains of Sultania, the following droll, but provoking, accident happened. I was on the point of sending away a Tartar for Constantinople, with

dispatches for Sir Robert Adair, and for England: Mr. Sheridan and myself were employed in examining them previously to their being sealed. During this, the tent we were in became the centre of one of these moving whirlwinds. One side of the tent was instantly burst open, and every paper on the table carried rapidly, in spiral motion, into the air. We kept our eyes on them as long as we could, but of the major part we lost sight, and they were never recovered; some, however, that were not so forcibly acted on by the current of air, were found dispersed at a long distance from the tent, and brought to me by persons whom I had desired to watch their descent. Had there been a French Mission at that time in the Camp at Sultania, this accident might have been attended with great inconvenience, as many of them were papers which I should by no means have wished such a Mission to have obtained the sight of.

NOTE XII.

“*Prince Khosrow.*”—Page 264.

At all periods of the Persian empire, Eunuchs appear to have been possessed of considerable influence; under weak princes ruling the empire, or bestowing it on such of the royal family, as best suited their views. For instance, after the death of Shah Suleiman, putting aside the elder brother, Abbas, and placing the weak and imbecile Hussein on the throne. Under Darius Nothus, the Eunuch Artoxares formed the project of dethroning his master, and usurping his throne; and, according to Ctesias, he set about it in a very comical manner; that is, by putting on a false beard, and marrying a wife.—*Prideaux, Connection*, p. 212.

NOTE XIII.

“*But I very much doubt.*”—Page 284.

Compare this with what General Malcolm says of this person.

NOTE XIV.

WAKFS.—Page 304.

“ Cet article important qui intéresse à-la-fois la religion et la
 “ politique, demande à être développé avec quelque étendue.

“ Chez les Mahometans, tous les biens consacrés aux temples
 “ ou à des fondations pieuses, portent la dénomination générale de
 “ Wakf, vulgairement dit Wakouf. Ce mot, qui répond a ceux
 “ de cession, consignation, abandon dépôt, emporte cependant
 “ dans son acceptation ordinaire l'idée d'une chose sacrée, d'un
 “ objet voué aux besoins de l'humanité et du culte public, par un
 “ sentiment de piété et d'amour envers Dieu. Ces Wakfs se par-
 “ tagent en trois classes : la première comprend ceux des mosquées,
 “ qui forment, pour ainsi dire, les biens ecclésiastiques de la
 “ nation ; la seconde, les Wakfs publics, ou fondations établies pour
 “ le soulagement des pauvres et le bien général de l'humanité ; la
 “ troisième, les Wakfs coutumiers qui relèvent des mosquées.”—
D'Ohsson, Tab. Gen. de l'Empire Ottomane.

NOTE XV.

“ *Three great projects.*”—Page 313.

One of these, the Turkish Alliance, the reader will see I had nearly the good fortune to assist in executing : it may be asked, did you communicate the other two to your successor, or the Government at home, on your return.

As to my successor, however great his abilities might have been, I could not put him in the same position with Meerza Bozurg as I was myself ; and the little correspondence I had with him soon made me distinctly perceive what he thought of himself, and what he thought of me. And, as to Government, though the Shah desired that my opinion might be asked on all subjects regarding Persia, the regard my opinions were now likely to meet with in certain places, was pretty much like that which the sea is said to have paid to the commands of Canute.

NOTE XVI.

“ *One of the instruments.*”—Page 320.

It is more than probable, had His Majesty Lutf Ally Khan taken my advice, at Khestdt, I should never have seen England again. The reader will remember what Zal Khan said to me when he met me at Khestd : that Lutf Ally Khan repeatedly said :—“ if ever I get hold of that Fringee again, he shall never leave me.” And my respect, admiration, and love for this “ true Lion of War,” were such at that time, (I was not then married) that I cheerfully would have devoted my life to his service. Under him I should probably, therefore, have been a very influential person in Persia. Had I remained there in 1811, if the reader believes all I have told him, I should not, acting with Meerza Sheffee and Meerza Bozurg, have been a very insignificant one.

NOTE XVII.

SIR JAMES SUTHERLAND.—Page 351.

To this day I regret, and I am quite sure, that if the collections of Observations, Bearings, &c., which were made by him during our route from Tauris to Constantinople, had been saved from the wreck of *La Pomone*, the feeling for their unfortunate loss would have been with others the same as with myself.

NOTE XVIII.

BARON WREDE.—*From Mr. Sheridan's Journal.*

February, 1810.—11th. Meerza Bozurg arrived from Taeheran in eleven days.

12. Sir Harford had a conference with Meerza Bozurg at the latter's apartments, at the Palace. The Meerza appeared undetermined how to act with respect to Baron Wrede's Mission, and asked Sir Harford's advice. Sir H. has hitherto, in all matters connected with the politics of Russia, kept this principle in view—“ That Persia is totally unequal to contend, single-handed, against “ Russia ; and that such a contest would only ultimately approxi-

"mate the views of Russia and France towards India." Unacquainted, therefore, with the sentiments of the King's Government, and uncertain what line of conduct the Porte would *be compelled to adopt*, (it having been determined, as Baron Wrede assured the Prince at his first audience, by France, Russia, and Austria, to divide her territories between them) Sir Harford wished to keep the thing in hand until the Turkish Ambassador (if coming at all) arrived. He accordingly recommended the Meerza's writing to General Tormasoff to know the basis on which Russia felt inclined to negotiate a peace. We shall thus gain time—our preparations will go on—and before the messenger returns from Tiflis, (counting his absence at least at twenty-five days) we shall hear from England, and receive certain intelligence of the line intended to be pursued by the Porte. The Meerza has agreed to adopt this plan.

In the course of the conference, the Meerza made strong complaints against our people at Bushire, who, he says, are erecting a kind of fort, for which purpose a vessel lately arrived there with strong materials. He stated that the King had sent down a person secretly to enquire into the truth of this intelligence. Captain Paisley, he added, also had informed the King *that Sir Harford had been recalled from home*—and from other circumstances, Sir Harford suspects that the Government at Tæheran have given leave to the Captain to come up.

13. Meerza Bozurg had a long conference with Sir Harford, in his room; when, on account of their long and intimate acquaintance, Sir H. was informed of the following circumstances by the Meerza:—that he had left Tæheran with the Shah's commands to negotiate a peace, or accept an armistice with Russia, if offered by the latter, *without delay*. The Shah's reasons for this were:—

1st. The distracted state of the Turkish Empire; from which circumstance he could expect little assistance from that quarter.

2d. The uncertainty also, of what line of conduct the Porte would ultimately adopt.

3rd. The general cool, not to say unfriendly, past conduct of Persia towards Turkey.

4th. Under these circumstances, the consequence which it is to Persia to obtain an armistice, even for the shortest time.

5th. *The suspicions the Shah entertained of the good faith of the British Government*, who had recalled Sir Harford, and were erecting a fort within the Persian territories.

These, he said, were all the principal reasons which determined the Shah *to look after himself*, for his own defence; which he could not better do than by a peace with Russia, which would give him time to arrange his affairs, and recruit his army.

The Meerza added—that being now, however, (*i. e.* since his departure from Tæheran) convinced, by the dispatches Sir Harford had received from England, of the King's wish to confirm his alliance with Persia,—and that it was the intention of the Porte to send an Ambassador shortly to Tæheran, he would entirely follow Sir Harford's advice in respect to Baron Wrede; and as he was furnished with full powers for that purpose, he would, as Sir H. recommended, keep the matter in hand till Sir H. heard again from England and Constantinople. The Prince Royal, I hear, is very angry at Captain Paisley's permission to advance; and swears, even if he should reach the gates of Tæheran, he shall not be admitted.

14. A courier sent off to Erzeroom with dispatches for Mr. Adair, with the detail of the preceding conferences.

15. In the evening, Hyder Ally Khan (*i. e.* the Mehmander) waited on Sir Harford with the following communications from Meerza Bozurg.

That the Meerza is just come from a conference with Baron Wrede—in which he had opened to him the plan suggested to the Meerza on the 11th. To this Baron Wrede has objected; and said, he cannot wait the result of such a proceeding—and proposed that either the Meerza, or some other person of rank, should meet General Tormasoff at Sheeragil, or some other place on the frontier.—IN STRICT CONFIDENCE FROM THE MEERZA.—“Two
“ Russian Generals have been sent with troops and money to the
“ Lesghi Tartars and the people of Daghistan, in order either to
“ force them to obedience, or purchase their alliance. Should
“ they succeed, Russia would so establish her power on the north-
“ ern and western frontier of Persia, that the whole country would
“ be open to her.”

It is to prevent this (as I understood it) that Hyder Ally Khan is now come to *ask Sir Harford's consent* that Meerza Bozurg should agree to a meeting with General Tormasoff on the frontier. Sir Harford's answer was short and decisive. "In the present state of our affairs I cannot give my consent to anything which is likely to afford cause of suspicion to Turkey, however it may be pressed upon us by passing events. I rely that this my opinion is not directly or indirectly communicated to the Baron, as it may put me *hors de combat* to render future service to you, should the world turn round."

16. Meerza Hassan, the Prince's Minister, waited on Sir Harford, on the part of his father, and by command of the Prince.—He said Meerza Bozurg had been so often, and so strongly pressed by Baron Wrede to meet General Tormasoff on the frontier, and was so strongly assured by him that if such meeting took place, everything would be amicably settled, that the Meerza, considering the tenor of the King's instructions, had gone into the following points, which Sir Harford, in the conference of the 11th, had laid down as absolutely necessary to be conceded by Russia.

1st. That Persia, in all discussions with Russia relative to a definitive treaty of peace, would not admit or listen to any propositions which might tend to infringe her treaties with England.

2nd. That a direct negative shall be put on any article which even tends to the readmission of a French Mission or French Agents at Tæheran, or in Persia.

3rd. That the passage of foreign troops through Persia would never be consented to.

4th. That Persia would invariably reserve to herself the unqualified right, even in times of peace, of making all warlike preparations she should judge necessary; and also of receiving every assistance in warlike stores, &c. from the King of England, which he should be inclined to afford her.

That the Baron had said all these points would be conceded to Persia by Russia.

Meerza Hassan then talked of the distracted state of the Turkish Empire, and consequently the little assistance which could be expected from that quarter. He then went into a detail of the

military improvements Persia had made, and was daily making—the levy, in different parts of the Empire, of twenty thousand additional troops, to be sent into Azarbaijan, and put under the command of the Prince.

He next adverted to the conduct of the Governor-General, who it was most likely would continue to do all he could to perplex the Persian Ministers and myself. He then mentioned the affair of Taulish—and therefore the possibility of Mustafa Khan calling to his aid the Russians—he again adverted to Turkey, and said, “There is
“but little possibility of her being long able to resist the united
“demands of Russia, Austria, and France. That the proposition
“suggested by Sir H., of writing to Tormasoff, that Meerza
“Bozurg, under the circumstances above detailed, was inclined to
“meet Tormasoff on the frontier, for which he once more re-
“quested *Sir Harford's consent.*”

Sir Harford, in reply—As the Minister of a faithful, and he must add, a powerful ally, he saw with great satisfaction the confidence the Shah and his Ministers reposed in him, which it would always be his endeavour to merit, and never to abuse.

That upon the abstract proposition of the proposed meeting, he would only give an opinion as a friend, and not as a Minister; that therefore his assent or dissent to it must be regarded as no other than a *private opinion between friends.*

That the effects of precipitancy were often irremediable.

That the following considerations were worthy of the most serious examination.

1st. Was it not the policy of Persia so to shape her transactions with Russia, as might best agree with the treaties she had formed, or might form, with other states.

2d. That if the question on the *tapis* related only to Russia and Persia, it would be much easier of solution.

3rd. That there are now only two great Mohammedan kingdoms in the world—that what is injurious to the one, must be so to the other—that when one of them falls, the other must quickly follow, or sink into subjection;—this principle should never be lost sight of by Persia in her transactions with Russia.

4th. That certain bases ought to be fixed, before the meeting was

acceded to ; and that, something more should be obtained, than was contained in Gen. Tormasoff's letter, "*and you will see perhaps we shall be inclined " to do more than you imagine.*" The Shah's dignity, and Meerza Bozurg's rank in the Empire, should not be committed on words so vague.

5th. That the bare fact of such a meeting would be of the highest advantage to Russia, let the meeting end how it would—*for it would excite the jealousy of Turkey.* Russia would then be able to say to the Porte, "Do not expect any assistance from Persia, for see, she is supplicating peace from us." May not this also be made use of to accelerate a peace between Turkey and Russia ; and then it will not be difficult to imagine the language she will hold to you. It seems, therefore, the policy of both, that neither should conclude a *separate peace with Russia.*

6th. The convenience and inconvenience, the advantage and disadvantage, of an armistice with Russia at the present moment, must be considered separately.

Sir Harford then went on to say,—

"Doubtless you will ask why I expect Turkey will continue the present war with Russia. I will tell you. She has only the choice left of either delivering herself, with her hands tied, to Russia and France, or to make a vigorous effort to preserve her independence, which last, by the information which I received from Mr. Adair, she seems to have determined on. England is deeply interested to preserve the integrity of the Turkish and Persian Empires. Besides, if the Turks had any real intention of making peace with Russia, Mr. Adair, who is so much in the confidence of the Ottoman Ministry, would have known it, and would, as far as was proper, have imparted it to me. It will never be by my counsel, nor by my consent, that Persia puts herself in the condition of struggling single-handed with Russia. I know what that must come to. Neither will it be by my counsel, nor by my consent, that Persia remains a spectator while Turkey struggles for her existence. I know, also, what that must come to.

"You have taken some pains to impress on my mind the former conduct of Turkey towards Persia;—on this it is neither my

“ duty nor my business to enter—though I may be permitted to
“ say, supposing all you put forth to be the real state of the case,
“ Turkey seems not to have known her own interests—but at all
“ events, Turkey was then unconnected with you by any specific
“ treaties, and she undoubtedly had a right to pursue that line of
“ conduct she thought best. The case, thank God, is now fast
“ approaching to an alteration. A Turkish Minister is actually
“ on the road—will soon be here—and it may be of the utmost
“ consequence to keep yourselves unfettered till he arrives; and at
“ all events to preserve such an appearance of things as shall give
“ him no cause of jealousy when he does arrive.

“ The vague expressions in Tormasoff’s letter—the urgent haste
“ of Baron Wrede, all supply my mind with food for doubt. If
“ you ask me for counsel here it is.

“ Let a letter to the following purport be dispatched to General
“ Tormasoff:—

“ That Baron Wrede has made to the Persian Court the commu-
“ nications entrusted to him by General Tormasoff—that the wishes
“ which Russia has expressed to put a stop to the effusion of blood
“ between the two countries, is equally desired by Persia—that
“ Persia has foreign connections with other countries which she is
“ bound to respect, and whom, perhaps, she is bound to consult—
“ but, probably, those states, considering Russia and Persia to be
“ neighbours, would throw no obstacles in the way to any measure,
“ which had for its object the stopping of the effusion of human
“ blood. This consideration makes it necessary that General Tor-
“ masoff should acquaint the court of Tæheran, whether a specific
“ treaty, or an armistice, is contemplated by Russia:—in the first
“ case, the leading conditions must be mutually communicated, and
“ if agreed on, plenipotentiaries will be immediately appointed.
“ About an armistice, Persia has no difficulty on these conditions;—
“ the military forces, during it, to remain *in statu quo*; and Russia
“ to forbear, and strictly to prohibit, all intercourse with any of the
“ Shah’s discontented subjects. The answer to such a letter as this,
“ will let us into the true nature of the designs of Russia—and such
“ a letter may be communicated to the Turkish Minister when he
“ arrives, without the smallest scruple or disadvantage.”

17. Sir Harford had an audience of the Prince, to whom he shewed the draft of his letters to the Minister at Tæheran, founded on the opinions he has expressed at the various conferences :—the Prince told him, “ Ambassador, you are right; as long as Turkey “ continues the war, no peace shall be made with Russia.”

Sir Harford, in his letter to Meerza Sheffee, noticed the building said to be erecting at Bushire—told him he had no information regarding it, and, therefore, could not believe the report to be true—if, on the contrary, it was true, and the building was offensive to the King, he would issue instant orders for its removal.

20. The whole mission, by invitation, dined with Meerza Bozurg. After dinner, the Meerza and Sir Harford retired; Sir H. desired me to accompany him. The Meerza said, that since Meerza Hassan’s conference with Sir Harford, he himself had had another conference with Baron Wrede, in which the Baron had told him : “ Russia, in the event of peace, would no longer “ insist on the Arras for a boundary, neither would she claim the “ cities and countries adjoining Erivan and Nackshivan,—that she “ would either give up to the King, or force all the Mohammedan “ inhabitants of Georgia to expatriate—that, if this did not suit “ the sentiments of the Persian Court, Russia would propose the “ total evacuation of Georgia, on condition that Persia would in- “ demnify her for all the expenses she had been at, in the erection “ of forts, &c. &c., since the country first came into her “ possession.” The Meerza said, he was astonished at this offer, and asked the Baron what were the views of Russia in now offering Persia terms of peace so different from any she had hitherto held out. The Baron replied, “ he would frankly tell “ him, that Russia had become jealous of the designs of France— “ that she had very little doubt, whenever the opportunity offered, “ that Bonaparte would treat her in the same manner in which he “ had behaved to all his other allies,—that Russia, piquing her- “ self on her regard to, and strict observance of, treaties, did not “ like to begin the matter first; but she was certain that at the “ moment when Napoleon returned from Spain, he would attack “ her; and she, therefore, wished to settle all her matters in this “ quarter first, that she might be enabled to repel him with her

“ whole force.” The Meerza said, that before the Baron commenced this speech, he ordered every one with him to quit the room, and went out himself to see if any one was in the anti-chamber, or listening at the window.

The Meerza said, he was so much astonished at this declaration of the Baron, that for some time he could not answer him, as he concluded the Baron meant to deceive him;—at last he said “ how does this agree with what you told me of Russia, France, “ and Austria, determining to make common war on Turkey, and “ to divide it between them ?”—“ This is another thing,” said the Baron—“ we look on the Turkish Empire as a kind of rotten “ mass that is crumbling to pieces ; and if we do not interfere in “ the business, France will get the largest share, and augment her “ present gigantic power to the conquest of all Europe. Could we “ suppose that Turkey could stand against France, there is nothing “ the Court of St. Petersburg would desire so much as an alliance “ with her.” The Meerza said, “ the more he thought on what “ had passed at his late conference with Baron Wrede, the more “ he was puzzled, and impressed with an idea, all was not right “ at bottom ; and that he would advise the Prince, as well as the “ ministry at Tæheran, to be extremely guarded and watchful on “ the subject.”

Sir Harford said, “ This is particularly necessary. I am puzzled “ like yourself—the misunderstanding between Russia and France “ has been so long given out, without any apparent evidence of its “ being true, that I begin to consider it as a trick. If Russia is “ really alarmed at the encreasing power of France, and wishes “ to circumscribe it, why did she lose the opportunity after the “ glorious battle of Asperne, of joining her forces to those of “ Austria ? Besides, if the sentiments of Russia are really such “ as the Baron describes, would she pursue the conduct she is at “ present pursuing towards England ?—would General Tormasoff “ indulge himself as he has done in a violent tirade on the dis- “ tresses of England to the Prince ? Would Russia wait till “ Bonaparte has settled the affairs of Spain, which, if he does “ successfully, France will become ten times more formidable than “ she is at present ?” Sir Harford added, “ I am far from thinking

“ that the day will not come, when Russia will heartily repent the
“ furtherance she has given to the ambitious designs of Bonaparte ;
“ but at present I must say I see no symptoms of her entertaining
“ such sentiments.”

21. Baron Wrede dispatched a messenger to Teflis.

24. Meerza Hassan sent to inform Sir Harford that the Prince had declined giving any answer to Tormasoff by that messenger, as he had referred the whole matter to the Ministry at Tæheran, and determined to wait their answer. Hyder Ally Khan, who brought this message, added, the Prince had desired him to tell Sir Harford, that he had sent for Baron Wrede, and told him, that he himself in the spring should be on the frontier, when he would ask for General Tormasoff to meet him. Hyder Ally was desired to tell Sir Harford, *in confidence*, that the Baron had yesterday received a messenger from General Tormasoff with letters, expressing his surprise that he had not heard from him since his arrival at Tauris, and desiring immediately to know what turn the affair under his management was likely to take.

27. Tartars arrived from Constantinople with letters to the Prince. By this opportunity Sir H. also heard from Mr. Adair, who is making up a packet, which he will dispatch in three days.

28. Private conference between Meerza Bozurg and Sir Harford, at which, as Sir H. afterwards told me, the Meerza disclosed to him every thing they had just received from their agent at Constantinople. The bulk of which was a prodigious exaggeration of the French force, and the most dismal and distressing account of the Turkish Empire.* The Meerza added, “ in consequence of this, he had this morning sent for Baron Wrede, “ with a view to get some farther light thrown on the confused “ dispatches they had received from their agent—that in the course “ of conversation, the Baron told him, that the Russians only “ waited the breaking up of the season to commence an attack on “ Constantinople ; and that, in fact, he considered the attack as “ already commenced.” After some time, the Baron put the fol-

* Sir Harford suspects that either from ignorance, or some other cause, this man is not doing his duty—but he waits farther proof before he expresses a wish for his removal.

lowing question to him:—" *In the event of our evacuating Georgia, will you consent to confine your alliance with foreign states to Russia alone?*" The Meerza said he replied, "As far as he had ever read or heard of Persian history, Persia could never be accused of infringing any treaty she had made with a foreign state." The Baron replied, "you lately made treaty with France, and you broke it."—"It was not Persia that broke it, but France—the essence of that treaty, was the restitution of Georgia. France either would not, or could not, perform her promise. We determined not to be trifled with longer, and formed an alliance with England; and we daily expect the ratification of this treaty—and you may be sure when it comes, Persia will most steadily abide by it."

The Meerza said Baron Wrede had told Fath Ally Khan, the Governor of Tauris, that the French in India had taken a large part of the English possessions there; which, on being asked whether he had said so or no, he positively denied. "This," the Meerza added, "has given me a very bad impression not only of the Baron's sense, but of his veracity." He likewise told Fath Ally Khan that the causes of Russia and France were two separate things, and he expressed the greatest abhorrence of French principles.

The Meerza then said, "you know I keep nothing from you, and I will now in the strictest confidence tell you a most extraordinary thing."

"When M. Jouanin, on his last departure from Tauris, arrived on the Turkish frontier, he heard of Baron Wrede's re-appointment to this place, and he gave in charge to the person directed to see him out of the Persian territories, the following message for me:—

" 'Tell Meerza Bozurg I shall never forget his kindness to me, and as a proof of it, I advise him to beware of Russia—nor trust one word that Baron Wrede, who is now re-appointed to Tauris, shall tell him; Russia's object is to deceive and cajole the court of Tæheran. Let him therefore be on his guard against the Baron; this tell him as a proof of my friendship and gratitude for his numerous civilities to me; but tell him I can never

“ forget nor forgive the harsh disagreeable manner in which his
“ son Meerza Hassan caused me to be turned out of Tauris, on
“ my last arrival there. As soon as the Chevalier Jones put his
“ foot in Persia, I knew our influence with Meerza Bozurg was
“ at an end ; I foresaw the English influence would be omnipotent,
“ and I found it so ; but Meerza Hassan might have managed
“ my removal in a different manner ; however, my regard for
“ Meerza Bozurg induces me to bid him beware of listening to
“ any overtures from Russia, whose only object is to deceive him
“ and the court of Persia.’ ”

In continuation, the Meerza said, that by the Baron’s messenger he had a letter from a person *secretly* employed at Teflis, stating that General Tormasoff had written to the Baron, immediately after the arrival of a courier from St. Petersburg, that several detachments of Russian troops were ordered to reinforce the Russian army in Georgia.

Sir Harford declined to enter into any farther exposition of his sentiments until the arrival of the Tartar from Constantinople, whom he daily expects, and confined himself to recommending to Meerza Bozurg the utmost caution in his conferences with Baron Wrede.

11th of March. Private and secret audience of the Prince. What I know of it, the Prince said the Russians had received great reinforcement in Georgia, afraid that their immediate object was an attack on Kars ; the inhabitants of which had complained of the tyranny and bad conduct of Kara Bey their governor ; that such was the state of the whole Turkish frontier, that he feared if Kars was attacked, it must fall an easy prey to the Russians ; and if so, it would become a post of infinite consequence to them ; that he was quite puzzled how to act, for although the Porte had in some measure put the affairs of Kars under his direction, yet, if he now sent a body of troops for its support, the Turks might view such a measure with suspicion ; on the other hand, Kars, without this, if attacked would certainly fall. Sir Harford recommended the Prince to make an *exposé* of the whole affair at Constantinople ; the Prince agreed ; but said, if in the meantime, Kars is attacked, he would assist the Turks to the

utmost of his power. He told Sir Harford to dine with Meerza Bozurg, to whom he had given orders to tell him what more he wished him to know.

At the dinner I hear that the Meerza told Sir Harford that since he had seen him, he had had two more conferences with Baron Wrede, who continued his expressions of Russia being ready to grant all that the King of Persia desired, which the Meerza said only tended to increase his suspicions of the Baron. That the whole of Tormasoff's proceedings were in direct opposition to the Baron's assertions; that magazines in Georgia had been established by the Russians; that they had received great reinforcements; that their troops were stationed in three different detachments on the frontier. 1st. At Shorragil and Pumbek, from whence they could act against Erivan or Kars; 2nd, at Carabaug; 3rd, on the confines of the valuable district of Taulish; that the detachment at Carabaug was so near Fath Ally Khan, that he expected to hear every moment that the two parties had come to blows, and that the Khan had, this evening, by an express messenger, solicited assistance.

Sir Harford told me the Meerza said :—" the moment the conferences here, with Baron Wrede, are broken off, they can attack us with the greatest advantage; I know the danger of trusting to the Baron, but what is to be done?" He said the present Persian army at Tauris was confined to six regiments only; the Prince during the winter, not having the means to keep up a greater force; the little opposition such a handful of troops could make against the force likely to be opposed to them; and the little probability there appeared of receiving any assistance in stores, &c. from us, during the campaign. He entered then, Sir Harford said, on a most bitter tirade against the Indian Government, who, instead of acting, as they ought to have done, had sent letters and persons, stating themselves to be possessed of characters, and authorities, which confounded and embarrassed the whole court, as well as myself, and made England and Persia look ridiculous in the eyes of their neighbours. He said a muster-roll had been sent to the Shah, for 50,000 men, which he had determined to place in different parts of the province, and besides this, to raise a levy *en masse* (*Eel-jaury*.)

Sir Harford told me the Meerza farther said :—that in his last conference with Baron Wrede, the latter made to him the extraordinary proposition of permitting the Governors on the frontiers to determine to which power they would attach themselves, Russia or Persia, and that each state should promise not to interfere after the choice was made ;—this the Meerza explicitly rejected.

Sir Harford told him he declined any farther expression of his sentiments or advice, till the arrival of the expected Tartar ; but that if the Meerza thought the Shah would receive the assistance he expected from Bengal, one moment sooner for his absence, he would willingly take on himself the heavy responsibility of moving without his sovereign's permission, and depart :—that the Meerza exclaimed : “ God Almighty forbid ! this will indeed make bad “ worse ! ” Sir Harford told *me in great confidence*, that as money was much wanted, he had advised that the Prince should request of the Shah, that the Ameen-ed-dowlah should be sent to him directly ; this he agreed too, and these letters are to be dispatched to-morrow.

18. A dispatch from India and Bushire. General Malcolm, accompanied by a numerous suite, arrived at Bushire, on the 13th of February. He has brought with him 35,000 stand of arms, and a number of other things, for the use of the Persian army. Sir Harford received a letter from Lord Minto, ordering him *immediately to withdraw*, and telling him that he had written a letter to the Shah, soliciting His Majesty to grant Sir Harford permission to do so.

The next day the Prince sent for Sir Harford to conference ; I attended him. The Prince shewed him the Shah's letters, in which his Majesty lays down the conduct he means to pursue in respect to General Malcolm's Mission, which is to keep him two months more at Bushire, by which time His Majesty expects to hear from Meerza Abdul Hassan, from England. When these arrive, he will summon Sir Harford to the presence, and follow such advice as he shall give.

19. Hyder Ally Khan from the Prince, with a firman from the Shah to the Prince, ordering Meerza Bozurg immediately to repair to the frontier, and open conferences with Tormasoff, for peace or

an armistice. Sir Harford told Hyder Ally, to recommend, from him to the Meerza, if possible, to delay commencing his journey till after the arrival of the Tartar from Constantinople.

20. Meerza Bozurg sent to say, as soon as the festival of the Nourouze had been celebrated, he wished to have a long conference with Sir Harford.

21. Eyde-e-Nourouze, on which occasion the Prince sent each gentleman of the Mission twenty tomans, in new small gold coin, a Chashmire shawl, and a rich piece of brocade. He sent sweetmeats to Sir Harford, round which were placed two hundred tomans, in new small gold coins,

22. Tartar at length arrives from Constantinople. News from England good. The whole Mission went to the palace, to compliment the Prince on the Eyde, and to return him thanks.

23. Sir Harford in conference with Meerza Bozurg the whole day. *Pieces of what I know.* Meerza Bozurg went over the same ground, respecting an armistice with Russia, as has been already detailed; and concluded by saying, a decision now pressed so earnestly, that it was necessary that it should be communicated to the Baron without delay. Sir Harford said the Meerza knew how anxiously he, Sir Harford, had, for some days, expected the arrival of the Tartar; the Tartar had arrived, but the intelligence he had brought, was by no means as full as he could have wished, if, he said, he could persuade himself, after all he had seen and heard, that Russia was sincere, he should consider himself bound to refrain from saying a word which would prevent its completion,—because the King of Persia had declared he thought such a measure *absolutely necessary for the security of the empire*,—"but, remember, I tell you *as a friend, and privately*, you will go, and not only do nothing, but you will do worse than nothing.

"It is my duty, however, to submit to you, that from the information Mr. Adair has given me, there cannot be a doubt as to the line of conduct the Porte has determined to pursue; she is determined to attempt the recovery of Wallachia and Moldavia, so that if an armistice is concluded at this moment, her Eastern frontier will be cruelly laid open to invasion from the Russians."—From what Sir Harford said, the Meerza again became puzzled, and at

length to Sir Harford's astonishment, *he determined to commit the solution of the difficulty to a Fahl from the Khoran, to be taken between midnight and the morning prayer*, promising to give Sir Harford the earliest intelligence of its result. Late in the evening, Hyder Ally brought Sir Harford word that a Firman had arrived from the King, which rendered the consultation of the *fahl* unnecessary, His Majesty having determined to adopt the sentiments expressed in Sir Harford's letter to Meerza Sheffee, and the Ameen-ed-dowlah, of the 13th of February.

Sir Harford went to Meerza Bozurg, and I accompanied him; there is some difference in the explanation the Meerza gave of the King's Firman, to that given by Hyder Ally Khan, but it is now agreed that the whole affair is, to-morrow, to be discussed in the presence of the Prince, the Sirdar of Erivan, Meerza Bozurg, and Sir Harford.

25. Sir Harford employed in secret discussion at the palace the whole day. I learn it is determined Meerza Bozurg should accept the conference with Tormasoff, and that an account of the whole proceedings and reasonings, *pro* and *con*, should be transmitted to the Porte. This was proposed by Sir Harford. What turned the Council, I hear, was Meerza Bozurg, engaging for three things:—

1st. That the affair of Taulish, which is of infinite importance, might, by this means, be settled to our satisfaction.

2nd. That as long as the conference lasted, no attack should be made by Russia on the Turkish frontier.

3rd. That the Meerza would break off the conference the moment it should be certified that the Porte would heartily join Persia, unless he could turn it into a recognition for peace, between Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

28. A packet containing the whole of the proceedings above detailed, was this day dispatched to Constantinople.

29. The Prince reviewed the troop — all present—he gave Willock a sword, and the Indian officers medals. The Prince, after the review, amused himself with feats of horsemanship. He rides better than any man I have seen in the country, and is most wonderfully active. When he presented the Indian officers with medals, he said :—

“ My friends ! you have taken a great deal of trouble for me ;
 “ Persia grants these medals as a reward of merit. When you
 “ shall return to your own country, I hope you will not forget *me*
 “ and *mine*.”

May 15, 1810. Sir Harford, this day, by the express desire of the Prince, drew up, and delivered to him, the project of an armistice, and for a treaty of peace, which, as far as I recollect was as follows.*

(These are not necessary to lay before the public.)

NOTE XIX.

“ *Now nothing.*”—Page 314.

The following extract will satisfy the reader how easy of execution this grand and most important project of Meerza Bozurg would have been.

“ Il n'exige pas de Tribut des Arméniens et des autres Chrétiens étrangers qui viennent négocier dans ses Etats, quoique le Grand Seigneur le fasse payer rigoureusement aux Chrétiens Persans quand ils passent par la Turquie pour venir trafiquer dans l'Europe. De sorte qu'on peut dire avec justice, qu'au lieu que ceux qui font profession du Christianisme gémissent dans l'empire Ottoman sous une dure servitude, ils goûteroient dans la Perse, si la volonté du Prince y estoit exactement suivie, une douce liberté.”—*Sanson, Relation de Perse, p. 14.*

NOTE XX.

“ *The crown is very heavy.*”—Page 382.

As a proof of this I relate a fact, to which I was witness. At our audience of ceremony, I happened to be the last of the Mission who went out of the door of the chamber in which it was given. Something, I know not what, caused me to turn my head round, (which certainly was not quite correct) but I saw one of the favorite Georgian taking the crown off the King's head, and another place an embroidered handkerchief over the bare head. I was told, from good authority, that it is with considerable pain only, that the Shah bears this envied ornament on his head for longer than twenty minutes.

* The conference between the Meerza and Baron Wrede took place ; but ended in nothing, as had been predicted.

NOTE XXI.

“ Moomiahah.”—Page 400.—Chardin, *Voyage*, tom. iv. p. 38.

“ Cinquièmement, il y a la Mumie, et il y en a de deux sortes
“ en Perse. L’une est la Mumie communément dite, qui vient
“ des corps embaumez, et enterrez dans le sable aride et ardent, où
“ dans la suite des siècles ils se pétrifient, comme cela est connu
“ de tous les curieux. Cette Mumie, qui n’est proprement que la
“ petrefaction des corps embaumez depuis quelque deux mille ans,
“ à ce qu’on assure en Perse, se trouve en Corasson qui est l’anci-
“ enne Bactrienne. Un Vizir de la Province, nommé Mirza-
“ chefy, homme fort savant, m’a dit plusieurs fois qu’on trouvoit
“ dans le sable, lors qu’on travailloit aux canaux souterrains,
“ pour le transport de l’eau, de ces Mumies, longues de sept à huit
“ pieds, soit que les corps fussent plus grands alors, soit qu’on
“ prît plaisir de les ensevelir, ou emmailloter, plus grands qu’ils
“ n’étoient, pour l’admiration de la posterité. Il ajoûtoit, qu’on
“ trouvoit ces corps encore couverts de poil à la tête et au menton,
“ avec les ongles aux mains et aux pieds, ayant le visage si peu
“ altéré, que les traits étoient reconnoissables. Il me disoit là-
“ dessus, que nôtre corps ressemble à une éponge, et que si l’on
“ en ôte le sang et les parties nobles qui sont trop humides, et
“ qu’on les seiche, on les conserverra plusieurs siècles. Le terroir de
“ la Bactrienne est un sable chaud et aride, fort propre à conser-
“ ver, et à petrifier ainsi les corps. L’autre Mumie est une Gomme
“ précieuse, qui distille de la roche. Il y en a deux mines, ou
“ deux sources, en Perse. L’une dans la Caramanie déserte, au
“ païs de Sar, et c’est la meilleure; car on assure que quelque
“ moulu, brisé, ou fracassé, qu’un corps humain puisse être, une
“ demie dragme de cette Mumie le rétablit en vingt quatre heures;
“ de quoi personne ne doute en Perse, sur l’expérience des cures
“ merveilleuses qu’ils font tous les jours avec cette précieuse
“ drogue. L’autre mine est au païs de Corasson, qui est l’anci-
“ enne Bactrienne, où je veins de dire qu’il y a aussi des Mumies
“ de corps humains, comme en Egypte. Les roches, dont la
“ vraye Mumie distille appartiennent au roi, et tous ce qui
“ en distille est pour lui. Elles sont fermées de cinq céaux

“ des principaux Officiers de la Province. On n'ouvre la
 “ mine qu'une fois l'an, en présence de ces Officiers, et de plu-
 “ sieurs autres encore, et tout ce qui se trouve de ce précieux mastic,
 “ ou la plus grande partie, s'envoie au trésor du Roi, d'où, avec un
 “ peu de crédit, on en tire dans le besoin. Le mot de Mumie est
 “ Persan, venant de Moum, qui signifie Cire, Gomme, Onguent.
 “ Les Hébreux et les Arabes se servent de ce nom dans la même
 “ ignification. Les Persans disent que le Prophète Daniel leur a
 “ enseigné la préparation et l'usage de la Mumie.

NOTE XXII.

“ *Paying the Effendi very acceptable attentions.*”—Page 401.

I had already done this on his arrival in Persia, by sending Sir James Sutherland to meet him on the Persian frontier, beyond Erivan; and I must say, that Sir James's amiable manners not only made him a great favorite with the Effendi, but also that Sir James's prudence and judgment kept the Persians of the lower classes from behaving rudely to him on the road.

NOTE XXIII.

“ *Patrons and Clients.*”—Page 426.

The early part of the morning appears in ancient Rome to have been appropriated to such attendance.

“ *Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,*

“ *Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*”—HORACE.

NOTE XXIV.

“ *And when to be still.*”—Page 433.

This appears to have been an early error in the East;—“neither shall you use enchantments, nor observe times.”—*Levit. xix. v. 26.* The *Sortes Virgilianæ* every school-boy knows.

NOTE XXV.

“ *On which it stands.*”—Page 445.

The Russians attacked it on the opposite side.

NOTE XXVI.

“ *Gains a loss.*”—Page 433.

The following extract will shew how careful the Persians have uniformly been on the subject of the purity of their coin.

“ Il y a trois ans que le roi (Shah Suleiman) faisant travailler à la
“ reformation de la Monnoye, eut avis qu'on ne trouvoit pas d'argent
“ pour faire de nouvelles especes, parce que les Armeniens ne voyant
“ pas qu'il y eût pour eux un gain assez considerable à apporter les
“ Reux de Seville dans ses Etats, les faisoient passer aux Indes par
“ la voye de Balsora; le Roy fit appeller les principaux de cette
“ nation, et les condamna à cent mille écus d'amende, si on pou-
“ vait prouver contr'eux qu'ils eussent continué à faire transporter
“ les écus d'Espagne aux Indes. Cependant comme ils avoient
“ déjà à Balsora huit cent mille écus Seviliens, Van Leenen,
“ Ambassadeur d'Hollande, dont je parlerai dans la suite, leur
“ offrit de la faire charger s'ils vouloient cette somme sur un Vaisseau,
“ et il s'engagea de faire pssser directement aux Indes sans mouiller
“ en Perse, mais il ne leur tint pas parole. Son vaisseau vint
“ jeter l'ancre au Bandar Abassi, et le grand Douanier se saisit de
“ l'argent des Armeniens. Cet Ambassadeur qui estoit à la Cour
“ ne fit pas une démarche pour en solliciter la main-levée, ce qui
“ le fit soupçonner d'avoir voulu faire sa Cour aux dépens de ces
“ pauvres Chrétiens; mais le Roy dans cette occasion porta sa bonté
“ jusqu'à l'excès; car pouvant confisquer cet argent, et faire payer
“ de plus aux Armeniens l'amende de cent mille écus, il leur en
“ donna la mainlevée qu'ils n'osoient luy demander, pour ne pas
“ ajouter à cette perte, le payement de l'amende à laquelle ils
“ avoient esté condamnez.”—*Voyage ou Relation de l'Etat present
de Perse, par Sanson, p. 12.*

TO MY WATCH.

Tic-tac—Tic-tac.

'Tis thus thou measurest out the time
I have on earth to stay,
And shew'st me with thy tiny chime
T' eternal life the way.

O may thy warning voice bring forth
Each thought that God approves !
Tell me of vice the little worth,
Compar'd with what he loves.

'Tis as the river to the ocean,
Or as the clod to sense and motion,
Or as confusion to serenity—
It is as Time is to Eternity.

TO MY WATCH

LONDON :

C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHARING CROSS.

A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
WAHAUBY.

BRIEF HISTORY

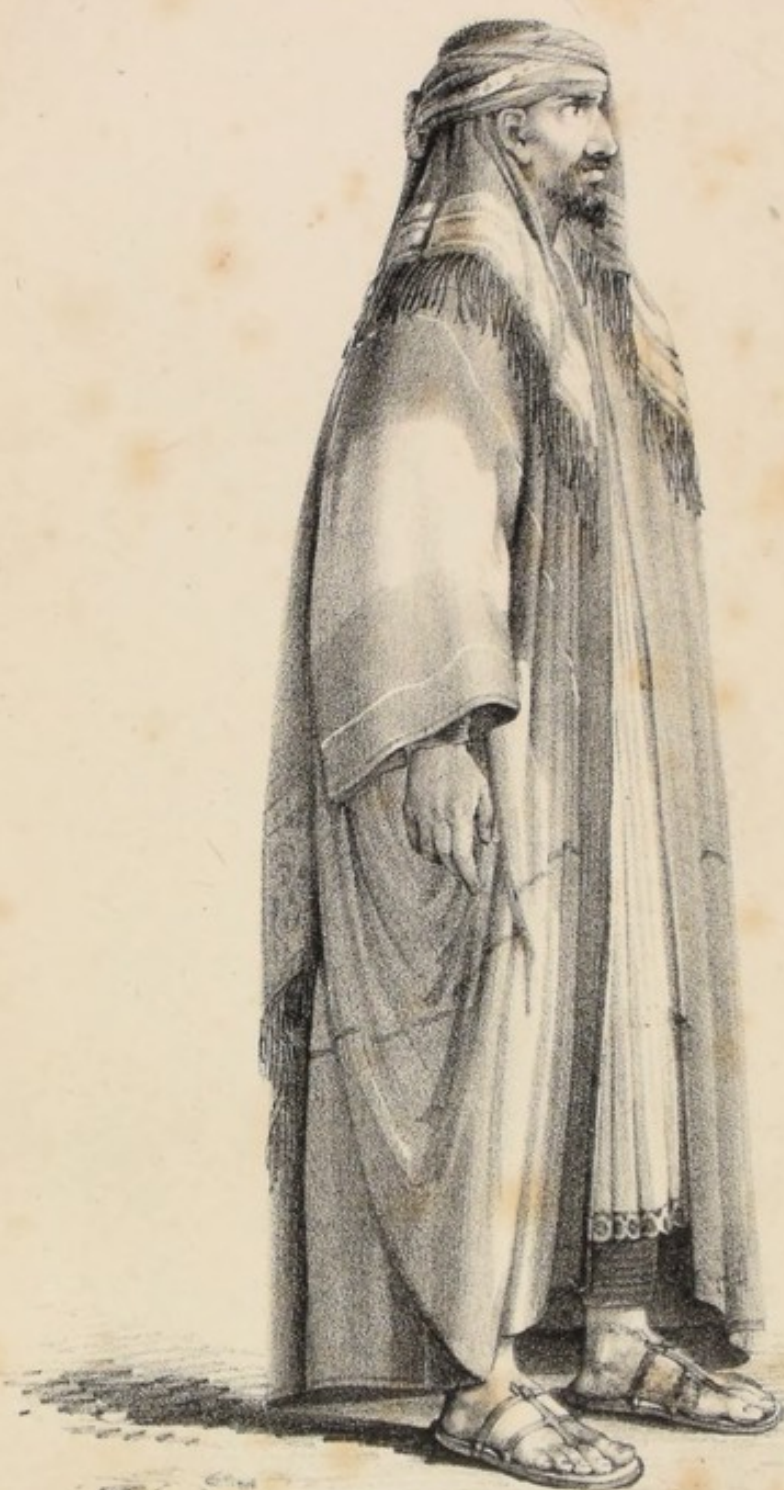
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1840.

WHAUARY





From a drawing by the artist, Paris

Indrawn by L. B. de

ABDALLAH BEN-SOUHOUD, CHIEF of the WAHABYS,
beheaded at Constantinople in 1819.

AN
A C C O U N T
OF THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
HIS MAJESTY'S MISSION
TO THE COURT OF
P E R S I A,
IN THE YEARS 1807-11,

BY
SIR HARFORD JONES BRYDGES, BART.
K.C., LL.D.,
LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE COURT OF TÆHERAN.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED,
A B R I E F H I S T O R Y
OF THE
W A H A U B Y.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
JAMES BOHN, KING WILLIAM STREET, WEST STRAND.

MDCCCXXXIV.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

HIS MAJESTY'S MISSION

TO THE

PERSIA

IN THE YEAR 1816

SIR HENRY PEARCE

OF THE

INDIAN OFFICE

AND

OF THE

INDIAN OFFICE

IN

WATER

THE

LONDON:

PRINTED

BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1817

TO THE READER.

The repetition of my title here &c. &c. my wife
&c. &c. having made a formidable report of
myself, I now, as I promised, submit my
work to the public.

“Who is more unjust than he who uttereth a lie concerning
“God, and denieth the truth, when it cometh unto him? Is there
“not a dwelling provided in hell for the unbelievers?”—KORAN,
cap. 39, entitled “Troops.” The favourite expostulation of the
Wahaubys against the Turks and Persians.

"Who is more unjust than he who omits to condemn
"God and punish the truth, when it comes into him? Is there
"any dwelling provided in hell for the unbelieve?"—Koran,
"Chapter 30, entitled 'The People'. The famous expostulation of the
"Prophet against the Turks and Persians."

TO THE READER.

THE supercargo of my little bark (*i. e.* my publisher) having made a favourable report of his voyage, I now, as I promised, launch my second adventure, hoping that by your favour and protection, its passage may prove as smooth, and its result as fortunate, as that of its predecessor.

It is natural for me to wish, and indeed it is my duty to endeavour, to entertain you to the best of my humble abilities; and whether you are one of those who read as I do, to pass a certain portion of time, as innocently and perhaps as usefully to myself as I can,—or whether you are a tyro in the study of Oriental history and languages, desirous of adding to such portion of acquaintance with them, as you have already made; I confess, (though by so doing I lay myself open to be accused of vanity) I do not despair of pleasing and informing you. If you are of the last class, I deceive myself if I have not thrown together, in this and the next volume, matter which you would

have had to seek through various publications, at no inconsiderable expense of time and pocket:—and if you belong to the first class of readers, I hope that there are interspersed in the following pages, anecdotes, and personal adventures, the perusal of which may not be disagreeable.

It is to the very learned reader only, that I acknowledge and confess my utter inability to produce entertainment or information; but if, after a continuance of deep study, he will condescend to take up these volumes, and read a certain number of pages at whatsoever place the book opens, he will probably, at such a moment, find them to possess (for him at least) a no very trifling merit—that of being diametrically opposite to those in the book he has just laid down.

Now, gentle Reader,—whoever and whatever you are,—if you are as much tormented by insomnia as I am, and take up this volume at a time when you are turning from side to side on your couch,* seeking in vain “the foster nurse of

* 'Αλλ' οὐκ'—————

Ὑπνος ἔχε γλυκερὸς, πολλὰ ψρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντα.

—————Him, from thought to thought

Roving solicitous, no sleep relieved.

ILIAD. L. x.

nature,"—if, I say, at such time, the volume should introduce the coy dame to your presence, and you know, (as I do) her value,—then I need not repent compiling *pages of such power*; nor will you, I presume, complain that your purchase of them has been made in vain.

With thanks for your former kindness, Farewell ! I make my bow to you, using at the same time the words which our English Cervantes, the great Fielding, uses, in closing one of his inimitable chapters in *Tom Jones* : “ If you all smile on my labours, I hope I shall bring them to a happy conclusion.”

N. B. The matter contained in this volume has been published separately, in consequence of the advice of a very judicious and learned friend.

THE WAHAUBY.

It is now nearly a century since an Arab of the name of Abdul Wahaub, of the tribe of Tomym, left the Nejd to study Theology and Divinity in the various schools, and colleges of the East; and at length, from Damascus where he had assiduously pursued his studies, and where at that time resided some of the most celebrated Mahommedan Doctors, he retired to Dereyah, a town situate in that portion of Arabia which is distinguished by the name of Nejd; nearly in lat. 24 and long. 45.

Probably the retreat of Abdul Wahaub to Dereyah was not uninfluenced by prudential motives; as the doctrines he had broached at Damascus, and other places where he resided, had drawn on him the notice, rather than the reverence, of the Theologians there. He had however not long resided at Dereyah, when Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the principal person of that town, became at once, his first convert and his father-in-law. The tribe to which Abdul Wahaub's father-in-law belonged was that of the Anissa, which at that time, and long after-

wards, was in its different branches one of the most, if not the most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the desert, in the most extensive signification of the word. The great body of this noble tribe was generally stationed in that tract of land which extends from the banks of the Euphrates at Hillah to the confines of Aleppo, and from Grain at the head of the Persian Gulf to the confines of Arabia Felix; and which is known at Bagdad and Bassora by the appellation of the great Desert, in contradistinction to that which spreads itself from Monsul towards Nisibin and Orfa.

Not long after the adoption of the doctrines of Abdul Wahaub by Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the latter attempted to propagate the tenets of his teacher amongst his neighbours; and at this time Saoud's force is reported to have been so trifling that in the first skirmish with his opponents he could only muster seven camel-riders in his company.⁽¹⁾ But it will be seen by and by, that the tenets professed by Saoud, contained much that was captivating to the minds of those who panted for civil as well as religious freedom; who had long considered the voluptuousness, and corruption of their Turkish masters as ill according with the simplicity recommended and enjoined by the Arabian prophet and legislator; and who were indignant at the daily instances of Turkish tyranny and injustice.

If there was one point of the Wahauby faith

which was more pre-eminently odious to the Ottoman government than another, it was that which divested the grand signor of his sacred character of visible Imaum, or spiritual head of the followers of Islam; for Saoud soon assumed the character of temporal and spiritual leader,⁽²⁾ and found no difficulty in its acknowledgment by those Arabs who voluntarily embraced his doctrines, nor by those whom he had converted by force. The assumption of these powers accorded perfectly well with the declarations and actions of their prophet, and with what had been practised by the first caliphs, their countrymen, his successors.

It was not long therefore before Saoud, partly by persuasion and partly by force, became sufficiently powerful to draw on himself the notice, and consequently, to excite the fears of the court of Constantinople; and when I arrived at Bassora in the year 1784, his proceedings and marauding marches caused great anxiety and alarm to the pacha of Bagdad, to his governor at Bassora, as well as to the best informed Turks. For these last were aware that his doctrines, when examined by the simple text of the Koran, were perfectly orthodox, and consonant to the purest and best interpretations of that volume.

The Bagdad government early made a fatal mistake in permitting Saoud to subjugate, and incorporate with his proselytes, the tribe of Benicaled; an ancient, and at that time a powerful tribe, oc-

cupying the north-western shores of the Persian Gulph, as well as a considerable space of country, both at the head of that gulph and to the north-westward of Bassora; so that they then possessed the part of the desert on the western side of the Euphrates, which was considered by the Montifeeks as belonging to them. This strange oversight of Suleiman Paçha, who had but recently obtained from the Porte the Paçhalik of Bagdad, was never imputed to his ignorance of the political interests of his government, but was imagined to arise, first, from the then poverty of his treasury, which rendered him unwilling to incur the expense of affording assistance to the Benicaled Shaik; secondly, from the jealousy which subsisted between the tribes of Montifeek and Benicaled, which caused the shaik of the first mentioned tribe to purchase the paçha's inactivity by a large bribe; and more than all perhaps from the paçha injudiciously supposing that himself and the Montifeek Shaik at a future favourable period, would always have it in their power easily to set things to rights.

To the year 1794, however, the period at which I left Bassora, Saoud had greatly increased the former uneasiness and alarm of the Bagdad government by unexpected attacks made on different points of its territories; attacks which the Turks could neither foresee nor guard against; for the ease with which the Wahaubees assembled a force, and the rapidity with which that force marched,

when assembled, astonished and confounded the slowly moving Ottoman.⁽²⁾ At this time, therefore, all the minor towns along the line of the western banks of the Euphrates, were in a constant state of alarm and apprehension ; many of them were plundered, and the pasturages in the neighbourhood of the others were not safe for the flocks of the inhabitants, so that some of the weakest of these towns were said to have purchased their security by secret submission and tribute to Saoud, which the government of Bagdad found it more convenient to wink at than to resist.

In consequence of the paçha's ill behaviour to the British factory at Bassora, the establishment was, early in the year 1792, removed from Bassora to the town of Grain, in the hope that the effects produced by this measure on the trade of that city might bring the paçha to an eligible arrangement of a tedious dispute ; a dispute which intrigue on the part of the Jews on the one hand, and the bad faith of the Turks on the other, had carried to a point far beyond its real consequence.⁽³⁾ To this town, as a member of that factory, I accompanied the persons composing it ; and there arose no small addition to the other inconveniences which we suffered at that place, in the almost daily alarm which the town experienced from the appearance or reported appearance of detachments of Saoud's troops. It is true that our personal danger was but small, for we had the sea open to us, and craft

at hand on which we might embark ; but it was provoking, after the exhaustion of a night sleepless from the intense heat, to be disturbed from the doze which naturally came on, as the breeze towards the morning became cool, by the absence of the sun, and by the slight dews which fell in the night. But this was not the worst ; the supply of water which we obtained was infamously bad in quality, being at once salt, sweet, and bitter ; besides even this, it was often stinted and often precarious, from the water-carriers either seeing or imagining that they saw a Wahauby detachment approach the wells from which it was drawn.

These wells lie about a mile distant from Grain, and at that time no well within the city afforded water which could be applied to culinary purposes without inconvenience, nor to ablution without sufferance, and the thermometer of Farenheit ranged between 98 and 110.

To compensate for these grievances, we had to amuse us, the strange, and to us, comical scenes that passed when these alarms took place. The shaik of Grain was a most venerable old man, of commanding figure, and almost adored by the inhabitants of the town, for he was more to them as a father than a governor. He was respected by the Turks, and much esteemed even by those Arabs who had submitted to Saoud : but, as Grain at that time was nearly the only port on the western side of the Gulph of Persia, which had not

submitted to Saoud, he became anxious either to bring its shaik to terms, or to conquer him. The walls of Grain, which were only of mud, and which, in the rainy season, to the great terror of the inhabitants, frequently crumbled down in large breaches, were, nevertheless, beheld and accounted by the Wahaubys as impregnable ramparts; and Saoud's most rational hope of success was interrupting the supply of one of the most necessary articles to sustain human life—*i.e.* water. The most common periods of alarm were either a little before the break of day, or a little before the setting of the sun; then those who were placed in advance towards the wells fell back, and came running into town with the direful account of the appearance of the enemy. The women immediately appeared in their veils on the house tops, and sent forth the well known Arab and eastern cry of "Leily—Leily!" used both on occasions of rejoicing and alarm; on which the whole town assembled under their venerable shaik to meet their foe. Sometimes no foe appeared, and sometimes, with our glasses, we could perceive from ten to twenty persons about the wells; when this was the case, each party advancing within a certain distance of the other, two or three valiant men on each side sat down, very, very far apart from each other, and exchanged shots with their long matchlocks; and when, as it always seemed to me, they had rather amused than annoyed one

another with this exercise, either the morning broke or the evening closed, and to us the fun ceased; and if this happened in the morning, a supply of water was afterwards obtained. But upon one glorious day, things wore a different and a new aspect. About five hundred of the enemy really appeared on the horizon of the desert, and bearing towards the town. The old shaik and the inhabitants were soon at their post; and what was better, they bore with them a piece of ordnance, taken from one of the shaik's vessels. In this formidable machine every one most confidently put his trust and hopes of safety; nor did it desert us at our utmost need. The appearance of the foe, armed with terrible long spears, and mounted on spirited horses, put the courage of many to a severe test, for if their ally, the gun, failed to do his part, the Grainers might be charged and cut to pieces before they could again bring it to act; nor, considering the condition of the instrument, did it seem very improbable that when discharged, it might, by bursting, shower more mischief on its friends than its enemies. Our excellent shaik, however, like a skilful commander, determined to make use of his ally as soon as possible; so when the combatants approached within about half a mile of each other, off went the cannon, and away went the shot, knocking up the dust on the desert to within a few yards of the foe; who, instead of charging, seemed to remain some minutes either

in astonishment or in council, and then moved off. The troops on their return to the town were greeted by the fair inhabitants with acclamations and songs of victory, and I have no doubt that the brilliant success of that day lives still in the memory and the songs of the women and children of Grain.

The factory was accompanied to Grain, by a small guard of sepoy, which was sometimes exercised by their native officer, just without the walls of the town, and the shaik having formed an idea that such a body of men must be invincible, earnestly pressed that they might be led into the field whenever danger occurred, but we had no wish to cover ourselves with glory on such an occasion. Indeed, it was absolutely necessary, for the safety of our public dispatches, which were then, transmitted across the desert, to and from Aleppo, that the factory should be on good terms with Saoud.⁽⁴⁾ Mr. Latouche, when resident at Bassora, had, from time to time, sent Saoud small presents, which he expressed satisfaction in receiving; and Mr. Manesty and myself continued this custom; so that our packets were seldom interfered with: and if the bearers were now and then detained, the packets always ultimately reached us with unbroken seals; and thus a good understanding had hitherto been preserved between the sectary and the factory. I had afterwards good reason to know, that Saoud was anxious that this

should continue ; particularly as he had formed a false estimate of the strength we had brought with us to Grain, which consisted of one of the smaller class of the Company's cruizers stationed in the harbour, and a jemedar's guard of sepoy ; and we, from prudence, had as little inclination to enter into active alliance against him with our Grain friends, as he had to force us into it.

At this time the doctrines of the Wahaubys had made many proselytes amongst the maritime Arabs on the shores of the Persian Gulph, and their neighbours to the southward of that Gulph, who committed frequent depredations on the smaller and unprotected craft navigating those seas ; but their piracies had not yet arrived to such a degree of importance as to force the British Government in India to chastise insults offered to the national flag, or to redress injuries inflicted on their subjects.

In 1798, I arrived at Bagdad, having been appointed by his Majesty, and the Secret Committee of the East India Company, to reside with Suleiman Paçha, in quality of political Agent, but more particularly for the purpose of prevailing on that almost independent chief to assist the Porte with money, in disappointing and frustrating the views on the East, whatever they might be, with which Buonaparte, and the Expedition fitted out from Toulon, had sailed.⁽⁵⁾

During my absence in England from 1795 to 98,

the Porte had sent repeatedly the most pressing orders to Suleiman Paçha, to undertake an expedition, on a sufficient scale to justify reasonable hopes of entirely subverting the Wahauby power; an evident proof how much the uneasiness of the Ottoman Government, respecting these sectaries had increased, and how greatly their power and reputation were augmented.

It was early in the month of September, 1798, when I reached Bagdad; and in consequence of the pressing orders he had received, I found Suleiman had collected a numerous and respectable force, which, under the command of his Kiah, Ally Paçha, was then encamped without the walls of the city, on the western bank of the Tigris, and was destined to proceed against the Wahauby.

The countries entrusted at that time to the Government of Suleiman Paçha, were greater in extent, and richer in produce, than some kingdoms in Europe; and I am astonished to find Burckhardt, or his editor, so much mistaken, as to say, in speaking of the Paçhalik of Bagdad, under Suleiman Paçha, "The paçha of this place, " (viz. Bagdad) however, has so few pecuniary " resources, and his authority is so imperfectly " acknowledged within the limits of his own province, that, until the year 1797, hostilities could " not be undertaken." Now having resided at Bassora from 1784 to 1794, and at Bagdad, from 1797 to 1806, having had much to do with all the

principal officers of Government concerned in the collection of the paçha's revenue, I can take on myself safely to state, that for some years previously to the year 1797, that revenue annually amounted, from fiscal collections, to a million of our money, exclusive of presents, and the advantages the paçha drew from a large stock of camels, and flocks of sheep, the keep and care of which cost him nothing. The principal annual remittance made by the paçha to the Porte, consisted of presents in India goods and pearls, to the Sultan, the ladies of the Seraglio, and the great ministers of State ; which the Jew who had the management of all that business, assured me, never amounted, in any one year, to £100,000 ; and that the rest of the revenue collected by the paçha, was balanced at the Porte, by an account of charges of Government ; and by the same person I was assured, that the paçha contrived to place a surplus in his treasury, every year, from £100,000 to £150,000, and that when I arrived at Bagdad, nearly £300,000 had been taken out of the treasury for the assembling and providing the forces destined to march against Saoud. And with another fact I am well acquainted, (for the whole sum was sent, after being officially stated to me, and the greatest part of it through my hands) which is, that from the time when Eusoof Paçha, the Grand-Vizir, left Constantinople in 1799, for Egypt, Suleiman, at different periods, assisted him with nearly half a million of money, all taken out

of the treasury vault in the palace. In short, so far from Suleiman Paçha's pecuniary resources being considered as "few," the Porte regarded him as holding one of the wealthiest governments of the Empire, and spoke of his accumulated wealth as a windfall, some day or other, on which its eye was fixed.

A day or two before Ally Paçha,⁽⁶⁾ the Kiah, marched for Dereyah, I paid him a visit in his camp, which, from the liberal and handsome manner in which every thing was appointed, and from the various troops, collected from distant parts of the Government, made a gallant show. The army possessed a formidable train of artillery, if its real value depended on the number of pieces displayed : but, notwithstanding all these mighty preparations, the paçha was thoroughly acquainted with the character of his minister and son-in-law, Ally, and probably even then entertained some doubts of his success. The failure of the expedition was, however, confidently predicted by persons of judgment, before it lost sight of the cupolas of Bagdad, and this prediction was grounded on the ignorance which the Kiah displayed of military affairs, and on the absurd and haughty manner in which he accustomed himself to treat the friendly Arabs who had joined him, and on whom he had principally to depend when he entered on the most difficult part of his enterprize.

Burckhardt has given the following account of

this expedition, which, as far as I know, is not materially incorrect, nor, if it be divested of much of the false colouring, which the Turks, to save their credit, gave it on their return to Bagdad, does it differ in essential points from the account Ally delivered to his master, and related himself to me.

“ The army consisted of 4000 or 5000 Turkish troops, and twice that number of allied Arabs of the tribes Thofyr, Beni, Shummere, and Montefeek. Their march (after reaching the neighbourhood of Bassora) lay parallel with the Persian Gulf, through a desert country where wells were found at every station. It was directed, in the first instance, towards El Hassa or Lassa, the richest and most productive part of the Wahaubys’ dominions.

“ Instead of advancing from that place at once towards Dereyah, (only five or six days’ journey distant) they laid siege to the fortified citadel of El Hassa, which they expected to take without difficulty. The resistance was prolonged above a month; and the arrival of a considerable Wahaubys’ force, under Saoud, the son of Abdul Aziz, (who remained at Dereyah) excited strong doubts of the Kiah’s success; so strong indeed as to induce the Turks to retreat. Saoud had anticipated this measure, and starting before them, encamped with his troops at one of the wells called Thadj, at the distance of three days from El Hassa. The other well of that watering place,

“ about two miles further off, he rendered useless,
“ by throwing into it several camel loads of salt,
“ which he had brought with him for that purpose.
“ The Bagdad troops halted at the last of these wells,
“ and it may be conceived how much the men and
“ horses suffered from the adulterated quality of
“ the water. Here the Ottomans did not judge
“ it prudent to continue their march, lest Saoud
“ might fall upon them by surprise. On the
“ other side, the Wahauby chief ventured not to
“ attack the Turks, for their artillery was very
“ formidable to him and his Arabs. Thus the
“ two armies continued three days within sight of
“ each other, in opposite ranks, only a single
“ horseman skirmishing occasionally in the plains
“ from each party. A parley was then established,
“ a truce was concluded for six years, between
“ Saoud the Wahauby, and the Paçhalik of Bagdad,
“ and both armies returned quietly to their res-
“ pective homes.”

The observations I shall offer to the reader on this expedition, from which so much was expected, and which so completely failed, and not only failed, but in fact produced consequences so lamentable to the Bagdad government, as to break Suleiman Paçha's spirit,⁽⁷⁾ and hasten his death, shall be but short.

If Mr. Burekhardt mean that Ally Paçha should have marched straight from the neighbourhood of the town of Grain to Dereyah, and so have taken no

notice of El Hassa, I cannot think, that having no friendly tribes in the intermediate space between the two towns to assist him, it would have been possible for him to have done so—for in that case, every drop of water, and every supply the army required, must have been transported with it; whereas, by keeping its march near and parallel to the shores of the Persian Gulf, the army was always within reach of its transports. Nor could the Kiah, with common prudence, have left Abdul Aziz with a strong garrison in El Hassa, and proceeded on to attack Dereyah; for in that case his communication with his fleet of transports would have been cut off, and he must have placed himself with a very limited quantity of supplies, between the father, in possession of one strong fort in his front, and the son, of another in his rear or on his flank. The failure of the expedition was entirely owing to the improper, spiritless, and cowardly manner in which Ally commenced the attack on El Hassa. I was assured by a person who accompanied the expedition, that the battery with which the Kiah pretended to breach the fort was in the first instance so placed, that had a breach been effected, the Turks would have had the river to cross in the face of the enemy; and in the next, that the batteries were erected at so great a distance from the walls of the fort, that most of the shells and balls never reached it; the former exploding in the air, and the latter, if any of them

did reach thither, producing no effect. When the attack on Lassa failed, it was easy to predict that the expedition could not be successful; and the only merit the Kiah had was patching up a truce with Saoud, by which the shattered remains of his forces were permitted to retire. Besides this, Mahommed Bey, an Arab, one of the paçha's council, accompanied the Kiah as his chief adviser:—this man had large territorial possessions in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, and had been long supposed to entertain a secret understanding with Saoud, which the event of this campaign, and the manner in which it was conducted, seemed rather to confirm than refute.

With the Kiah, on his return to Bagdad, a Wahauby officer arrived to receive the ratification from the paçha of the truce entered into by the Kiah, and I was invited by the paçha, I know not for what reason, to be present at this person's first audience. The palace at Bagdad is situated on the Tigris; and consists of three large square courts, besides the private or women's apartments of the paçha and the Kiah. The side of both these courts next the river is taken up with the public dewans or halls of audience of the paçha and his minister; and as both of these personages had been for some time prisoners at Schyras, during the reign of Kerim Khan, these rooms were splendidly fitted up, after the Persian manner, with pillars covered with small pieces of looking-glass, handsome coloured awnings, to let down occasionally, and fine marble

parapets. The court occupied by the minister was the southernmost, or the lowest down the river Tigris; one side of which contained a showy hall of audience, and the other three sides were appropriated to stables for his horses, barracks for his ordinary guard, and apartments for some of his officers. The intermediate square between the paçha's apartment and the Kiah's, contained the barracks of a corps called the Tiffungees, and the stables of the Georgians of the paçha's household, sheds for the artillery, and barracks for the artillerymen and bombardiers. The tops of all these buildings were furnished with parapets, on which troops could stand either for show or defence.

On the day appointed for the reception of the Wahauby envoy, nothing was omitted which the Turks thought could tend to give him a proper idea of the paçha's splendour and power; and the etiquette of that court was broken through by the appointment of Kiah, who was a paçha of two tails, to attend this envoy to his audience of Suleiman. The envoy entered the precincts of the palace in the square belonging to the Kiah; there the horses in rich furniture were standing at their pickets, and the minister's guards and household, gaily habited, filling the square and roof of the buildings. In the next square the Tiffungees were all drawn out, the paçha's horses standing at picket, the cannon run out from under their sheds, and the artillerymen and bombardiers standing by

them; besides which, in this square were several of the paçha's Georgians, mounted on superb horses, and magnificently clothed, playing at the jireed. At the gate of the paçha's court, which is something like a *porte-cochère*, were Caupoujie Baçi,* and all the officers belonging to his establishment, superbly dressed, who all walked a few steps from the gate to receive the Kiah and the envoy.

I had been desired to reach the palace previously to the envoy's entrance to the paçha's apartments, and I had done so very willingly, for I was exceedingly anxious to see as much of this extraordinary ceremony as I could; from the entrance of the Paçha's court to the foot of the steps which lead into the room where the paçha was sitting, a double row of Georgians, richly dressed, with the Kasnadar Agasi or treasurer at their head, were placed; and between them the Kiah and the envoy walked, till the Kiah arrived at the corner of the open room where the paçha was sitting above, and then he stopped immediately under his chief: the envoy proceeded towards the foot of the staircase which led into the room, and the high officers of the paçha's household prepared to perform the customary compliment of taking the envoy under the arms to assist him in mounting the stairs; this however he did not permit them to do; but with great gravity and dignity unsupported marched up the stairs, entered the room, and before any further

* Literally, "Guardian of the Gate."

ceremony could take place, sat himself down at a small distance immediately opposite the paçha, and addressed him in Arabic as follows:—"Hoy Suleiman! " peace be on all those who think right. Abdul Aziz " has sent me to deliver to you this letter, and to receive from you the ratification of an agreement " made between his son, Saoud, and your servant " Ally; let it be done soon, and in good form; and the " curse of God be on him who acts treacherously. " If ye seek instruction, Abdul Aziz will afford it."* This ended, the envoy, to the utter astonishment and apparent confusion of the paçha, rose, and departed; and what will be scarcely believed, this strange scene was represented to the court of Constantinople as if Abdul Aziz had sent a person to Bagdad, to solicit as a favor from the paçha the fulfilment of the Kiah's agreement with him. There was nothing in the dress of the envoy different from that which is worn by the commonest Arab of the desert; and the contrast between the splendid display, silken robes, furs, and diamonds of the paçha, and the mean attire of the Arab, was in perfect keeping with the rest of the scene; and so indeed was the letter which the envoy delivered to the paçha from Abdul Aziz, for it was written on a piece of paper not of the cleanest, and about four inches square.⁽⁸⁾ On leaving the paçha, I visited the Kiah,

* This last was the greatest insult which could be offered to the paçha, as it was a declaration to his face of the impurity of his faith.

whom I found much chagrined at what had passed, and evidently regretting that I should have witnessed it; he said peevishly :—" the Ouzbegs may " be proverbial for bad manners, but the Arabs " beat them all to pieces."

I have gone into the expedition against the Wahauby under Ally Paçha, and audience of Abdul Aziz's envoy at Bagdad, at some length, because the first had the effect of teaching the Wahaubys to despise the Ottoman troops, and because the last may serve perhaps to give the reader some idea of the singular manners of those sectaries.

The truce entered into by Ally was not of long continuance, and the fault of its infraction was laid by the Turks on Twiney, the Shaik of the Montefeeks. Be this as it may, a caravan of Persian pilgrims was attacked and plundered, between Hillah and Meshed Ally ; the neighbourhood of Bassora was again visited by marauding parties of the Wahaubys ; and in 1801, the lamentable business at Kerbela⁽⁹⁾ took place, which spread a gloom over the Mahommedan world, and elated to a high degree the character and confidence of the sectaries.

The disastrous capture of Kerbela afforded Suleiman Paçha two causes of serious alarm : the one, the light in which the matter would be taken up by the Ottoman government ; the other, the light in which it would be viewed by the king of Persia, who, no doubt, would demand

ample reparation for the massacre and bondage of some of his subjects; for the plunder of the rich offerings, made to the sacred tombs by many of the Persian monarchs, his predecessors; and for the pecuniary losses sustained by the merchants of Persia. The Porte would willingly have wiped away any part of this sad and heavy account, by the deposition of the paçha; but the paçha well knew, though the *will* for such an act towards him was not wanting, the *power* of executing it, unless Persia promised, and was permitted to assist, was more than problematical. The paçha lost no time therefore in using every method in his power to appease the anger of both courts; and for this purpose presents were despatched to the Porte and Persia, and another expedition against Dereyah set on foot, composed entirely of Arab forces, with the exception of a few Turkish irregular horse. These troops Twiney led directly towards Dereyah, and had arrived within five or six days march of Dereyah, when he was murdered by a slave in his tent. With the infamous intention of this slave, Saoud was probably acquainted; for he immediately advanced, and the forces lately under command of Twiney dispersed; but the Turks being unacquainted with the roads, many of them were slain, whilst their comrades the Arabs escaped. Several of these poor creatures, who had wandered in flight, returned the following night to the well of Sezbeyhy in quest of water, hoping either to

pass unnoticed, or to be received as prisoners. To these Saoud gave no quarter, but on this occasion the Bedouins manifested a remarkable trait of their character; some secreted their straggling enemies in their tents, dismissed them before morning, and gave them water for the road; whilst others, with a strange sort of humanity, allowed their victims to slake their thirst previously to receiving their death-blow.*

From the year 1798 to 1806, the Wahauby chief had acquired a great increase of power and consequence, which may in some degree be accounted for, by the manner in which the Porte during that time was occupied with the affairs of Egypt and by the decease of Suleiman Paçha of Bagdad; which threw that paçhalik into confusion, operated the dispersion of the treasures Suleiman had amassed, and ultimately put that powerful government into the hands of the weak and head-strong Ally, the late Kiah. The subsequent destruction of the Mamelukes in Egypt, gave the Porte and the paçha of that province the power of totally destroying the Wahauby government, and of doing what was little to be expected, that is, exhibiting as a prisoner at Constantinople, Abdallah Ibn Saoud, the last Wahauby prince.

We will now take a hasty view of the Wahauby

* All great men who receive the *order* of the bowstring in Turkey, are allowed two things previously to being invested with it—time for prayer and a draught of water.

proceedings up to this time, in the southern and western parts of Arabia. The Shereef of Mecca who was highly interested in the regular arrival of the Mahommedan pilgrimage, which the Wahauby was anxious to put a stop to, had early commenced a series of hostilities against him; and these had been sometimes successful and sometimes otherwise; but both the doctrines and the power of the Wahauby had spread and increased much amongst the Arabs to the southward of Tayef, whilst the defection of Othman el Medhayfe, the shereef* Ghaleb's brother, enabled the Wahauby to take, in 1802, the town of Tayef, situated about 50 miles eastward of Mecca.

This town was at that time the summer residence of the Meccans; in the time of the prophet it was a place of considerable strength, and he had obtained possession of it after a siege of twenty days. It is generally believed, that it is of this siege, and the terms demanded by the inhabitants, that the prophet thus speaks in the chapter of the Koran, entitled, "the Night Journey:"—"It wanted but little, but the unbelievers had tempted thee to swerve from the instructions which we had revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest

* The English translators of the Bible have very comically turned this word, which means "the honourable men," into *sheriffs*, which, if we credit Johnson, is of Saxon derivation. This is a strange anachronism. The Latin vulgate translates it *præfector*. The Septuagint—καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν.

“devise concerning us a different thing, and then
“they would have taken thee for their friend ;
“and unless we had confirmed thee, thou hadst
“certainly been very near inclining unto them a
“a little.”—SALE’S *Koran*.

It appears that the terms demanded of the prophet by the Tayefans were extraordinary ; for they were, that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms ; from observing the appointed times of prayer ; that they might keep possession of their old idol, Allât, for a certain time ; that their territory might be declared a place of security, like that of Mecca, and so not be violated ; and lastly, what was still more extraordinary, that if the other Arabs asked the prophet the reason of his granting such concession, he should say, God had commanded him to do so.* It seems, however, that the present poor Tayefans were in no condition either to exact or to expect any conditions from Othman el Medhayfe, who, when he had taken the place, probably from his enmity to his brother-in-law, the shereef, ruined all the good buildings, and massacred the inhabitants. In the same year, Othman took Gonfonde, a port which brought the Wahaubys in contact with the Red Sea.

It was in this year also that the Syrian caravan, which departs from Damascus, and comprises the pilgrims from all parts of Asia Minor, Constanti-

See SALE’S *Koran*.

nople, and the two Irâks Araby and Agemy, performed its pilgrimage for the last time; for, in 1803, the Wahauby had effected the complete conquest of the Hedjaz, having in the early part of that year laid siege to Mecca, which was bravely defended by Shaik Ghaleb, the shereef; who, at last, contrived to leave the town with his family, having previously set fire to such part of the furniture of the palace as he could not carry away. Mecca then submitted to Abdul Aziz, whose troops, on entering the sacred city, committed no excesses. The shops were opened next day, and every thing was purchased by the troops with ready money. These events took place in April and May; and on the 13th November following, Abdul Aziz was assassinated, whilst at his prayers, by a Persian, whose relations the Wahaubys had murdered at Kerbela. Abdul Aziz therefore did not live to see the complete conquest of Hedjaz, which was effected by his son Saoud.

In speaking of these transactions, I speak of them as the transactions of Abdul Aziz, he being then the head of the Wahaubys; but they were principally conducted by his son Saoud, who succeeded him, and who placed at the head of the Meccan government the brother of the fugitive shereef Ghaleb.

Ghaleb fled from Mecca to Jedda, where he had a large ship, and to this place Saoud followed; but not being able to force the walls, retreated

northward to the desert. In July, Ghaleb resumed the government and possession of Mecca, in consequence of the Wahauby having left but a slender garrison in the castles, which submitted on conditions; and Abdul Mayen, the brother of Ghaleb, whom the Wahauby had appointed as governor, followed the example of the fort. Ghaleb, however, soon found that the secure possession of what he had thus reacquired, was best ensured by embracing, or appearing to embrace, the Wahauby doctrines; by which measure his towns and their revenues were restored to him, and several tribes of Bedouins were left under his influence. And in the arrangement made on this occasion, it was agreed, that the Wahaubys should in future be exempt from paying port duties at Jedda.

A succession of acquisitions made by Saoud in this part of Arabia, was crowned in 1804 with that of the capture of Medina, where Hassan el Kalajy, a principal man of the city, had usurped and despotically exercised the supreme power. Previously to the surrender of the town, Hassan seized on the treasures belonging to the prophet's tomb, and divided them amongst his adherents. Medina was treated differently to Mecca. Tribute was demanded from its inhabitants; the Turkish officer called Aga al Haram, or Guardian of the Sanctuary, was compelled to leave the town, but private property was respected. It is to be presumed, that the inhabitants of Medina shewed a disposition to be more lax in their mo-

rals and devotions than their neighbours of Mecca, for the Wahaubys here most rigidly enforced a regular observance of prayer, as well as the disuse of tobacco. Not long after its surrender, Saoud visited Medina, and stripped the prophet's tomb of the few valuables that had been left by Hassan el Kulajy. He made an attempt to destroy the great dome placed over the tomb, but either from the solidity of its structure, or from Saoud's want of proper instruments and perseverance, the attempt failed, and the tomb itself was left uninjured.

The Porte asserted, but without truth, that Saoud prohibited the pilgrimage to Medina, he only forbade, as idolatrous, any prayers or exclamations made at the tomb, as he had formerly forbidden the use of such ceremonies at the tombs of other Mahommedan saints.

In 1804, a Wahauby chief, named Abou Nokta, shaik of Azya, got a temporary possession of Lohya and Hodeyda,⁽¹⁰⁾ the richest towns on the coast of Yemen, both of which he plundered, and although he afterwards judged it discreet to retire to the mountains, yet he contrived so to harass and alarm Shereef Hamoud, the governor, or prince of Yemen, that he declared his adhesion to the Wahauby doctrines and cause.

Notwithstanding Mecca had fallen into the Wahaubys' power, the shereef, from his name and office, continued possessed of considerable influence amongst many of the Bedouin tribes, which obliged Saoud to observe certain terms towards

him ; and Ghaleb, on the different occasions of Saoud's visiting Mecca for the pilgrimage, always sent to meet him, at a distance from the town, presents of great value for himself, his officers, and the women and children who accompanied him ; and was so attentive in this respect that for the last mentioned persons, there were always new clothes and sweetmeats found among the other articles of his presents.

I have already mentioned that 1803 was the last year in which the Syrian caravan performed its pilgrimage, but the pilgrims from India, Yemen, and Africa, who landed at Jedda, were never prevented by Saoud from going on to Mecca, provided they conformed to the Wahaubby precepts and conducted themselves with propriety.

Things remained in this state during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, the only event of importance being an expedition planned and undertaken by the Wahaubby troops against the villages in the neighbourhood of Bassora, in which they were defeated and overpowered by the Montefeek Arabs, leaving on the field near 1500 of their force.

The acquisitions of territory and acknowledgments of submission which Saoud had received from the inhabitants of the western side of the Persian Gulf, and the northern side of the Red Sea, had created a very fierce and savage race of pirates in those waters, who plundered all the trading craft they could overpower, and massacred their crews ; and to such a height had their confi-

dence arisen, that British merchants' vessels became objects of their attack. The first severe chastisement these pirates, who were chiefly of the Jowassim tribe, received, was from the hands of Captain Corbett, of his Majesty's frigate *La Nereide* of 36 guns, on her return down the Gulf, after landing at Bushire myself and the British mission to Persia.

Between Muscat and Cape Musseldom, Captain Corbett fell in with three piratical dows, carrying about 100 men each. That officer soon discovered what they were, and had the pleasure to observe their commanders determined to approach the frigate, taking her probably for a large merchantman bound from India to Bushire and Bassora. To give the more effect to the pirate's conjecture, Captain Corbett manœuvred as if he was alarmed at their force; and so managed, that two of the dows came alongside him and were preparing to board; but the pirates had scarcely touched the side of *La Nereide*, when they discovered the nature of the force they had prepared to attack, and would fain have fled from it, but Captain Corbett gave them no time. One dow having prepared to board on the starboard side, and the other on the larboard, Captain Corbett fired both broadsides at once, and at the same moment both dows disappeared from the surface of the sea; he then set all sail, stood right across the third, which was at some distance, endeavouring to escape, and ran her down. I believe that not a man of any of these

vessels was saved by assistance from the *Nereide*. They had no reason to expect—they had less to deserve it—after the cruel massacre they had made of the little Sylph's⁽¹¹⁾ crew, which vessel sailed from Bombay in company with H. M. ships *La Nereide* and *Sapphire*, on the 12th September, 1808, having on board a person recommended to me by Mr. Duncan the governor of Bombay, to serve as Persian secretary. Whenever these scoundrels made a capture, whether the crew were unconverted Mahommedans or Christians, they gave no quarter; so that if on this occasion they left any to lament their fate, such could only have been their Wahauby brethren.

The temper with which the British Government at Bombay had for some time submitted to the insults offered to it by the Wahauby pirates, and the neglect with which it treated the reports of the losses sustained by the merchants of that Presidency, was rather a matter of wonder than applause; but at last the capture of the *Minerva* merchant ship, and the barbarous circumstances attending that capture, were judged sufficient to fill up the measure of the Wahaubys' iniquities, and to rouse the vengeance of the Indian Government. An expedition of considerable force against their ports was committed to the care of two officers of undoubted merit and ability. To Colonel Lionel Smith was entrusted the military; to Captain Wainwright of H. M. ship *La Chiffonne*, the naval departments of it. In October, 1809, Captain Gordon, of H. M.

ship *Caroline*, fell in with 27 piratical dows, when a boat manned from that vessel, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, boarded one of them with great gallantry, and finally carried her.

The expedition under Colonel Smith and Captain Wainwright attacked and took possession of the piratical town and fort of Rhas el Khima,⁽¹²⁾ a port situated within the Gulf of Persia, on the northern side of that neck of land which ends in Cape Mus-seldom. The dows, boats, and stores, were all destroyed, and the town ransacked; and as the Colonel informs the Government at Bombay "from 70 to 80 of these vagabonds were killed, and many more must have fallen in the previous bombardment. The total of our loss was 1 officer killed, 2 wounded, and 1 serjeant, and 7 privates." The colonel concludes his despatch with "I hope it will be found that the pirates at this port have received a handsome chastisement."

From Rhas el Khima the expedition proceeded to Ling, where twenty dows and boats were destroyed without our sustaining any loss, and from this place the expedition sailed to Luft, situated on the north side of the island of Kishme, where they arrived on the 26th November; and on the appearance of the fleet, Mullah Hossein, who had the command of the place, sent on board H. M. ship *Chiffonne*, to treat for the surrender of the dows and boats, which he had once agreed to do and afterwards retracted.

The enemy had ranged their dows and boats

under the cover of a small stone fort at the western extremity of the town. In the afternoon of the 27th, 300 men, consisting of the light company of the 47th, half a company of the 65th, with the royal marines of the Chiffonne, under the command of the gallant Lieutenant Drury, and a detachment of native infantry, assisted by a party of seamen under the command of Lieutenant Chrichton of the Chiffonne, who were employed in bringing up a howitzer, were landed, and having taken possession of the town, proceeded to the attack of the fort, and to the destruction of the dows and boats; while one of the vessels which drew little water was employed in keeping up a smart fire on the fort. The dows and boats, eleven in number, some of which were very large, were completely destroyed. The fort made an obstinate resistance; but was at last given up, as well as all the property which had previously been plundered from our ally, the Imaum of Muscat. The fort was afterwards delivered to an officer of the Imaum's, and Mullah Hossein was permitted to depart. Our loss here was 10 killed and 56 wounded.

The expedition then returned to Muscat; from thence it sailed again on the 24th December, and on the 31st reached Shinaas,⁽¹³⁾ accompanied by near 4000 of the troops of the Imaum of Muscat. Our transactions here, which close the proceedings of this expedition, exhibit such decided traits of the national character of the British, as well as of the people opposed to them, that I trust my reader will

forgive me if I relate at some length what took place at Shinaas. Shinaas is situated on the sea shore of the province of Kerman, and therefore appears in the map to make a portion of the country under subjection and allegiance to the king of Persia; an attack on any part of which at a time when not only an accredited minister was residing at the Persian court, but a treaty of friendship and subsidy had been but recently concluded on our part with that monarch, might startle such as are not aware that it is much easier for an European geographer to lay down on a map the provinces of Persia, than for the king to retain in complete possession and obedience to him the provinces so laid down. The fact is, that the authority of the Persian Government, whether the seat of it was at Ispahan, at Schyras, or at Tæhran, always sat very light on the towns and villages situated on the shores of the Persian Gulf; and from the inhabitants of Shinaas having adopted the tenets of the Wahaubys, the king of Persia viewed them in the same light as the British Government did; that is to say, as hostile and fanatical Arabs, and not as Persian subjects; so much so, that when I communicated to his Majesty an account of our success against them, he said "Bareikullah"—bravely done.

On the arrival of the combined troops at Shinaas, the fort was summoned to surrender, and on its refusal, was bombarded by the ships and gunboats. The situation however was too distant to

admit of that mode of attack being effectual; the troops therefore were landed on the morning of the 2nd January, about half a mile to the southward of the town, on a sandy beach, which is often overflowed during a high spring tide and a southerly wind. The position, however, was an excellent one, as the troops had a back water between them and the sea, and running parallel to it about forty yards in front. The Imaum's troops were posted on the left of the British. A ten inch and a half mortar, with a couple of field pieces, were taken across the creek, with an intention of attacking the fort on its southern side, when a party of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance from the woods which ran along the coast about a mile from the sea, and commenced an attack; but they were at length put to flight by our advanced party. This circumstance, which shewed that the plan of our operations might be exposed to frequent interruptions of this kind, determined Lieutenant Colonel Smith to change his original design. He accordingly entrenched himself in the position above mentioned, and erected a battery against the sea fort. The zeal of Captain Wainwright soon lined this battery with two 24 pounders, one 12 pounder carronade, and three brass 12 pounders from the fleet, in addition to three brass field pieces belonging to the detachment. A very heavy fire was opened at day-break on the 3rd, and between nine and ten o'clock a breach was made in the curtain, and shortly afterwards one of the towers fell

in. The guns were then directed to the other towers, from which however it was found impossible to drive the enemy. Two o'clock was the hour appointed for storming, in which a body of 400 of the Imaum troops were to assist. While the different detachments were taking up their stations of attack, the Imaum troops, from misunderstanding the orders, got before the British, and entered the breach first; but our soldiers observing this, soon got up to them and passed them, on which those troops readily yielded to their Christian comrades the remaining labor and honor of the day.

By five o'clock every part of the fort had surrendered, and was given up to our ally the Imaum of Muscat, whose troops took possession of it.

The despatches from the officers on this expedition agree, that a more obstinate resistance than that which was made by the enemy could scarcely be imagined—his defences nearly battered to ruins, and the greatest part of his garrison lying in mangled heaps, while the body of his fort was occupied by the British and Muscat troops, he still persevered, at every the least cessation of the musquetry, to fire upon his foe from two towers, which were not then sufficiently destroyed to preclude all shelter.

Attempts to scale these towers were made in vain; every access to them was strongly barricaded, and defended by long spears, whilst showers of stones were poured from their tops upon the assailants. Evening was fast approaching, humanity and other

considerations called for an endeavour to terminate such a scene of carnage; and the few survivors were called upon to surrender, and save their lives. The answer returned to this humane summons was "death rather than submission." Two 12 pounders and three field pieces were now brought up from the battery, and a heavy fire with double shot was opened close under the towers, in order to level them. The Wahauby pirates still kept up their fire, and seemed determined to bury themselves in the ruins of their fort. The hand grenades and fire balls which were made use of by our troops, were often returned with a desperate resolution on the British, before they burst. The towers were now rapidly falling in, when every soul must have perished:—the firing was ordered to cease, and another effort made to save their lives.

Men who never gave quarter, were unlikely to conceive the offer of it to be sincere; but at last, one amongst them who had formerly some opportunity of becoming acquainted with the British character, came forward, and by this man's means the remainder of the Wahauby garrison agreed to surrender. Something of this obstinacy and disbelief proceeded from the deadly hatred existing between the pirates and our Muscat allies; for it is well known, that in many instances the British officers, at the imminent risk of their own lives, interfered to protect the pirates from the savage rage of the Muscat troops. In these benevolent and humane exertions, Colonel Smith shone emi-

nently conspicuous, and, after such a day, the reader no doubt will be astonished to learn that our loss amounted to no more than 1 killed and 11 wounded. The loss of the Wahaubys was computed at more than 400 killed.

On the 25th February, the whole of the troops employed on this expedition, except about 100, left with Captain Wainwright, returned to Bombay. To use the words of Colonel Smith "the handsome chastisement" which the Wahauby government received from this expedition, carried not only complete destruction to the points attacked, but cooled the ardour of the maritime Arab tribes to support the Wahauby, and in fact inflicted the first mortal wound on his power. After this, I am confident the reader will not censure me for copying the 3rd paragraph of a letter from the Governor-General of India, dated 7th March, and put into general orders at Bombay on 24th March, 1810.

Paragraph 3rd. "The complete success which
"has attended all the operations of the expedition
"to the Gulf of Persia, affords grounds for the
"highest satisfaction, and reflects great honor on
"Captain Wainwright and Lieutenant Colonel
"Smith, who appear to have conducted all the
"operations committed to their management with
"distinguished zeal, prudence, promptitude, and
"ability."

We must now turn our attention towards the operations commenced against the Wahauby by Mahommed Ally Paçha. The Paçha of Egypt,

who, with his sons Toussun and Ibrahim Paçha, contrary to the general expectation and predictions of the Mahommedan world, had the singular good fortune to put an end to the reign of these reformists and enthusiasts.

Previously to the invasion of Egypt by the French in the year 1798, it was well known how slight a degree of power the Porte possessed over that country; but the power she possessed over the Arabian tribes, bordering on the Arabian Gulf, and the towns situated on that Gulf, was, if possible, still less. The expulsion of the French by the joint efforts of the English and the Turks, and the murder of the Mamluke Beys by the Grand Admiral Hassan Paçha,⁽¹⁴⁾ not only restored Egypt to the Turks, but gave them, what they had long lost, the government and rule of it.

In 1804, Mahommed Ally was appointed Paçha of Egypt; and in the instructions he received from the Porte, the point on which most stress was laid, was to attempt the reconquest from the Wahauby of the holy cities. There were several beys whom Hassan Paçha had not been able to entrap on board his ship, at the time of his massacre of these officers; and these having thus escaped the fate of their more credulous brethren, kept possession of several parts of Upper Egypt, and continued to be troublesome and hostile to the Ottoman authorities, possessing the lower and more fertile division of that country. In 1810, Mahommed Ally effected

a compromise with these beys, which caused them to abandon their pretensions upon all the Lower as well as the greater part of Upper Egypt; and under this compact, notwithstanding the lesson they had received in the former fate of their brethren, they were weak enough to trust their lives in the power of Ally Paçha; who caused the whole of them to be massacred in the castle at Cairo.⁽¹⁵⁾

Previously to that event, that is, in the end of the year 1809, Mahommed had commenced serious preparations to carry into effect the orders he had received from the Porte. For this purpose he constructed a flotilla, which in the beginning of 1811 consisted of twenty-eight large and small vessels, from 100 to 250 tons burthen, which were built at Suez, and the building of which had given employment to near 1000 workmen, chiefly Greeks and Europeans. Large magazines of corn and other provisions were formed at Suez, and as the vessels thus built were not fit to transport to the scene of action large bodies of cavalry, it became necessary to arrange the passage of these by land.

The fortified stations made use of by the Hadj caravans on the road from Cairo to Yembo, were still in possession of the Turks, and these were carefully repaired and strengthened by new walls, and by garrisons of Moggreb infantry, well accustomed to treat with the Bedouin Arabs. Such of these Arabs whose stations of resort were in the vicinity of these fortresses, received large pre-

sents from the paçha, for assisting him in the transport of stores from Cairo for the use of these garrisons. Besides this, Mahommed was provident enough to establish magazines at Cosseir, on the opposite side of the Arabian Gulf.

We left Shereef Ghaleb in the possession of Mecca; and also stated him, from his sacred character, to possess a certain influence with several Bedouin tribes; in consequence of which, he was rather feared and courted, than trusted by the Wahauby. Ghaleb was not wanting to himself in obtaining the best information both as to Mahommed Ally's designs, his position, his credit with the Porte, and the resources he could command; and when he found these to be greater than those of any paçha who had before attempted to force a passage into the Hedjaz, he entered into a secret correspondence with him, assuring him that his conversion to the Wahauby faith had been a matter of necessity; that it had never been sincere; and that he would, on the first appearance of a respectable Turkish force on the shores of Hedjaz, withdraw from all connexion with Saoud.

It was not likely, however, that two men so accomplished in deceit as Mahommed Ally Paçha and Shereef Ghaleb, would place much confidence in the professions made by the one to the other; but Mahommed Ally, in the course of their communications contrived to obtain from Ghaleb some important and useful information on the actual state

and force of the Wahaubys, on the dispositions of the Bedouins of Hedjaz, on the best mode of attacking Saoud, and the points from which such could most effectually be made.

In addition to this Mahommed Ally received great assistance, from the experience and judgment of Seyd Mohammed el Mahrouky, one of the principal merchants at Cairo, to whose care he entrusted the negociations and arrangements with the Bedouins in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea.

The state of things at that time in Egypt, caused Mohammed Ally to think it prudent, to commit the first expedition against the Wahauby, to his second son Toussun Bey assisted by Ahmed Aga, the paçha's Kasnadar or treasurer, and Seyd Mohammed el Mahrouky : and that the expedition might, if necessary, possess the power of confuting, as well as conquering, two learned theologians of Cairo were ordered to join it.

Burckhardt states this expedition to have consisted of about 1500 or 2000 infantry, chiefly Arnauts, under the command of Saleh Aga and Omar Aga. It embarked at Suez for Yembo, and took with them all the new built ships as transports for troops and provisions. The cavalry, with Toussun Bey and Ahmed Aga, and a body of Bedouin horse under the command of their shaik, of the Howeytal tribe, proceeded by land.

In the month of October, 1811, the troops landed from the transports near the town of Yembo, which

after a feeble resistance of two days surrendered on capitulation. The cavalry joined a fortnight afterwards ; having, in consequence of the presents or bribes previously distributed amongst the Bedouins met with no impediment on their march. But the victors at Yembo, instead of pushing on, commenced negotiations, and consumed several months in this manner. The infantry were quartered in Yembo, and the cavalry encamped at a small distance from it.

In the course of these negotiations, Toussun Bey found that the information which his father had received from Shereef Ghaleb, was in several parts of it, incorrect ; and in none more so, than as it respected the two great tribes of Harb and Teheyne ; which whatever might be their dislike to the government of the Wahauby, were overawed by Saoud, and did not dare to make any motion in favour of the Turks ; at least not until Toussun should have obtained some decided advantage : and the capture of Yembo, although it afforded Mahommed Ally's fleet a safe anchorage, could not be considered as that decisive stroke which the shaiks of these tribes desired to see before they declared in favor of the expedition.

It must be understood, however, that at the time when Yembo was taken possession of by the Turks, it was not garrisoned by the Wahauby, but by the troops of Shereef Ghaleb.⁽¹⁶⁾ These fellows attempted resistance, and the inhabitants rose and

expelled them, fearing otherwise that the town might be exposed to assault from the savage troops of the besiegers. Ghaleb was a quiet spectator of this scene, and made excuses to Toussun Bey for not joining him, similar to those which the Bey had received from the shaiks of the Harb and Jeheyne Arabs.

It has been imagined, and probably with truth, that Ghaleb was willing if possible to let both parties weaken themselves, by war, and then drive them both out of Hedjaz; or if one suffered a signal defeat, then to join the conqueror. The impression Toussun was yet able to make on the Arabs, either by force or persuasion, was very small.

It now became necessary to open the campaign, which might have been best done by marching towards Mecca or Jedda; but this was attended with the difficulty of obliging Shereef Ghaleb, who occupied those towns, to decide on the part he would take; and Toussun, from circumstances, had too much reason to believe that that decision would not be in his favor. He therefore directed his course towards Medina, which is about six days march distant from Yembo.

Medina had always been considered as the strongest place in the province of Hedjaz, and as being of the greatest consequence to the Wahauby to possess, for by its situation it might open or obstruct the passage of the Syrian Hadj, or pilgrims' caravan, which the Porte was particularly anxious should be re-established, and

therefore the capture of it might influence the Bedouins to declare themselves in favor of the Turks ; and as Shereef Ghaleb, was much connected with that city, Toussun's resolution of attacking it, produced a promise of assistance from the shereef.

Leaving a garrison in Yembo, in January, 1812, Toussun Bey advanced against Medina. At two days' distance from Yembo, is the small town of Bedr,⁽¹⁷⁾ famous for the battle which took place there, in the first year of Heigira, between Mahommed, and the tribe of Korcish, in which the latter were defeated. It is worth while, as we go along, to remark that, after this battle, disputes ran very high amongst the prophet's troops, respecting the division of the spoils, between the young men, who had fought, and the old men, who staid under the ensigns ; the former insisting that they ought to have the whole, and the latter that they deserved a share. It was on this occasion, that Mahommed, on his return to Medina, pretended to have received the revelation of the eighth chapter of the Koran, the military regulations of which, are strictly adhered to by the Wahaubys. Bedr made a very slight resistance ; the town is situated at the entrance of those mountains which Toussun had to pass, between Yembo and Medina ; and as the Beni Arabs held the passes, some resistance was expected, but the Bey had no intelligence, nor had he the least idea that a large body of Saoud's troops were stationed to guard them.

After leaving a small garrison at Bedr, Toussun proceeded to Szafra, a place about eight hours from that town, and where at certain times a market or fair is held by the Beni Harbs. In this place some little fighting took place, but the Harbs eventually gave way, very probably with the design of leading the Turks into the defiles of the mountains.

At about four hours distance from Szafra, the road begins to wind through a pass of about sixty yards wide, enclosed on each side by steep and rugged mountains; and at the entrance of the pass is situated, in the midst of a grove of palm trees, the pleasant village of Tedeedeh, the principal residence of the Beni Harbs, who in former times were frequently accustomed to levy contributions on the Syrian pilgrim caravan, for the freedom of a safe passage through it. The defile extends in length about one hour and a half of a camel's journey, which may be estimated at something short of four English miles.

The Turks had no sooner entered this pass, than they were assailed by a larger body of Beni Harbs than they had met with at Szafra, who a second time gave way; and the Turks believing them to be completely routed, were fatally induced to pursue them into the very middle of the pass; when to their astonishment and confusion, they beheld the mountains covered on both sides with Wahau-by troops, who had the day before arrived from Nejd. These troops were commanded by Saoud's

two sons, Abdallah and Faysal, and amounted to about 20,000 infantry, and from 6 to 800 horse.

Had Toussun now taken the prudent resolution of retreating to Tedeedeh, of which the Beni Harbs had allowed him to take possession, and fortified himself there as well as he could, he might have withstood the attack; since from their numbers it was impossible for the enemy, ill provided with provisions, to remain long on the ground, and so Toussun might have obtained an honorable capitulation.

The Turks, with difficulty, and the loss of their baggage, regained the plain:—had a large division of the Wahauby force in the meantime, pushed on over the hills to the mouth of the pass, the whole body of the Ottoman troops, either in the pass, or in the attempt to retreat out of it, must have been annihilated.

The military trophies captured from the Turks on this day were many; four field pieces were taken, but the richest part of the plunder consisted in the girdles of the slaughtered Arnauts, who had concealed in them the spoils of the Egyptian mamelukes. The loss of the Turks is said to have amounted to 1200 slain, for no quarter was given, and consequently no prisoners were made. Tousun had throughout this disastrous day behaved most gallantly; he had tried to cover the rear of his fugitive troops, and had ineffectually rallied them on their reaching the plain. But, on his

arrival at Bedr, he set fire to his camp, having no means of removing it, nor of taking his military chest with him to the sea shore nearest that place. The spot to which Toussun directed his retreat, was the little bay of Boreyha, where several of his ships lay at anchor, and from thence he embarked, with very few attendants, for Yembo. Fortunately for Toussun Bey, the Wahaubys imagined that he had retreated on a large reserve force at Bedr, and did not pursue him.

When the Wahaubys discovered their mistake, they sent out parties to scour the country to the walls of Yembo, and Shereef Ghaleb considered this defeat of the Turks as giving the Wahaubys an advantage sufficiently decisive to justify him in immediately joining them in person at Bedr. It was at first proposed by these confederates to storm the town of Yembo, but this is reported to have been laid aside from the consideration that those Arabs within the town who had cordially joined the Turks, knowing they should not receive quarter, would fight with desperation. The Wahaubys, after blockading the town a few days, retreated, and left the Beni Harb Arabs to harrass the Turks, and cut off such supplies as might be attempted to be thrown into the town from the country.

Saleh and Omar Agas, the two commanders of Arnaut infantry, disheartened by the signal defeat at the pass of Szafra or Tedeedeh, spoke the lan-

guage and sentiments of the troops, in declaring it useless to prolong the campaign in Hedjaz. These officers were permitted to retire, and they were joined by numbers who were discontented with the paçha. They proceeded to Cossier, and on their approach to Cairo, assumed so menacing an attitude, that Mahommed Ally found it expedient to use threats and presents to prevail on them to quit Egypt, and his alarm on their account was not lessened by the recollection of their conduct in Upper Egypt.

In consequence of this, they embarked at Alexandria, possessors of the plunder they had acquired.

In the fatiguing passage from Suez to Yembo, Toussun had lost a number of horses, and he was now forsaken by most of the Bedouin cavalry who had joined him on that march. Two hundred of these useful animals had been killed at Tedeedeh, and when he arrived at Yembo all which could be mustered did not exceed that number. These again were diminished from the scarcity and dear-ness of fodder, which obliged the owners to part with their horses, and those who thus sold them were sent back to Cairo to remount themselves.

Mahommed Ally was not inactive in endeavouring to repair the losses his son had sustained, and to set on foot another expedition. The whole spring and summer of 1812 were passed in these endeavours, and daily reinforcements of stores and troops were arriving at Yembo. But what was of

equal, if not greater importance, Seyd Mahommed Mahrouky succeeded by large presents in gaining over to the Turkish cause several powerful branches of the tribe of Beni Harb, which occupied the passes near Szafra and Tedeedeh. The same means applied to Shereef Ghaleb, induced him to acquaint Toussun, that he had only joined the Wahauby from fear; and even to renew his offer of opening to the Bey the gates of Jedda and Mecca, as soon as the Turkish troops should possess Medina.

It was in October, 1812, when Toussun Bey thought himself sufficiently strong to make a second attempt on Medina. His hopes of success were encouraged from the Beni Harbs on the road having become his friends, from many of the inhabitants of Tedeedeh having enlisted under his banners, and from the information he had received that Saoud remained inactive in the Nejd. He fixed his own head-quarters at Bedr, and gave the command of the troops to Ahmed Aga, his father's Kasnadar. They advanced towards Medina by the same route which had the year before witnessed their defeat—they passed unmolested,* they left a strong garrison in Tedeedeh, and arrived without even a skirmish under the walls of Medina.

In this city they found a strong Wahauby garrison, well provided with every thing necessary for a long siege. Saoud's inactivity on this occa-

* This appears very unaccountable.

sion has never been accounted for, but it probably arose from that confidence in his own resources and power, and from the contempt of the Turks which his late victory at Tedeedeh was but too likely to inspire; especially as that victory had greatly extended his authority and reputation with the northern Arabs. To balance his inactivity at Hedjaz, he had collected tribute from the Arab tribes near Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus.* Besides this, Saoud had just reason to think that Medina would stand a long siege; during which he could straiten the besiegers in their supplies of provision, and so force them at last to retire. In this case, it was most probable that the tribes of Beni Harb would abandon their new allies; and if so, it would be in his power to destroy the one, and severely chastise the other.

Frequent skirmishes between the besiegers and besieged took place under the walls of Medina; and at last the latter were driven by the former into the inner town; from whence the garrison on the approach of the Turks drove the inhabitants, who took an active part against their former friends. The inner town of Medina is guarded by a strong high wall, and a species of citadel or fortified castle, for the battering and breaching of which the Turks had nothing to produce but light field pieces. During a siege of fourteen or fifteen days, the Wahaubys made several sorties, and the

* This might probably be one reason for his neglecting to occupy the passes.

Turks laid a mine, but in so clumsy a manner, that the Wahaubys destroyed it; a second was better planned and conducted, and about the middle of November, whilst the Wahaubys were occupied at their prayers, it was exploded, with the effect of throwing down a sufficient part of the wall to admit the Arnauts to enter the town. The Wahaubys thus surprised, fled to the castle, but in this attempt about 1000 were butchered in the streets, and the town was completely plundered. About 1500 Wahaubys found shelter in the castle, a building situated on a solid rock, difficult therefore to mine, and which the Turks had no artillery capable of battering with effect. Want of provision obliged them to capitulate, on the promise of safe conduct, the preservation of their baggage entire, and of the necessary supply of camels being furnished to those who might desire to return to the Nejd.

When the garrison marched out, they found however no more than fifty of the three hundred camels which it had been agreed should be supplied; thus they were obliged to abandon great part of their baggage, and to carry on their shoulders such part of it as they esteemed most valuable. But they had no sooner cleared the precincts of the town, than Ahmed Aga, like a true Turk, permitted his soldiers to pursue them, to strip and massacre such as they overtook, so that those only who were mounted on camels escaped. These fortunate fugitives were chiefly Arabs of the Asyr

tribe, who afterwards in the course of this war, made an eminently obstinate resistance against Mahommed Ally Paçha.

There was at this time at Medina, an Arab chief, named Massoud el Medheyan, whom Saoud had appointed shaik not only over the whole of the Beni Harb, but had committed to his rule several other tribes. When the Wahaubys were driven into the inner town, this personage retreated with his family and about forty of his men to a garden house, in a date-tree grove, about an hour's journey from Medina. And here he entered into a capitulation with the Turks for the safety of himself, his family, and followers, as well as their baggage; and, under this capitulation, occupied a house in the suburbs, where he deposited his family and goods. But after the garrison of the castle were so basely massacred, the Turks plundered this house, killed his sons and attendants, and put himself in irons, and sent him to Yembo. El Medheyan in his passage through Bedr, contrived to escape from his guards in the night, and sought refuge with some of the Beni Harbs, who, to the eternal disgrace of their tribe, were prevailed on by Turkish gold to deliver him up; and he and Hassan el Kaladjy, who had usurped the government of Medina before the Wahaubys took the town, were sent to Constantinople and beheaded.

Subsequently to the taking of Medina, an expedition under the command of Mustafa Bey, the

brother-in-law of Mahommed Ally, consisting of 1500 infantry, advanced from Yembo towards Jedda and Mecca.

Shereef Ghaleb, intimidated by the fall of Medina, sent messengers to Mustafa, inviting him to his towns; in consequence of which a few hundred men were detached to Jedda, whilst the principal corps advanced towards Mecca; from which El Medhayfe, the Wahauby commander, retired towards Tayef, a few hours before Mustafa's arrival, who made his entry into Mecca in January, 1813. The property of the Meccans was respected, and Shereef Ghaleb joined the Turks with 1000 Arabs and negro slaves. In a fortnight after the capture of Mecca, an attack was made on Tayef, from which El Medhayfe fled, and Ghaleb and Mustafa Bey entered the town. This town had been in the hands of the Wahauby for the space of ten years, and as Burckhardt observes, had suffered more than any other town in the Hedjaz.

Flushed with his success, Mustafa Bey pushed on and attacked the town of Taraba. Taraba is situated in a sort of forest of palms, and its inhabitants had prudence enough to surround it with a wall and a ditch. Mustafa Bey, however, met a severe check on his march in the mountains between Tayef and Taraba, and suffered the loss of 400 or 500 men, before he could effect his return to Tayaf.

Othman Medhayfe, the brother-in-law of Shereef

Ghaleb, employed himself in scouring the country with his light troops, frequently interrupting the Turkish communication with Mecca, and thereby seriously embarrassing the garrison of Tayef. Ghaleb still recollected that his brother-in-law had been the principal cause of the surrender of Mecca to the Wahaubys, and a desire of revenge induced him to offer a reward of five thousand dollars for his capture. This was accomplished shortly after, in the following manner.

At the distance of four or five hours from Tayef, there is a sort of castle or fortified palace, called Byssel, where, as Ghaleb was informed, Medhayfe had been residing for some days. A strong detachment, from the garrison of Tayef, was ordered to surround the castle, and set it on fire, which they did. Medhayfe, with about thirty of his followers and his friends, rushed through the flames, and cut their way through the enemy; but his mare being wounded, became faint, and he was obliged to dismount, and endeavour to escape on foot. Tired and worn down, he trusted for refuge to a tent of an Ateybe Bedouin, who ignominiously, for the sake of Ghaleb's proffered reward, seized him, and carried him to his brother-in-law. Ghaleb loaded the captive with chains, and delivered him to the Turks. At the time when Mahommed Ally sent his youngest son to deliver to the Grand Signior the keys of the holy cities, this noble captive accompanied him, and immediately after his

arrival at Constantinople, was beheaded. Thus the Wahauby lost their best partizan, and Ghaleb, by his blind desire of vengeance, made himself more dependent on the Turks.

Thus was the province of Hedjaz nearly reduced under the obedience of its former masters, and the Sultan might again, with truth, assume the title of Khadem el harramun-es-Sherei-feen, servant or guardian of the holy cities. The Cairo caravan of pilgrims performed the pilgrimage with its usual pomp, but still the Syrian was unable to do so. In November, 1812, Toussun Bey, in reward for his services, was created by the Porte a paçha of three tails, appointed governor of Jedda, and Mahommed Ally's Dewan Effendisi, or chief secretary, was made governor of Medina.

Notwithstanding all this, the power of Saoud was only so far broken, as it was affected by the five chief cities of Hedjaz being in possession of the Turks. The whole of the tribes eastward of that range of mountains, running parallel with the sea from north to east, remained obedient and faithful to him. But the advantages obtained by the Turks, were sufficient to determine Mahommed Ally to repair to the scene of action; probably under the hope of securing to himself the honor and reputation of the final destruction of the Wahauby,—and Egypt, at this time, was in such a state of peaceable subjection, that he was able, with propriety and safety, to execute his design.

The forces which he mustered for this expedition, consisted of 2000 infantry, which embarked at Suez, and a corps of cavalry, nearly equal in number, which proceeded by land, taking with them about 8000 camels. Toussun Paçha had orders also to assemble troops at Mecca. Mahommed Ally arrived at Jedda in September, 1813; Shereef Ghaleb happening to be there at the time, waited on the paçha, and it was at this interview that they entered into a compact, sworn to by both parties on the Koran, and afterwards, at the desire of Ghaleb, more solemnly ratified in the temple of Mecca, "*each never to attempt any thing contrary to the interest, safety, or life, of the other.*"

After the experience Ghaleb had had of the real value of Ottoman promises and oaths, his self delusion in requiring such securities from Mahommed Ally, and his trusting to them, is not easily accounted for; nor will the reader, if he reflects on the character of the paçha, be much astonished at the result of Ghaleb's credulity. When the conquest of the Hedjaz took place, under Sultan Selim, in the sixteenth century, it had been agreed that the customs of the port of Jedda should be equally divided between the paçha of that place, and the shereef of Mecca: misunderstandings, however, on this subject, had latterly arisen between these respective personages. Shereef Ghaleb had appropriated these customs exclusively to his own use,

and the paçha had at one time politically enough promised not to interfere with his possession of them; the former misunderstandings on this subject, were now said to be adjusted, and Mahomed Ally shortly afterwards arrived at Mecca, where he distributed considerable alms to the poor, and presents to the ulemas or priests, and men of the law. The paçha's attention was principally directed to the means of providing the regular transport of supplies, military stores, and provisions, from Jedda to Mecca. The whole shipping of that port, and of Yembo, which taken together is considerable, he contracted for, and in addition had engaged, for one year, twenty vessels belonging to the Imaum of Muscat.

His anxiety on this point is said to have led Mahommed Ally to entertain several visionary schemes for the augmentation of his fleet in the Red Sea; amongst the rest, that of sending a Turkish frigate from Alexandria round the Cape of Good Hope, to enter the Arabian Gulf through the Straits of Babelmandul: and it is also said that an Englishman who had resided some time in Egypt, recollecting probably, the transport, by Mahommed II, of his vessels over land from the Bosphorus into the harbour at Constantinople, proposed to carry this frigate, or a similar vessel, at high water up to Cairo, and afterwards to pass it on rollers across the desert and launch it at Suez. Neither of these projects were adopted, nor can I bring myself to

believe, that they were ever seriously thought of. His vanity might be flattered by the reports of schemes so novel, and requiring so much power.

At first it seems strange that Mahommed Ally should find it more difficult to transport provisions by land, over the short distance between Jedda and Mecca, than to transport them from Egypt to Suez, and from thence to Jedda. Of the eight thousand camels which had accompanied the cavalry, seven thousand five hundred had died within three months after their arrival in Hedjaz. Those Bedouins, who had become allies to the Turks, were poor in camels, and the too well-known system of Turkish remuneration for services performed, made them less forward in offering such supplies, than they otherwise perhaps would have been. The number of camels therefore which the paçha was now able to collect, was scarcely equal to transport the daily consumption of provisions required at Mecca and Teyef, so that the operations of the Turks were much crippled.

This induced the paçha to be earnest in his entreaties to Shereef Ghaleb, to exert his influence with the Arabs, for the purpose of providing a supply of these useful and patient beasts; and with a view to render this influence more effective, a large sum of money was at last issued. Both Ghaleb, and the different shaiks to whom he applied, promised fairly, but no camels arrived; a second advance of money was made, and still no camels appeared.

The paçha, who had at first maintained a friendly intercourse with Ghaleb, now became cool towards him; and the shereef, on his side, complained of an infraction of their agreement, respecting the customs of Jedda, which notwithstanding the promises of Mahommed Ally, he declared were withheld from the officers whom he had appointed to receive them. It was not long before accusations were increased and aggravated on both sides, and in this state it was natural that the paçha should view with jealousy and suspicion, Ghaleb's intimacy with the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes; nor was it to be wondered at that incidents should be continually arising to render the shereef suspicious of the paçha, so that the paçha was led at last to consider Ghaleb, as rather a doubtful friend, than a useful ally. It has been said that the Grand Signior left to the discretion of the paçha the treatment which Ghaleb was to receive from the Porte; that is, either to leave him at the head of the government of Mecca, or to depose him, and make him a prisoner; but as this power was never promulgated till after the paçha had arrested the shereef, the possession of such a power from the Porte, admits of doubt.*

Be that as it may, the paçha had now formed his resolution to arrest and imprison the shereef; but the resolution to do so was much easier formed

* However, it may be said, and with truth, it would have been very unwise to have made it public.

than executed; for Ghaleb had with him at Mecca about 1500 fighting men, and the neighbouring Arabs were much better inclined toward the shereef, than towards the paçha.

The residence of Ghaleb at Mecca, was a strongly fortified house or castle, which had been originally built by Serous, his elder brother, but which had been much strengthened by Ghaleb himself, when he heard of Mahommed Ally's intention of invading Arabia. It commanded the whole town, and was certainly impregnable against any means of attack possessed by the paçha. Its garrison consisted of about 800 men, and twelve heavy guns were mounted on different parts of its walls.

Ghaleb had become aware of the designs which the paçha entertained against him; and as Mahommed Ally had then only 1200 men in Mecca, the shereef with his own troops, and with the assistance of the inhabitants, who were most of them attached to him, might easily have expelled the paçha, particularly as the Bedouins would have joined for this purpose. Ghaleb had religiously observed his oath; nor could he believe that a compact ratified within the precincts of the temple of Mecca, could be infringed by any Mahometan; but he miscalculated the nature of Mahommed Ally's conscience, which appears to have been so little delicate, that Mr. Burckhardt says he would have arrested Ghaleb in the sacred Mosque, had he not been dissuaded by the representation

of a scrupulous *cadi* newly arrived from Constantinople. The Turks, on their side, assert that Ghaleb intended to arrest the *paçha*; but this was a story set on foot to cover their own injustice and perfidy towards that prince; and the proof of it is that Mahommed Ally had frequently visited the *shereef*, and returned in safety, when nothing was more easy than for Ghaleb to have detained him. It is possible that the *paçha* was tempted to do this in the hope that Ghaleb would return the visits so paid, which would then put him in the *paçha*'s power. Be this as it may, it is certain that Mahommed Ally sought a proper opportunity of making the *shereef* a prisoner, and for this purpose he practised a stratagem which proved Ghaleb's ruin.

He directed Toussun to arrive at Mecca from Jedda at a late hour of the night. The *shereef* could not with propriety dispence paying the *paçha* a visit the next morning, which he did, attended with but few followers. This last circumstance had been hoped for, and preparations made to arrest the *shereef*, by concealing in different chambers several of the *paçha*'s guards the evening before.

On the *shereef*'s arrival at the *paçha*'s house, he was conducted up stairs, under the pretence of Toussun *Paçha* being fatigued with his journey, and not able to come down, and his attendants were not allowed to follow him. After conversing with the *paçha* for some time, and rising to depart, he was

arrested and surrounded by the hidden soldiers; and their chief and Toussun afterwards obliged him to shew himself at the window, to order his people to return home, and to assure those assembled that no harm was intended towards him.

The shereef's two sons, on their father's arrest being known, took refuge in the castle, and made preparations for defence; but a firman from the sultan (whether true or forged was never known) being shown to Ghaleb, by which his appearance at Constantinople was required, and on being threatened with death by the paçha if resistance was made to it, he was prevailed on to write an order to his sons to deliver up the castle, which was accordingly done. An inventory of Ghaleb's property was made, and it is reported to have amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The remaining part of this person's history is told in a few words: one of his sons died at Alexandria; the Porte assigned Salonia for the residence of the shereef himself, and of another son; and there the shereef, and all his family except a younger son, who remained at Mecca, died of the plague, in 1816.

The Turks were greatly disappointed in the amount of the treasure they found belonging to Ghaleb: suspicions were entertained that he had remitted considerable sums to Bombay, with which port he had a frequent commercial intercourse. It was even insinuated that in case of need he had

intended to take refuge there. A person named Yahia, of the shereef lineage, was appointed to the government of Mecca; a weak man without reputation, and his situation was such, that he was nothing more than a stipendiary of the paçha.

The paçha's treachery to Ghaleb, neither advanced his cause nor his reputation amongst the Arabs, none of whom in the neighbourhood of Mecca, evinced more determined hostility towards the Turks, than the Begoum Arabs, who inhabited Taraba. Shereef Radjah had fixed his head-quarters there, and was joined by Ally el Medhayfe, a man of great influence in the country. Thus at that time Taraba became the point of union for the southern, as Dereyah was for the northern, Wahaubys.

The Begoum Arabs exhibited at this time rather a singular spectacle, being headed by a female of the name of Ghalye; the widow of one of the chief men of that tribe; and I well remember a similar event many years ago taking place with one of the Arab tribes which then inhabited the Dushtistan, in the neighbourhood of Bushire. I frequently saw this last person come armed to the teeth into Bushire, and heard many an amusing tale of her Amazonian exploits. One source of the widow Ghalye's influence was, that her table was open to all faithful Wahaubys, and a very natural consequence of such hospitality was, that the chiefs held frequent councils at her house; and as

the old lady was famed for good judgment, and knowledge of the interest of the surrounding tribes, as well as for good cheer, her voice was not only heard, but generally guided the decision of those councils; so that she in fact governed the Begoum Arabs, though the nominal chief of the tribe was Ibu Khorshan. To Ghalye's other accomplishments, an ignorant and superstitious soldiery added that of sorcery, and the tales they related of this were by no means proportionate in absurdity to that of her power. These tales, however, were not without their effect on the superstitious Turks: and therefore were not likely to increase their confidence in themselves, so that without offence to probability they may be considered as an assistant cause of Toussun's defeat.

Mahommed Ally was determined however on a second attack of Taraba: and in consequence Toussun was dispatched on that service from Tayef in 1813, with about 2000 troops. It was now that Mahommed Ally was destined to feel the pernicious effects of his treacherous conduct to the shereef: the country between these two places was possessed by hostile tribes; more particularly by that of Atebye, the fiercest of the sectaries. Whilst Ghaleb governed Mecca, some of these tribes were on the point of negotiating with the paçha, and the rest not actively hostile against him; but on the seizure of that prince, they began to harass Tayef and the Turkish troops, whom

they openly upbraided with their commander's treachery.

The stock of provisions which Toussun carried with him from Tayef, amounted to thirty days' consumption for his troops, and of this time he wasted the greater part in an useless and fatiguing warfare with the Atebyes; so that when he arrived before Taraba, there were not more than three days' provisions in store. Thus situated, he ordered an immediate attack on the place: it failed: and Ghalye having made herself conspicuous in the defence, the Turkish troops openly and positively refused to make further effort for its reduction; under the idea, that they had to deal with a sorceress. The paçha had no alternative, but to retreat towards Tayef; this retreat soon became flight; and this flight produced loss of baggage, tents, guns, and the little provision which remained.

The Turks lost upwards of 700 men in this retreat, and many others perished from the mere want of water and food; whilst the remainder of the army were saved from annihilation solely by the efforts of about a hundred heavy-armed Egyptian cavalry, who accompanied Toussun; the Wahaby Bedouin infantry being unable to stand their charge. With difficulty Toussun reached Tayef, and the Wahabys pursuing him to within a day's journey of the place, returned to Tarraba.

Notwithstanding this defeat, Mahommed Ally saw that Tayef was the point from which such

operations against the enemy, as he might hereafter resolve to undertake, could be best commenced; he therefore recommenced the system of sending caravans backward and forward between Jedda, Mecca, and Teyef. These were miserably deficient in camels, and could never effect their passage through the country, without a guard so numerous, as to consume one third of the provisions with which the caravan was charged.

In 1813, Suleiman, the paçha of Damascus, had safely conducted the caravan of the Syrian Hadj to Mecca, but as this was effected solely by the payment to Saoud of the arrears of ten years' tribute, it was rather a proof of Saoud's avidity, than of the power of the Turks. Pilgrims had also reached Mecca from Constantinople by way of Suez, Jedda, and Mecca, and the paçha by this last caravan received a most valuable supply of camels, and reinforcement of troops from Egypt. The Turks however remained inactive in the beginning of 1814.

A new plan was then adopted, and a naval expedition against the port of Gonfonde was fitted out, and sailed from Jedda, on board of which were 1500 infantry, accompanied by numerous transports laden with provisions. Gonfonde had formerly made a part of the possessions of Shereef Ghaleb, and is situated about seven days' journey to the southward of Jedda. For the last five years, it had been in possession of Tamy, Sheik of the Asyr

Arabs ; the strongest of the mountain tribes south of Mecca, and the most devoted to Saoud's adherents.

By a reference to the map, it will be perceived, that the positions of Mecca, Tayef, and Gonfonde, present nearly a triangle, and that the latter place might easily by sea be supplied with provisions, therefore it was judiciously determined to obtain possession of it, as a *point d'appui* from whence the future conquest of Yemen might be prosecuted. Whether from not being aware of the paçha's designs, or not considering the place of much consequence, Shaik Tamy had placed a very slender garrison in Gonfonde ; which, together with the inhabitants, fled from the town on the approach of the Turks, who took possession of it without bloodshed in March, 1814.

Gonfonde appears subject to the same inconvenience in respect to water that I have already related of Grain ; that is, the wells from which a supply is obtained, are at three hours' distance from the town : and a prudent commander would have secured an uninterrupted communication with them by fortifying the wells themselves, and by establishing a chain of posts between them and the town. The Turks had with them artillery sufficient to have done this, but it was a precaution beyond their reach of thought, for the wells which supply Jedda are similarly situated, and they had left them unprotected. I believe that there are

many towns in Arabia and Palestine, where the supply of water for the inhabitants is from without the town, and this was probably the case at Sychar, where our Saviour found the Samaritan woman who had gone forth from the town to draw water. The convenience or safety of a port may induce the establishment of a town, and be considered in some measure counterbalancing the deficiency of a supply of fresh water within its walls; but one surely is entitled to admire for what reason an inland town was ever built on a spot where so essential an article to human existence, and human comfort, could only be obtained from wells at a distance.

The wells from which Gonfonde was supplied, were feeble in their springs, and Mahomed Ally stationed a few Arnaut soldiers at them as a sentry might be placed over a water butt on board a ship; but these soldiers were incompetent to secure them against an enemy. When I relate what Burckhardt records in respect to the attack made on these wells and their Turkish guard, by Shaik Tamy, it seem to me as if *I* had witnessed what had happened at Gonfonde, or *he* had witnessed what had happened many years before at Grain; for when the attack was made, he says, "some fought bravely, others fled towards the town, and spread a general consternation." Without attempting resistance within the walls, the panic-struck commander and most of his troops

ran towards the ships that lay in the harbour; and this gallant commander had no sooner secured his own safety, than he hoisted sail, and left his comrades to their fate, for the Wahaubys shewed them no mercy. The plunder the Wahaubys found in Gonfonde, was the Turkish magazines, the baggage of the army, and its artillery, besides 400 horses, and many camels.

Whilst the expedition to Gonfonde was on foot, Mahommed Ally Paçha had gone to Tayef, partly to enjoy the better climate of that place, and partly that he might from thence attempt establishing an amicable intercourse with the Bedouins.

Hassan Paçha, a celebrated Arnaut chief, firmly attached to Mahommed Ally's interest, arrived from Cairo in June, 1814, with 1500 of the best infantry of Egypt. Hassan, and his brother Abed ed din Bey, had been employed in the reduction of Upper Egypt, and had distinguished themselves in the massacre at Cairo of the Mamelukes, which tragedy was performed entirely by Arnaut soldiers. In addition to these services to Mahommed Ally, he had lately performed another, that of ridding him of Catif Paçha, to whom the Porte had granted the dignity of paçha of two tails, under circumstances which awakened the jealousy and suspicion of Ally.

Very shortly after Hassan's arrival, he was despatched to establish himself at a place called Kottach, a small village to the eastward of Tayef, on

the road to Taraba, and in the plain beyond the great chain of mountains. The wells of Kotach rendered it an important position, and it was in some degree fortified. Toussun remained at Mecca and in disgrace with his father.

The following picture of the state of the Turkish army at this time was drawn by Mr. Burckhardt on the spot. “ Discontent and a kind of panic were
“ universal amongst the soldiers. The repeated
“ victories gained by the enemy, and the certain
“ death that awaited all Turkish prisoners, rendered the very name of Wahauby a terror among
“ the paçha’s troops. The pay which in Egypt
“ sufficed for a soldier’s comfort, scarcely enabled
“ him in Hedjaz to keep himself from starvation.
“ At Tayef and Medina the prices of all necessary
“ articles rose to such a height, that the soldier
“ could barely afford to purchase enough of bread
“ and onions, as his only food, and three or four
“ months’ pay was always in arrear. Even at Jedda
“ and Mecca every thing was two hundred and
“ fifty per cent. dearer than in Egypt, so that every
“ one who had saved a little money before his arrival in Hedjaz, was obliged to expend it in procuring the necessaries of life. They were paid
“ besides in Egyptian piastres, bad coin, and so
“ much less valuable in Hedjaz than in Cairo, that
“ they lost by this one third of their pay. Many
“ sold their fire-arms and clothes, and all in general
“ suffered much distress; to relieve which Mahom-

“ med Ally never troubled himself. Many soldiers, camel drivers, servants, and artists, forfeited their pay, and embarked at Jedda and Yembo for Cairo, but the paçha soon forbade such a proceeding under severe penalties.”

To this untoward situation of the Turkish army might be added a constant sufferance from bad water, from an unhealthy climate, and from despondency increased by no prospect of relief. It is to the apparent credit of Mahommed Ally, that under such circumstances, he should have persevered, but this credit will suffer some drawback, when we recollect that he must have known, that unless he obtained some signal advantage in Arabia, his downfall and expulsion from Egypt was certain.

By patience and the distribution of large sums of money, he had, in August, 1814, induced several Arab tribes to enter into an alliance with him; and particularly a part of that tribe the Ateybe which has been already represented as being the most attached to the doctrines of the Wahaubys. Of these the number which joined the Turks were double in proportion to the Turkish troops, whilst their chiefs were presented with dresses, shawls, and clothes. Some of these proved to be spies, and very few in their hearts joined the paçha; a proof of which is that the paçha remained in utter ignorance of the interests, and private history of the surrounding tribes, as well as of any use-

ful knowledge. But the profusion with which he distributed his gifts had an effect, and the Arabs preferred to reap rather by cunning than force the rich harvest spread before them : Shereef Radjah was not backward in his claims on this occasion, and at last in September arrived at Tayef, was well received by the paçha, and placed by him at the head of such of the Bedouins as had joined the Turks.

In addition to the distribution of presents, Mahommed Ally, with a view to conciliate the inhabitants of Hadjaz, abolished many small duties formerly collected by Ghaleb ; and the customs collected at Jedda, on coffee, that greatest of all luxuries to an Arab, were diminished. To these judicious measures was also joined the strictest observance of discipline amongst the troops ; theft and extortion were severely punished, and the Arabs became gradually reconciled to their Turkish allies, so that Mahommed Ally obtained credit for many amiable qualities, which, in Egypt, he was never supposed to possess.

But to counterbalance, and more than counterbalance, whatever might be unpromising in the appearance of the paçha's affairs, the Wahaubys in the month of May of this year, 1814, suffered an irreparable loss in their able, active, and indefatigable Prince Saoud, who was carried off by a fever, at that time very prevalent in the Nejd. The military policy which Saoud had pursued,

and which he recommended with his latest breath to his son, was never to engage the Turks in open plains; and had this been persisted in, Abdullah might probably have foiled the Turks in every attempt at conquest, and preserved his family from the fate which befell them. Several of the Wahauby, during Saoud's lifetime, had acknowledged Abdullah, his eldest son, in case of accidents, to be his successor; notwithstanding which, as Saoud left several sons, who all claimed a part of the treasures of the deceased, hostilities between them and their elder brother broke out; but these were appeased by the influence and interference of the most powerful Ulemas at Dereyah; and Abdullah was at last acknowledged as the Wahauby chief. The example set in the family of Saoud was followed by some of the great Shaiks, who began to assume airs of independence; and to perceive that the government had passed into feebler hands than had hitherto wielded it; for though Abdullah's courage and skill in war were superior to his father's, still it was evident that he was very inferior to Saoud in the ability to manage the political interests of the different tribes under his command. Thus the Southern Wahaubys, who were most exposed to the attacks of the Turks, often received no assistance from the Northern Tribes, and Abdullah either wanted the power or the policy to adjust the differences which were taking place between the Southern Shaiks.

But perhaps nothing was so fatal to Abdullah, as the contempt in which he held the Turks.

In September, 1814, the position of Mahommed Ally's forces, was,

With the Paçha's Mohurder at Mecca about	
200 Turks, and with Shereef Yahia in	
the same place 150 Arabian soldiers	350
With the Divan Effendi at Medinah	400
Garrison at Yembo	100
Stationed at Jedda	200
With Tousun Paçha between Yembo and	
Medina	350
With Mahommed Ally himself, 200 infan-	
try and 100 cavalry	300
With Hassan Paçha at Kolach, Arnauts	1000
With Abedin Bey 1200 Arnauts and 400	
cavalry	1600
	<hr/>
Total	4300

Hassan Paçha, and his brother Abedin Bey, held the advanced posts of the Turkish army, and these had been pushed in advance of Tayef, and to the southward, into the territory of the tribe of Beni Nazzera, and towards the district of Zohran, the Shaik whereof was the principal opponent of the Turks in that quarter; these posts had the advantage, from the fertility of the country in which they were stationed, to find themselves independent of the magazines at Tayef; but though there was corn, there was no other means of reducing it to flour, except that of pounding it between stones.

The force above enumerated might be equal to the defence of Mecca and Medina, but was certainly inadequate to the conquest of the Wahaubys: and, notwithstanding all the Paçha's efforts, he had failed to procure a competent supply of camels. From the beginning of the war to this period, it is imagined thirty thousand camels had perished, and the animal had become so scarce in Egypt, that it became necessary to seek supplies as far as Sennar, and the paçha had even sent an officer to Damascus to procure a supply from thence. I have always thought that the effluvia produced by the corruption of a dead camel, was more powerful and more offensive than that proceeding from the decomposition of any other animal substance; and in Moabedi, the quarter of Mecca appropriated to the standing of the camels, the stench became so bad and pestilential, that the Turks even at last thought of consuming the carcasses with fire, by means of dry grass, brought from the mountains, and laid upon them.

Various skirmishes took place between the Turks and Wahaubys, in which the advantage was sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, but the most serious affair took place at Bahra, a small town, at a watering place between Mecca and Jedda, which the Wahaubys took possession of, and massacred all the inhabitants that they could find. This caused great consternation at Mecca, and the intercourse between

Jedda and Mecca was for some time interrupted.

That part of the Beni Harb tribe which had been induced to give assistance to the Turks, were now become hostile to them, in consequence of a disagreement between their shaik and the Divan Effendi, which ended in the effendi's causing the shaik to be seized, and soon after put to death. In the hope of bringing back these Beni Harbs to the cause of the Turks, Toussun Paçha was ordered to advance towards Medina, which he did in August. He reached Bedr in September, and found that these Arabs had fortified the pass of Tededah, and were resolved to oppose his passage. They demanded the life of the Divan Effendi, who very opportunely for the adjustment of the dispute, died, but not without a suspicion of his having been poisoned. This timely death, and valuable presents made to the young shaik, who was a minor, were at length considered as the atonement and price of the shaik's blood; and a reconciliation taking place, Toussun passed the defile of Tededah, and arrived at Medina in October. Shortly afterwards, the cavalry took up their position three days' journey in advance of Medina, and made several excursions towards the territories of the northern Wahauby tribes.

It has been stated that Medin Bey, with the Arnauts under his command, occupied a position in Zohran, where, with a view to prevent an attack from the enemy, he destroyed, for forty

miles around him, whatever might be serviceable to the passage of troops. To this species of defence he so confidently trusted, that all precautions against surprise were neglected; when, one morning, Bokroudj, joined by Tamy and other tribes, surprised the Arnauts, who scarcely fired one shot ere they abandoned their camp and all it contained. Here again the Turks lost all their tents, artillery, baggage and provisions, and it was not until those who escaped, arrived within four hours of Tayef, that they ventured to rest, leaving behind them 800 Turkish infantry and 80 horsemen, killed.

The place where Abedin took position was called Lye, and here he received reinforcements from Tayef and Kolach, and orders, when it was known that the Wahaubys had returned to the northward, to retreat to Zohran. But the Turks had received too severe a lesson to render the execution of these orders either palatable or practicable, and all that Abedin Bey could do was to fix his head-quarters a little in advance of Lye. Notwithstanding all this, the Turks represented the affairs of Zohran as ending greatly in their favor; they exposed some sixty heads, which they stated to be those of Wahaubys slain in action; they fired a salute at Jedda; they illuminated Cairo; and they trembled in their camp.

A seasonable reinforcement of cavalry now arrived from Cairo, and of such cavalry as might well be considered the most useful and effective

in the warfare in which the Turks were engaged. They had been drawn from the Lybian tribes of Bedouins, who in summer encamp in the neighbourhood of the valley of the Nile. Eight hundred of these, well accustomed to the Wahauby species of warfare, the horse and man equally inured to fatigue, and each cavalier having with him a camel carrying provisions for distant expeditions, were an invaluable acquisition to the Turkish army. Half of this force joined Toussun at Medina, and the other advanced to Tayef, where, they had no sooner arrived, than they distinguished themselves by distant expeditions against the Wahauby. They were well armed; and in one of their excursions they brought off a plunder, that must have been particularly valuable to the Turks,—eight thousand sheep.

By purchase in Syria, and by pressing into his service from the pilgrim caravans, which arrived in November, Mahommed Ally Paçha, was enabled to collect together from seven to eight thousand camels, besides which the Egyptian caravan had also brought him a reinforcement of 1000 Turkish cavalry. That the whole of these camels might be employed on military service, the Hadj was detained at Mecca, and the Mahmil or sacred camel which had conveyed the new covering of the Caaba, was sent by sea to Suez after the pilgrimage was over.

It was at this pilgrimage, that the favorite wife

of Mahommed Ally, and who was the mother of Toussun, appeared in such splendour; having four hundred camels to transport from Jedda to Mecca her baggage and tents, which she pitched at the foot of mount Arafat. But the most splendid as well as the most useful pilgrimage ever performed by a lady, was that of Zobeideh, who makes such a figure in the Arabian Nights as the wife of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid; for she not only caused wells, at an immense expense, to be opened at every stage between Bagdad and Mecca, but also built near them towers of defence, in which afterwards garrisons were placed, and maintained at her expense. The pilgrims were this year supposed, altogether, to amount to upwards of 80,000 persons.

Mahommed Ally Paçha now announced his intention of putting himself at the head of his troops; and being confident in the sufficiency of the preparations he had made, proposed another attack on Taraba. The paçha had with him twelve pieces of well-appointed artillery, against the fire of which it was not thought possible that the walls of Taraba could stand: he had prepared five hundred axes, to be employed in felling the date tree groves by which the town was surrounded: he had a number of masons and carpenters, who were to mine in such manner that the place should be blown into the air. He ostentatiously paraded through the town of Mecca a load of water melon

seeds, which, after the fort had been blown into the air, it was proclaimed were to be sown on the place where the works had stood. These vauntings, however, did not tranquillize the fears of the troops, nor render the memories of such as had fought already with the Wahaubys less alive to the disasters they had undergone.

The campaign began in the true Turkish style; thirteen Bedouins, of the tribe of Ateybe, who were proceeding to Jedda for the purpose of purchasing provisions, were seized, and by way of inspiring the troops with a consciousness of their own valour, were executed on the plain near Mecca, in presence of an immense multitude of spectators. The execution, indeed, whatever encouragement it might give the Ottomans, drew from the Meccan spectators curses and hisses on the perpetrators.

Ahmed Aga, who has been before noticed, left Mecca on the 15th of December, with the major part of the infantry, and proceeded at once to Kolach, whilst the paçha intended to follow him on the 24th. But news arrived that a strong Wahaby force had been seen in the neighbourhood of Gonfonde, apparently advancing towards Jedda. This at first created considerable alarm, which however subsided when it was known to be only Shaik Tamy's men, who had their tents near Gonfonde.

Various and varying were the reports which

reached the paçha, between the 24th of December and the 7th of January, 1815, on which day the paçha actually marched from Mecca with all the troops that he could muster, proceeding towards Kolach, where the different chiefs of the army were already assembled, and where provisions calculated to be sufficient for fifty or sixty days were collected. When the paçha reached his second station at Zeyme, messengers, sent in haste from Kolach, brought him intelligence that a large body of Wahaubys had seized on the town of Byssel, which lies between Kolach and Tayef, and thus had interrupted the communication between those places: and that another body was making an incursion on the Arabs friendly to the Turks to the eastward of Kolach. Notwithstanding this, the paçha hastened his march to Kolach; and on the next day proceeded towards Byssel with the whole of his cavalry. He found the Wahaubys encamped on the side of the mountains, which open towards the plains of Kolach, in a force computed at about 25,000, but with very little cavalry, and no artillery of any kind. But most of the potent Wahauby chiefs were to be found in this encampment; and it now evidently appeared that the attack on Gonfonde had been made with an intention of drawing off the paçha's attention from the main object of attack, which was Byssel, where they now occupied a strong position, in the very centre of the Turkish lines. As the Turkish

cavalry approached, the Wahaubys kept their position on the mountains; but repulsed an attempt made by the paçha, to plant one of his field-pieces in a situation to annoy them. The day was passed in skirmishes, in which the Turks lost about twenty of their cavalry, slain by the spears of the Wahauby horsemen.

The effect of these transactions was, that several of the Bedouins in the paçha's service, and cowardly Turkish soldiers, deserted, and fled back to Mecca, where, by the reports they spread, they created intense alarm.

Mahommed Ally soon perceived that as long as the Wahaubys maintained their position on the mountains, he had no chance of success against them, and he also knew that situated as he was, delay would be as dangerous in its effects to him, as it would be advantageous to his enemies. In the night he sent for a reinforcement from Kolach, and posted 2000 infantry with artillery on the flank of the Wahauby. When the morning broke he renewed the attack with his cavalry, and was again repulsed. He then had recourse to a stratagem which succeeded to the utmost of his wishes: he directed the column in flank to move nearer to the Wahauby camp, to fire off the artillery, and then retreat in seeming confusion. The Wahaubys pursued what they imagined to be fugitives; thought the hour was now come which was to bestow victory on their arms; and fatally forgot the

last words of their great prince Saoud when dying. The Wahaubys had now reached the plain, and were sufficiently distant from the mountains to encourage the paçha's meditated attack. He rallied his cavalry, faced his pursuers: the battle was soon decided in his favor, and the slaughter of the Wahaubys commenced: and as six dollars was the price proclaimed for each Wahauby head, we may easily imagine that the Turks carried on such traffic with vigor and spirit. It is said that in a few hours 5000 heads, at this price, were laid at the paçha's feet, and the hostile camp, baggage, and camels, became the prey of the Turks; whilst many of their principal chiefs escaped from the field of battle with difficulty; and it is considered extraordinary, that near three hundred Wahaubys were reported to have accepted the quarter which was offered them at the express command of the paçha.

Something in this action was due to the personal courage of the paçha, but more to the firmness of mind which enabled him to stem the torrent of alarm which was spreading amongst his troops, and still more, for the military tact which produced the fortunate stratagem, and soldier-like manner in which it was conducted.

There can be no doubt that the misfortunes of the Wahaubys on this day, proceeded solely from suffering themselves to be drawn into the plain; and if one could for a moment imagine that a

Turkish paçha could condescend to acquaint himself with the language or history of the Giaours, he might gratify his pride by comparing the victory at Byssel, with Cromwell's famous battle of Dunbar; where, as Hume says, when Cromwell saw the Covenanters' camp in motion to descend to the plain, he "foretold without the help of revelations that the Lord had delivered them into his hands." The Wahaubys had flattered themselves on seeing the retreat of the artillery, and the apparent confusion of the Turkish army, that they should finish the war at one decisive blow by the capture of the paçha. Hope, often to nations as well as to individuals proves a deceiver, and is never more likely to do so, than when the prospects she holds out are apparently the fairest and most alluring.

Before the account of this battle is closed, I would willingly mention the extraordinary circumstance of several bodies of the Asyr Arabs, who previously to their setting out on the expedition, had sworn by the divorce not to turn their backs on the Turks; they were found on the mountains by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of preventing each other from running away; and these fanatics fought as long as their ammunition lasted, and when that failed were all cut to pieces.

It is certain that the event of this battle did not diminish the pride and vaunting insolence of the Turks, though their former series of disgrace and

defeats had for some time past prevented the usual glaring exhibition of their failings : and though the inhabitants of the province of Hedjaz were not sorry to be relieved from the dominion of the Secretaries, yet their love of their country was still powerful enough to make them view the defeat of Arabs by Turks as a national misfortune ; and this feeling was by no means soothed by the paçha's conduct towards the three hundred Wahaubys to whom quarter had been offered by "his express command." Will any being endowed with the form, faculty, and feelings of a man, read the fate of these wretches, thus deluded, without pouring curses on the head of him that directed it? Fifty of these miserable men were impaled alive before the gates of Mecca ; twelve suffered a like horrible death at every one of the coffee houses or halting places between Mecca and Jedda ; and the rest finished their lives under torture before the Meccan gate at Jedda!!

The action at Byssel led to the fall of Taraba, from which Faysal, Abdullah's brother, fled on the approach of the paçha ; the inhabitants thus abandoned by their allies, capitulated ; and here the paçha fixed his head-quarters for some time.

Amidst the numerous instances of treachery, cruelty, and baseness, which have been exhibited of Mahommed Ally, justice demands that one trait of his generosity and good feeling should be recorded. At Taraba, the Turks had entered some

of the houses of the inhabitants, and had carried off some very handsome Arab women ; these were by Ally's order and care restored to their families.

After the capture of Taraba, the Turkish army employed itself in the reduction of various small castles in different parts of the country. In one of these, Sablaun, a chief of the Beni Salem Arabs, defended himself for four days against the Turkish infantry, commanded by Hassan Paçha. The paçha of Egypt, with the cavalry, was near at hand, and unfortunately for him Sahbaun was prevailed on to listen to terms of capitulation and safe conduct. Under these he marched out ; but, thinking it proper to pay his respects to Hassan Paçha, he proceeded to his tent. In this interview the Turk accused the Arab of heresy ; the Arab defended his opinions ; and on quitting the tent, the Turk ordered his soldiers to fall on the Arab, and they cut him in pieces.

The paçha's quarters were now at Beishe, where he was joined by many Bedouins ; for such as were discontented with the Wahaubys now came to seek redress from the paçha ; and in consequence of this, Mahommed Ally Paçha had an opportunity of creating a considerable influence, by displacing the heads of many tribes, and supplying their places by persons favorable to his interests. In this state of things intelligence was brought to the paçha that Shaik Tamy had assembled a considerable force in the mountains, resolved to try

the issue of a second battle : it was therefore towards the territory of Tamy that the paçha now directed his course.

In this march, the Turks suffered the extremes of hunger and fatigue, for the last biscuits were distributed before they left Beishe ; and when that supply was consumed, every man was left to furnish himself as well as he could : and though the paçha increased the pay of the troops, it was of little advantage to them in the purchase of such provisions as were offered for sale ; because the price of those provisions had from their scarcity increased in a proportion tenfold to the increase of pay.

In two days' march from Beishe, the Turkish troops entered the mountains, and here they enjoyed some days' repose, having been fortunate to fall in with the Shomran Arabs, who were friendly to them. Notwithstanding this, the paçha in one day lost an hundred horses by death, and the troops became so much discontented, that orders were given to every commander to dismount and march at the head of their respective forces. At every halt a sort of market was established before the paçha's tent, over which he himself presided.

As the troops approached the territory of Asyr, the rugged roads of the mountains rendered the transport of artillery difficult. The march and halts from Beishe had now consumed a space of fourteen days, when they reached the castle called

Tor, situated on an elevated spot, and surrounded by mountains. Here Tamy had collected near 10,000 men; and, on the first attack, the Turks were repulsed with the loss of 300; on the second day, however, the Turks bringing their field-pieces to bear, the Wahaubys gave way and fled, Tamy himself being the last to quit the field; and not before himself and a select troop had gallantly disputed it. In the fort was found a considerable store of provision, of ammunition, and the guns formerly taken at Gonfonde.

Mahommed Ally now formally deposed Tamy as shaik of the Asyr Arabs, and sent Radjah in pursuit of him: the paçha himself gaining the seashore through passes of considerable difficulty. The prince of Yemen, Shereef Hamoud, had formerly made submission to the Wahauby; but, since the Turks entered Hedjaz, his conduct had been regulated as the success or defeat of each party took place; and, there was little doubt if the paçha's expedition failed, but that he would have joined the former. As Yemen is generally considered as the most wealthy province of that part of Arabia, the paçha entertained a wish to compensate himself for the great expense he had hitherto incurred, by the plunder of it; which in the moments of their discontent he had frequently held out to his troops, with a view of appeasing them. But this discontent now broke out so violently, that Mahommed Ally thought it more pru-

dent to direct his march to Gonfonde, than to pursue it to the southward.

Tamy, who, after the battle of Tor, had taken refuge at Arysh, in the house of a relation of Shereef Hamoud; was basely delivered up to that prince; who thinking by that means to ward off the invasion which seemed to be threatening him, sent to the paçha to know how he would wish him to dispose of his noble prisoner: Hamoud was directed to deliver Tamy to Shereef Radjah, who took him to Gonfonde.

A successful attack was then made on the tribe Bahroudj, in which the shaik of it was also made captive. Bahroudj made an attempt to escape; was retaken and put to death in a very cruel manner. Tamy was beheaded at Cairo, and his head together with that of Bahroudj were sent to Constantinople.

Of the ten thousand camels the paçha marched with, half were lost at Byssel; and about three hundred only returned to Mecca; quantities of baggage and ammunition were obliged to be destroyed, there being no means of carrying them away. Of the horses only three hundred returned; and of the 4,000 troops only 1,500, and these from the highest to the lowest in a most miserable condition.

It will have been seen that a serious impression had now been made on the territories, strength, and resources of the Wahaubys: when the battle of Byssel took place, Abdullah headed a body of

troops in the province of Kaysm, held in readiness to oppose Toussun Paçha, should he advance from the side of Medina; but, on hearing the disastrous result of that action, he returned to Dereyah, under an apprehension that Mahommed Ally Paçha would direct his march towards Nejd, which he might easily have done from Taraba.

After a short stay at Mecca, Mahommed Ally hastened to Medina, leaving Hassan Paçha governor of the town; and a garrison at Taraba under the command of Hossein Bey and Shereef Radjah.

Many of the chiefs of the northern tribes now made offers to join Toussun Paçha; and he was joined, in his march, by the greater part of the Kaysm shaiks; which induced the paçha to project the conquest of Nejd. But as his father, however, never trusted him with much money, the means he possessed were very inadequate to the object he had in view, but being a man of first-rate personal courage and bravery, he was not discouraged by the smallness of his resources; accordingly, in the end of March he left Medina with only three hundred cavalry, four hundred infantry, and about four hundred camels carrying provisions, and a small quantity of baggage.

His first station was at the village of Hanakye, which, though ruined and deserted, the walls of it were still standing; and he remained there till his father arrived at Medina, from whence Mahommed Ally sent a message to his son desiring him to

return to Medina, in order that he might concert with him a plan of future operations. Toussun, however, did not comply with this invitation ; but, on the contrary, proceeded on his march towards Kaysm. The rank Toussun held in the Ottoman empire was equal to that of his father, both being paçhas of three tails ; but notwithstanding this, the father kept the son in very strict dependance on him: so much so, that when he placed the north of Hedjaz under his command, he associated with him Kadery Effendi, through whom all business was to be transacted, and with whom Toussun was directed to advise. Toussun considered this not only as irksome, but even disgraceful to him, and the connection ended as is not unusual amongst the Turks. Toussun beheaded his tutor. Thus things were thrown into confusion, the political interests of the Turks with the neighbouring Arabs were not managed well, and Mahommed Ally had enough to do to correct the errors which his son committed. After Toussun had disobeyed his father's wishes in respect to returning to Medina, he received from him a reinforcement of 250 cavalry, and a detachment of infantry, and with these, and his former forces, early in May, Toussun reached the province of Kaysm. He was fortunate enough to capture 500 camels from the Heylem Arabs, and by means of these, he procured a supply of provisions from Yembo. At Rass, the principal town of Kaysm, several of the petty shaiks came

in to him ; but Hedgelan, the great shaik of the Kaysm Arabs, still supported the cause and interest of Abdullah, who, in the mean time, had collected an army of Nejd Bedouins and settlers, and had fixed his head-quarters at Shenana, five hours distant from Khabara, where Toussun Paçha had arrived, and was encamped. Toussun's situation now became perilous. Ibrahim Aga, a Scotch renegade, who commanded a body of cavalry, after a gallant resistance, had been cut to pieces, as well as his whole detachment. The enemy had intercepted the communication between Khabara and Medina, and although the province in itself was fertile enough to have furnished abundant supplies of provisions, still, as the cavalry of the Wahaubys was constantly hovering round the camp, the Turks depended solely on two or three villages for their daily supply ; and in these every thing began already to become very scarce. Besides which, Toussun knew enough of his Arab allies, to be certain that on the first untoward circumstance that might take place, they would join the Wahaubys. The impetuosity of Toussun, led him to the wish of extricating himself by a battle, but his officers and men refused to second him in this attempt, they were alarmed by the superior numbers of the enemy, and they were well aware, that in case of a defeat, not a man of them would be spared.

The consequence of all this was, that some

Bedouins were employed to sound Abdullah, who sent an Arab named Habaub to discover what might be the real designs of Toussun, and what was the exact nature of his situation. The report made was favourable enough to Abdullah's cause; but he foresaw, or thought that he foresaw, that the entire destruction of Toussun's forces would not be a solid advantage to him, as it would probably cause Mahommed Ally to direct his whole strength against the Nejd; which he thought might prove more detrimental to his affairs, than a partial victory could be advantageous.

Habaub was well received by Toussun, who in return sent Yahya Effendi, a Syrian by birth, well acquainted with the Arabic language, and who was the paçha's physician. Where both parties sincerely desire peace, negociation is seldom protracted, and this was the case in the present instance; for one of Abdullah's confidential servants was speedily dispatched with a treaty for the paçha's ratification.

The terms of it were, renunciation by Abdullah of all claim to the possession of the Holy Cities; submission to the Sultan;* and free passage for himself and followers through the Turkish dominions. Toussun Paçha abandoned to Abdullah Ibn Saoud those towns of Kaysm of which he had possession, and dismissed from his service the shaiks who had joined him. He likewise dis-

* This could only be as a temporal prince.

claimed the protection of those tribes whose pasture grounds lay beyond Hanakye, and only claimed as his tributaries and allies, those between Hanakye and Medina, and in the territories of the Holy Cities. No care however was taken in this treaty of the interests of the southern Wahaubys; *in consequence of which, such of those tribes who had joined the paçha, were subsequently severely punished by that officer.*

Now, though both sides were desirous of peace, they were both alike distrustful of each other's good faith in keeping it when concluded. Fear on the side of the paçha produced this suspicion, and experience of Turkish treachery might well generate it on the other; and the reader, perhaps, from the result, which, in this memoir, has been uniformly represented to accompany every compact on the part of the Turks, will wonder how Abdullah could be induced again to put faith in such documents. These suspicions produced a difficulty which of the parties should first break ground. Several letters passed on this subject between the two chiefs, but the matter was at length settled to the satisfaction of Abdullah.

Toussun Paçha arrived at Medina about the end of June, accompanied by two of the Wahauby officers, envoys to Mahommed Ally, with the articles of the peace, and bearing letters from their chief, one to the paçha, and another to his master, the sultan.

Notwithstanding the services Mahommed Ally had already rendered to the Porte, in his persevering warfare against the Wahaubys, the advices which he received from his Kiah at Cairo, of a strong fleet from Constantinople, cruising in the Archipelago, gave him considerable uneasiness ; as an idea was entertained that it might be destined against Alexandria, into which the Kiah had thrown strong reinforcements.

In consequence of these apprehensions, Selim Aga, the governor of Yembo, received orders on the 19th May, on pain of death, to have a ship ready to sail on that very evening ; and on the next morning Mahommed Ally arrived, and without waiting to refresh himself, embarked immediately, and the vessel sailed direct for Corseir. On his landing, such was the paçha's anxiety to proceed, that he mounted an ass, as no horse nor camel could be procured. So mounted, he proceeded to Genne, where he heard that the alarm which had gone abroad in respect to an attack on Alexandria, had subsided at Cairo. At this place he arrived on the 25th June, after an absence of two years.

In the month of August following, the envoys sent by Abdullah to Toussun Paçha, arrived at Cairo ; one of these was a relation of that prince, and a very learned man. They presented to the paçha the treaty concluded between their master and Toussun, and the letters for the sultan and the

paçha with which they were charged. The paçha refused to ratify the treaty, unless it contained also the cession to the Turks of the province of Hassa, one of the richest and most fertile provinces possessed by Abdullah; and this the envoys refusing to undertake, they were dismissed with presents.

The Wahauby had no leisure to reflect on the imprudence which he had committed in listening to terms from Toussun Paçha, and the political rectitude or infamy of the Turks on this occasion, turns on the point whether the treaty was concluded subject to Mahommed Ally's ratification, or whether Toussun, as equal in rank with his father, concluded it, with a condition that it should only be communicated to the latter as a thing done, and the which, he had not the power to alter. Whichsoever of these positions was the correct one, the effect to Abdullah was the same: he had permitted, to his cost, Toussun and his force to escape from certain destruction; and Mahommed Ally refused to abide by that treaty by which that escape was purchased. Indeed, Mahommed Ally went so far as to represent this treaty at Constantinople as no more than a temporary armistice.

Toussun Paçha arrived at Cairo on the 7th November, 1815, and was very coldly received by his father, in consequence, perhaps, of his too warm reception by the inhabitants of that city; and in the September following, being at Rosetta, and the plague prevailing there, he was carried off by it.

The reader will recollect, that Mahommed Ally, appointed Ibn Medry, of the Asyr Arabs, in the place of Tamy; and no sooner had the paçha returned to Cairo, than Tamy's party, as Hassan Paçha and his Arnauts were unable to support him, obliged the new shaik to fly; on which several shaiks, relations of Ibn Medry, were despatched to Mahommed Ally with complaints and reclamations for assistance. These were received civilly, but nothing more was undertaken; until intelligence arrived in March 1816, that serious disturbances had broken out in Hedjaz. The Turkish cavalry, which had been stationed at Beishe, Rannye, and Taraba, had been imprudently withdrawn; and the latter place was entrusted solely to a small garrison of friendly Bedouins.

Such being the case, and the southern Wahaubys having never been included in the treaty, the general position of these sectaries appeared to be gaining strength.

In August 1816, an expedition, designed to march direct to Dereyah, by the way of Medina and Kaysm, was entrusted to the command of Ibrahim Paçha, another son of Mahommed Ally's. This force consisted of about 2,000 infantry, and about 1500 Libyan Bedouin cavalry, all choice men.

For Ibrahim Paçha was reserved the complete overthrow, conquest, and dispersion, of the Wahaubys: to recount the different marches and skirmishes of the two parties until the year 1818, would be only to repeat pretty much the same

story that has already been laid before the reader; and therefore, I shall confine myself to saying, that after the fall of his capital, and a subsequently desperate battle, Ibrahim succeeded in getting possession of the person of Abdullah Ibu Saoud, his women and treasures, which all arrived at Cairo in the latter end of that year; and on the 16th December, 1818, these noble captives were paraded through the streets of Constantinople in heavy chains; and subsequently tortured: they were, on the next morning, brought in that miserable condition before the sultan: were then beheaded; and their bodies, after three days exposure, were delivered to further indignities, at the pleasure of a fanatic and enraged populace.

Thus ended, for the present, the power and government of this singular people, who, from very slight and feeble origin, had at one time, arrived at such a degree of power, as to cause the most serious alarm both to the Turkish paçhas throughout all Asia, as well as to their master the sultan at Constantinople, and to the orthodox followers of Mahomet in general; and who had actually suffered themselves to be so far deluded as to their real strength, as to imagine that they might brave with impetuosity the British government in India.

The succession of their rulers or princes were, 1st. Mahommed Ibn Saoud. 2d. Abdul Azeez Ibn Saoud. 3d. Saoud Ibn Abdul Azeez. 4th. Abdullah Ibn Saoud.

Before I close this imperfect memoir of this

once powerful and extraordinary sect, I beg to offer the reader some account of

Their spiritual and political government, and religious opinions :

Their administration of justice :

Their revenues, and the sources from whence those revenues are drawn :

And, their military system and mode of warfare.

A long residence at Bagdad, a longer one at Bassora, afforded me not only an opportunity of much enquiry on these points, and of learning something, but also of often lamenting the deficiency and inconsistency of the information I received. I have read over very carefully the intelligent Mr. Burckhardt's very valuable Materials for a History of the Wahaubys, edited by Sir William Ouseley, and when the information which that contains agrees with that of which I am in possession, or with what I have credibly heard stated as fact, I will either use it in my own words, or repeat it in his, and I will at once say, when I am deficient in information, or ignorant of a fact stated by Mr. Burckhardt, I can safely leave his book in the hands of my readers with an unqualified assurance, that my ignorance is not the slightest proof that the matter was not as it is represented by that lamented gentleman.

Before I proceed further, I must remark, however, that either Mr. Burckhardt or his editor appear to me to have fallen *in limine* into a grie-

vous and gross mistake, at least if I can believe all those with whom I ever conversed on the subject. The mistake is this: if I read the text right, it states that Mahommed Ibn Saoud married the daughter of Abdulwahaub,* whereas I believe the fact to be as I have stated it in the second paragraph of the *mémoire*, that Abdulwahaub, on his retreat to Dereyah, married Mahommed Ibn Saoud's daughter; and that in consequence of this connexion, though Abdulwahaub remained the *book*, Mahommed Ibn Saoud become the *sword* of the sect.

I shall now proceed to trouble the reader with my observations on the points alluded to above, in the same order as I have placed them.

There can be no doubt but Mr. Burckhardt is perfectly correct when he states, that the religion and government attempted to be established by the Wahaubys, was nothing more than a *puritanism* of the religious and civil code of *Islam*; and the efforts of Abdulwahaub and of Mahommed Ibn Saoud, were solely pointed to reform the abuses tolerated and practised amongst the other professors of that code; and in the place of them, to establish an adherence to the true faith. It is seldom that the doctrines of a reformer are clearly

* Abdulazeen, the son of Mahommed Ibn Saoud, married Abdulwahaub's daughter, and had by her, Saoud Ibn Adulazeen, the third prince of the Wahaubys, and two other sons, one named Abderrahman, and the other Abdullah.

and completely understood, even by his friends,* and they are almost always misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, by his enemies. The Turks, without much examination of those promulgated by Abdulwahaub, pronounced them *heretical*; nor did they stop here, for finding these doctrines to speak less respectfully of, and express less veneration for, the Prophet, than they had been accustomed to entertain, they boldly pronounced the followers of them to be *Kafirs*, or infidels. In these prejudices and false opinions they were much strengthened by the representations made by the shereefs of Mecca; and as the Wahaubys gained strength and proselytes, the Turkish paçhas, whose governments lay nearest to the Bedouins, became alarmed, and joined in the cry; and when the Wahaubys began to interfere with and vex the Hajge pilgrims, those individuals, on their return to their homes, gave pretty much the same account of the new sectaries, as the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem before the Crusades, gave, on their return to Europe, of the Saracens.† The testimony which well informed

* As the fanatic mob of a new sect can seldom be impressed with the true spirit of its founder, it happened that the greater part of the followers of Abdulwahaub considered as chief points of doctrine such as were rather accessories, and thus caused their enemies to form very erroneous notions of the supposed new religion.—*Burckhardt, Met.* p. 114.

† “Every pilgrim who returned from Palestine related the dangers he had encountered in visiting the Holy City, and described

persons, and those who had taken pains to examine the doctrines of Abdulwahaub, could have given to the contrary, was shyly published, and when published, weak in its effect against popular clamour. But one cannot help smiling at the absurdity and ignorance of a Frenchman taking on himself in 1808 to state to the world that the Wahaubys *preach a new religion, and that although they acknowledge the Koran, yet they have entirely abolished the pilgrimage to Mecca*: but the smile is converted into contempt, when by way of imposing on the public, he goes on to say he derived his information from a "chapelain de Saoud;" implying, as Mr. Burckhardt very properly says, an office in Saoud's establishment, of which he cannot form any exact notion, and an office of which, I will answer for it, Saoud himself never heard, nor ever dreamt.

Perhaps the fairest and best means of judging how far the creed of the Wahaubys differs from, or accords with, the Koran, and consequently to what degree it is orthodox or heterodox, would be to compare the contents of that volume with the catechism published by Saoud after the capture of

with exaggeration the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to hold his great tribunal."—RUSSELL'S *History of Modern Europe*, p. 264.

Mecca, which I believe is now admitted to contain nothing but what the soundest expositors of the Koran and the most learned Mahomedan theologians admit. The Wahaubys even acknowledge the traditions of Mahommed (the Sunnet) as *fundamental*; and Mr. Burckhardt very justly observes :—" In the attempt however to exhibit the
" primitive practices and pure dogmas of the ori-
" ginal founder of Islàm, and of his first followers,
" as established upon these laws, they were very
" naturally led to condemn a number of false opi-
" nions and corruptions which had crept into Islàm
" as at this day taught;" and amongst these, one of the most striking, was the manner in which the Sunnees and other Mahomedans honour their Prophet, which almost approaches to adoration, and this, though in somewhat an inferior degree, is extended to others considered by them as Mahomedan saints. Nothing can be more certain than that there are very numerous passages contained in the Koran, expressly declaring that the *Prophet is mortal*; whilst early and learned commentators, carried away by their veneration for the founder of their religion, attempted sophistically to prove, that though dead and buried, he had not shared the common lot of mortals,* but was still alive; and " that his access to the Al-
" mighty, and his being dearly beloved by him,

* Is it not possible they may have borrowed this *after thought* from Christianity ?

“ rendered it easy for him to protect and recommend any of his faithful adherents to God’s favour.” This opinion was held in the utmost abomination by the Wahaubys, so that when the Turks and other Mahommedans stood before the tomb of Mahommed at Medinah, making prayer to the Prophet, the Wahaubys considered these prayers as impious invocations, and applied to those who made them an appellation which Mahommedans frequently bestow on Christians, *i. e.* “*Associators*,” *i. e.* persons who associate *other beings with God*. The common sepulchral honour bestowed on Mahommedan saints, is that of erecting a *kumbeb* or dome over the spot where they lie buried; these, wherever the Wahaubys came, they invariably destroyed, to prevent (as they said) idolatry.

There were no points of the Koranic law on which the Wahaubys laid greater stress or more rigidly observed, than alms-giving, obedience to the sumptuary regulations of Mahommed, severe and impartial justice, war against the infidels, abstinence from all liquors and everything else which might inebriate, adultery, and practices contrary to nature. I believe I may assert without fear of well founded contradiction, that *not a single new precept* was to be found in the Wahauby code; and when the Treatises on Religion written by Abdulwahaub himself were exposed and examined at Cairo, before and by the most learned *oulemas*

of that city, they declared unanimously "that if such were the opinions of the Wahaubys, they themselves belonged altogether to that creed."

The Wahaubys considered the smoking tobacco to be unlawful (thinking I suppose that it slightly tends to disturb the brain); but it is well known that many Sunnee oulemas, in their writings, have declared it to be a forbidden practice; and indeed one of the four orthodox sects of the Musselmans (the followers of Imam Malek) pronounces it to be *hateful*. The Wahaubys also forbade praying over the rosary or string of beads, a practice, indeed, neither against nor in conformity with any positive law; but the report that they prohibited the use of coffee was propagated by the Turks for a particular purpose. The fact is, they make use of this most agreeable, wholesome, and refreshing beverage, as all their countrymen do, which is in frequent small potations, but amounting in the day to a great quantity.

And now before I close this hasty and imperfect sketch of "the spiritual government and opinions" of the Wahaubys, let me turn to my friend the bold Frenchman (for bold indeed he may well be called who talks of a "chapelain de Saoud") and tell him that Abdulwahaub, and Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the founders of the sect, *positively commanded the pilgrimage to Mecca*; but they commanded it to be performed according to the ritual of the Koran; and that all that they omitted or for-

bade about it, was the use of such rites and ceremonies, in the performance of the pilgrimage, as were connected with invocations or honors to saints. The first thing Saoud did after he got possession of Mecca, was to make a pilgrimage to Beit-allah, or house of God, to swallow copious draughts drawn from the well Zem-zem, and to bathe and purify himself with its reputed holy water.

The political government of the Wahaubys was in a proper sense free ; to enslave Arabia is impossible :—Saoud knew it. He therefore was contented to put himself at the head of the shaiks, whose tribes had received his doctrines ; and in this character, he mainly directed all their political movements ; but those movements were generally in appearance, if not in fact, previously debated in council. Each shaik, however, in his own tribe, remained independent ; except being obliged to conform to the strict sense of the law, and liable to punishment, if he infringed it. Formerly the will of an Arab was his law ; but the Wahauby chief now compelled him to obey, in all their purity, the civil and criminal, as well as the religious, laws of the Koran and Sunnet.

I extract with great pleasure the following excellent passage from Mr. Burckhardt :—“ Whether
“ the commonly received doctrine be considered
“ as orthodox, or that of the Wahaubys should be
“ pronounced the true Mahommedan religion, is,

“ after all, a matter of little consequence ; but it
“ became important to suppress that infidel indif-
“ ference which had pervaded all Arabia, and a
“ great part of Turkey, and which had a more
“ baneful effect on the morals of a nation, than
“ the decided acknowledgment of a false religion.
“ The merit, therefore, of the Wahaubys, is not
“ that they purified the existing religion, but that
“ they made the Arabs strictly observe the positive
“ precepts of one certain religion ; for although
“ the Bedouins at all times devoutly worshipped
“ the Divinity, yet the deistical principles alone
“ could not be deemed sufficient to instruct a na-
“ tion so wild and ungovernable in the practice of
“ morality and justice.” And therefore, as I more
than doubt that the impression which Mahommed
Ally Paçha has made on Arabia, “ by his gold, ra-
“ ther than the valour of his troops,” will make the
Arabs better men, happier men, or better neigh-
bours,—I shall not regret to see the government
which this paçha has, for the present, dissolved,
rise from its ashes ; for faulty as no doubt it was,
time would have softened or corrected the worst
of its faults ; and I have no hesitation in saying,
I prefer enthusiasm, or, if you will, fanaticism to
atheism ; the operations of the most imperfect
laws, to the operations of anarchy ; and that my
imagination cannot figure to itself a more des-
picable, a more dangerous, a more cruel being to
society, than an atheist Turk.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Abdulazeez was the first Wahauby chief who sent Kadis, or judges, from Dereyah to all the districts under obedience to him. These were chosen from able and learned persons; an annual salary was allowed them; they were strictly forbidden to accept fees or bribes from the contending parties; and their judgment in all cases was to be ruled by the laws of the Koran and the Sunnet; from their judgment, however, there was an appeal to the supreme spiritual chief.

As a means of preventing robberies, Abdulazeez made every tribe responsible for such robberies as were committed within its territory;* and such tribes as were strong enough to repel or resist a hostile invasion of a camp or town, and wanted inclination or courage to do so, were punished by a fine equal in value to the amount of the robbery committed.

There was nothing which the Wahauby chiefs seem to have had more at heart, than the abolishment of the system of "*Blood revenge*," at once the cruellest, most unjust, and most vindictive principle ever adopted for retributive justice. In this amiable intention, they were never able completely to succeed; they frequently went so far as to compel

* Do not we find something of this sort in the elder part of our own laws, making counties answerable for robberies between light and its departure?

the relations of the deceased to accept the fine* offered by the homicidal party; but if the other party had taken its revenge before orders could be given to the contrary, they who took this revenge, were never called to an account for it.† To do this, was beyond the power of the Wahauby, even when that power was at its greatest height; for an act of this sort would have burst asunder every bond of society throughout Arabia.

It will not, I presume, be denied, that enactments, which have for their object the prevention of crime, are wiser than those which declare punishment for a crime committed on supposition: and it is in this light, that we must view the Wahauby law, that if in a quarrel or affray one drew a dagger and wounded another, the whole of the bystanders were fined for allowing the matter to proceed so far. When quarrels took place between tribes, Saoud first sent messengers bearing to both parties his commands to keep peace; if, after this, war between them took place, he levied a fine on both, and obliged each to pay the other the price of blood, for the lives of all those who perished in the first onset. As a proof how greatly Saoud was respected, and how firmly his power was esta-

* Abou Beker, the successor of Mahommed, fixed the price of blood at 100 she-camels. Saoud, each camel at 8 Spanish dollars; therefore the price of blood amongst the Wahaubys became 800 Spanish dollars.

† See Mr. Hope's excellent *Anastasius*, vol. 3, p. 182, *orig. edit.*

blished, it may be mentioned, that a single negro slave, sent by him, has frequently be known to arrest a great shaik in his own camp, and carry him to prison at Dereyah.* The Bedouins possess but little money, and therefore the fines imposed by the Wahauby chiefs, were levied in horses, camels, and sheep.

Throughout the whole of the Wahauby territories, the old law of *Dahkiel* or protection was abolished, at least as far as screening the culprit from the hands of justice; he indeed who had committed murder or killed another, might *fall Dahkiel* on a friend, to save him from the immediate vengeance of the deceased relations; but this *protection* could only extend till the culprit was claimed by the law. For petty crimes, the great shaiks uniformly claimed the privilege of granting *Dahkiel*, but Saoud never in the end permitted this to go further than intercession for mitigating the fine attached to the crime.

In the early part of the Wahauby governments, the offence which most frequently called for punishment, was that of holding intercourse with heretics, especially as the inhabitants of the Nejd were in the habit of visiting and trading with Medina, Damascus, Bagdad and Bassora; and the commission of this crime was so frequent, and consequently the punishment so often called for, that Saoud found it necessary, in this instance, to

* Saoud had a state prison in his house at Dereyah.

relax his usual severity. The law declared, that if a Wahauby, whether Bedouin or merchant, should be found on the road going towards any heretic country, (of which the direction of the road, and the nature of the merchandize loaded, were considered as sufficient testimonies) his whole property in goods and cattle, should be confiscated to the public treasury; whilst, if he was found returning, that is, on a road leading from a heretic country, his property was not examined, and his person was respected. Arbitrary* impositions, common in Turkey, were never practised by the Wahaubys.

That which the converts considered to be the most oppressive part of Saoud's government, was the frequent orders they received to join him on his expeditions against heretics. In these cases, the Arab was obliged to find his own food, and camels or horses, and the only remuneration he received was his share of plunder, if the expedition was successful: such expeditions, therefore, were often to individuals extremely expensive. Saoud's maxim was,—there is no just and necessary war but against heretics,—such war is the service of God,—shall a man be paid for serving God? Whoever, on account of some minor offence, had incurred the displeasure of Saoud, could find no readier or easier way to obtain his forgiveness, than to join him on these expeditions.

Short of capital punishment, the severest that

* Called by the Franks *Avanias*.

was inflicted by the Wahauby chief was that of shaving the beard, but this punishment was confined to persons of distinction, or rebel shaiks, and and by most of these, death was considered as more tolerable, than the disgrace which attended the loss, in this manner, of what all oriental people hold to be the chief ornament of the face.*

The Koranic Law, in respect to robbery and many other things, is like the laws of some other countries, replete with nice and subtle distinctions; and the Sunnet, “full of wise saws and modern instances.”† A thief, if taken, is obliged to return the stolen goods, or the value of them, and if he have

* I once in Persia, in the time of Lutf Ally Khan, saw the punishment of the loss of beard inflicted in rather a comical manner. There were about a dozen fellows who had deserted their colours in an action; they were afterwards seized, they were made to kneel down; their hands tied behind them, and a plank was raised before them to the exact height of their chins; on this plank a train of gunpowder was placed, and on the powder was laid the beards of these run-aways; behind each, a person held a drawn sword, close at his back; the powder was set fire to on a signal, and in an instant the culprits became beardless, but there was scarcely one who was not more or less wounded in the back by the sword, in consequence of an involuntary motion when the powder flashed; and of many the eyes were injured.

† “Modern instances”—these in some countries are carried very far; and there is one country in which one judge is permitted to interpret the law one way, and another judge another, and both are afterwards regarded as precedents!—a complete Dutch concert, where every man not only sings his own song, but sings it to his own tune. If this were put an end to, many an honest man’s money would remain in his pocket, which is now shamefully taken out of it.

not used violence in the commission of the theft, no further notice is taken, or punishment inflicted ; but if, in the commission of the robbery, he has broken open a door, his right hand becomes forfeited to the law.

He who, in a dispute, kills another with a dagger or a pistol, is condemned to death ; but if death takes place either by a blow from a stone or from a stick, it is considered as manslaughter, and is compellable to be settled by the payment of the price of blood : and this is in consequence of its being supposed that the person by whom it is inflicted is not armed, or at all events, that he has not used any deadly weapon. If a person on foot is injured by a horse on which another is riding, and the injury be done with the forelegs of the horse, the rider becomes liable to severe penalties, according to the extent of the injury received ; but if it be done with the hinder legs of the horse, the rider is not held accountable for it.*

Heavy penalties are ordained to be levied on those who curse a Wahauby, and still heavier on those who call him infidel,—those who know, and have been accustomed to hear, the odious terms in which reproach is conveyed throughout the East, will be pleased to find that the terms commonly made use of amongst the Wahaubys are at least decent, and seldom exceed *O! doer*, (that is,

* Because the sufferer is regarded as going too near the horse, and not the horse going too near him.

O doer of evil or mischief,) *O! Leaver off!* (that is, *O! Leaver off* of religious and social duties,) and an Englishman may, perhaps, be surprised to learn, that the punishment of putting the feet into stocks, (called Dibabi) is in use amongst the Wahaubys, very much in the same manner as it is with us,—that it is confined to the lower classes of society. Divorce amongst the Arabs was often resorted to, for very slight, frivolous, and unjustifiable causes; this Saoud, endeavoured, as much as possible to check, and whenever he heard that any one had sworn by the divorce, (that is, of his wife) he commanded that person to be severely beaten.

The neglect of religious duties was always severely punished:—to break the fast of Ramazan, without legitimate cause, subjected the offender to capital punishment, and Abdulazeez once ordered the sentence to be carried into execution.

Usury and lending money, on interest, (which had not been uncommon amongst the Bedouins) Saoud strictly prohibited, it being contrary to the express tenor of the law. But money might be lent, without offence, on the principle that the lender shared the loss, if there were any, or that he took one half of such profit, as might arise from the speculation for which the money was lent. These, as far as I know, I believe to have been the general outlines of Saoud's administration of justice.

REVENUES.

1st. Saoud received, as Mahommed ordained, one-fifth of the spoil taken in war.

2nd. The tribute established by the Koran, and known under the name of Zacat, or alms, which was levied on land, merchandise, and various other species of property. Land watered naturally, or by rains, paid a tithe or tenth of its produce; whilst from that artificially watered, a twentieth was only collected. The merchant paid two and a half per cent. yearly on his capital, and though this was collected from him on oath, the revenue was found to suffer grievous frauds in this branch of it. The Mahommedan law has fixed the Zacat with great minuteness, and those who wish for information respecting it, in detail, may consult Sale's translation of the Koran, and D'Ohsson's laborious and correct work, *Tab. Gén. de l'Emp. Otto*. Saoud divided the Zacat which he collected, into two parts; that which he received from the Bedouins, was carried to his private treasury; that collected from cultivators or townsmen, was carried to the Bait al Mal, or public treasury, and of this, there was one in every city, and indeed in every village of any kind of note.

3rd. The revenue, (which, like our ancient kings) Saoud drew from his own domains, was very considerable, and was constantly, until the destruction of his power, encreasing; for he had

established a rule, that when any district or city rebelled, for the first offence it was plundered; and if the offence was committed a second time, it was not only plundered, but the lands, and every thing else, were confiscated to the public treasury. Parts of the land so confiscated, Saoud sometimes bestowed on strangers, become converts, but left the major part of it in the hands of the proprietors, on terms something like tenantry; that is, on their paying, according to circumstances, one third, or one half, of the produce. Considerable districts were thus confiscated, and Mr. Burckhardt assures us, that at present, most of the landed property in Nedj, belongs to the Beit al Mal, or treasury; that of Kasym, whose inhabitants have been constantly in rebellion, is entirely held in farm, and many villages of Hedjaz, and in the mountains towards Yemen, are attached also to the treasury.

4th. Another source of revenue was from fines levied for trespasses against the law. The crime of disobedience was frequently expiated by fine, and it was a maxim in the Wahauby courts, that an Arab who falsely accused another, was mulcted to the public treasury.

To every Beit al Mal, or public treasury, there was appointed by Saoud a clerk or writer, whose principal business was to watch the shaik of the place, and prevent his pilfering from the public revenue; and for further security in this respect,

the Shaiks were strictly forbidden to interfere in the collection. The funds thus collected were appropriated to public services, and Mr. Burckhardt says, which perfectly agrees with every thing I ever heard on the subject, "that they were divided into four parts." One fourth was sent to the great treasury at Dereyah; one fourth was applied to the relief of paupers; the pay of the Oulemas or doctors, who were to instruct the cadis and young men, and for keeping in repair the mosques and public wells in the district of the Beit al Mal, and one half was expended in furnishing provisions to indigent soldiers, or in case of necessity, furnishing him with camels on an expedition, and a part was appropriated also for the entertainment of guests. This last part was paid into the hands of the shaik of the tribe, a part of whose house or tent is a sort of inn, where all strangers may alight and be fed gratis; and therefore it was thought but justice that the public should contribute towards an expence so incurred; and to some shaiks this payment was every year as much as two hundred camel load of corn, the same number of loads of dates, and a thousand Spanish dollars in money.

From the great treasury at Dereyah, the Wahauby chief was enabled to relieve such of his followers, as had been plundered of their property by the enemy, and where the indigent Sectary, on an expedition, had lost either his camel or his

mare, it was from this fund that it was replaced to him. Besides this, the Wahauby chief, after the example of Mahommed, was in the habit of rendering annual presents of money to the Bedouin shaiks, as tokens of his good will.

The collectors of this part of the revenue, the Zacat, started every year from Dereyah, for the districts to which they were nominated, and they received a certain sum for their trouble, and the expences of their journey. The mode of payment was well calculated to prevent fraud; an Arab was fixed on to prepare a statement of the sums payable by the district; another collected them, and paid them over to the collector, who gave a receipt to the district or tribe, for the sum so paid.

The time appointed for the payment, was the first spring month, because the camel and the sheep had then produced their young; the place of payment was settled between the collector and the shaik of the tribe, and with Nomadic Arabs it was generally some well known watering-place, to which all interested were ordered to repair. It was from his private treasury that Saoud paid the expences of his house establishment, and of his own guard.

I fear I must confirm what Mr. Burckhardt states of the avidity which the Wahauby chiefs manifested in their dealings with their subjects, and that the possession of a fine mare often

tempted them to acts of injustice towards her owner ; and that the trite line of

Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit

was never more forcibly exemplified than in Saoud. His income was always much beyond his expenditure: after the great plunder which was obtained by the capture of Kerbela, and the sacking of different towns in Yemen, he became more avaricious, and this corruption of his heart, (as the Arabs called it) had rendered many shaiks too cool towards his interests, long before Mahommed Ally entered the Hyaz, and probably had the Wahauby chief been as free of his money as the Turk, Mahommed Ally ; would never have gained a footing in the Hedjaz.

I cannot from my own knowledge state any amount of the revenues collected by the Wahauby, nor even offer an opinion which would be satisfactory to myself on their probable amount. I believe that the revenues of Oriental states are seldom known with great precision, even to the rulers of those states themselves, for there are many causes from which a variation in their amount must frequently arise:—a considerable part of them is collected in kind, and the value of such collection must depend on the value of the articles collected, which is constantly fluctuating. On this head therefore, the best thing I can do, both for the reader and myself, is to present him with

the following paragraph on this subject, taken from Mr. Burckhardt.

“Many exaggerated statements have been made
“respecting the Wahauby revenue. Some well
“informed Mekkans, who enjoyed frequent access
“to the person of Saoud and to his family, and had
“the best opportunities of knowing the truth, and
“no reason for concealing it, told me, that the
“greatest amount ever received by Saoud into his
“own or the public treasury of Dereyah in one
“year, was two millions of dollars,* but that in
“general it did not exceed one million of dollars
“annually. This does not include the sums re-
“ceived by the treasuries in the districts and
“towns, which however are generally expended,
“leaving no surplus at the end of the year.”

One thing, however, I think I may venture to assert as certain, that the revenue on an average exceeded the expence of the Wahauby chief, and, that Abdullah, at the time of his capture and the downfall of his state, must have possessed treasure to a considerable amount.

WARFARE, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE WAHAUBYS.

The ancient principle of the Bedouins, in this respect, the Wahauby never attempted to change; a force, on certain established regulations, was collected together for an excursion against an enemy; the attack was made, and whether successful or

* About £450,000 sterling.

otherwise, when that was done, the force was dissolved. It is true, that as the Wahauby power at Dereyah increased and became more stable, the retainers of the chief were augmented, and might not improperly be termed a body-guard; particularly, as they were paid and supported from the private treasury of the chief. But, after all, comparatively speaking, this force was numerically small; still, from the intimate intercourse it held with the head and leader of the nation, it was respected by the people, and never failed to distinguish itself in the field.

I have before mentioned, that war, by the Wahaubys, was considered as a principle of religion, and not, as amongst other nations, a matter of state; it was an excursion, and not a series of consecutive operations regularly pursued. When occasion required, therefore, the shaiks of the Bedouin districts were summoned to send their quota to perform "the service of God," *i. e. to war against heretics*; to shrink from this service was apostatism, to perform it required neither pay nor reward. The summons, as to number required, was made out according to the population of the district, and the detail of its execution was left to the shaik to whom it was addressed. In this sort of holy conscription, one rule, except on extraordinary exigencies, was invariably observed, namely, that only one half of the force of the state was called out, and that the half which had served this

year, was excused from serving the year following. From the age of eighteen to that of sixty, married or unmarried, all were liable to be called on. The cavalry, however, were not expected to join, unless it was particularly expressed in the requisition; but this was so seldom omitted, and the charge of service to those who possessed a horse was so heavy, that many sold their horses, to escape the liability of being called on; and thus Saoud impolitically diminished the number and strength of his best force.

A general and peremptory requisition was always couched in these terms :—" we shall not count " those who join, but those who do not ;" on this summons, all were obliged to march, and to such as were really unable to furnish themselves with horse, or camel, and provisions, the means were supplied to them by the Beit el Mal. There was, however, another sort of requisition, called the *sylle*, which only called for the most select of the horsemen and camel riders, and this, it seems, did not call above one in twenty to the field; but the expeditions on which these were employed, were so expensive to the conscripts, that many preferred being severely fined, to personal service. It was allowable, however, unless the summons was for a general assembly or for the *sylle*, to hire a substitute; the cost of which, for an expedition of forty days, was from eight to ten Spanish dollars, exclusive of provisions. On short expeditions, it was

a favourite plan of Saoud's, to place two musqueteers on one camel, and the second man was called meradif. The quantity and nature of the provisions generally considered necessary for an expedition for the use of one person was :—

One hundred lbs. of flour, 60 ditto dates, 20 ditto butter, a sack of wheat or barley for the camel, and a water skin. The dates, mixed with the flour and butter, and the mixture or paste baked in the ashes, served for their morning and evening meal.

In the early times of the Wahauby, it was not uncommon for Saoud to address a mandate to all his shaiks, acquainting them “ that such and such “ Arabs had become his enemies, and that until “ further orders were issued, every one was at “ liberty to attack and annoy them.” Three or four flying expeditions were then sent against them, and the Arabs so attacked, from a constant fear of losing their crops or their cattle, were soon brought to obedience.

It was but seldom that Saoud communicated to his magnates the plan of an expedition, before they all met at the place appointed for assembling ; and this was some watering place which, from its situation, was likely to mislead the enemy ; thus, if the march of the expedition lay to the northward, the troops and their chiefs were ordered to meet to the southward of Dereyah. Saoud's prudence and foresight in this branch of his warfare, were

notorious and proverbial, and Mr. Burckhardt states ; “ that when he invaded the Hauran plains, “ in 1810, although it required thirty-five days to “ arrive at the point of attack, yet the news of his “ approach only preceded his arrival two days,” and even then it was not known what part of Syria he designed to fall upon ; and thirty-five villages of the Hauran were sacked by his soldiers, before the paçha of Damascus could adopt any means for their defence.

Saoud had formed a sort of body-guard, which remained constantly with him at Dereyah, and this troop, which was called Mendjyeh, was the only standing force he possessed ; their known and established bravery, and their determination neither to give nor take quarter, caused them to be particularly dreaded by those to whom they were opposed ; their number was about three hundred, and man and horse fought in armour ; the horse, in such parts of him as were most open, and consequently most liable to receive wounds, was covered with a strong quilted woollen stuff, capable, from its texture, of defending the animal from serious injury, either by the thrust of a lance, or the stroke of a sabre ; the service of these men was voluntary, both as to its entrance and continuance ; but in their attack or defence, whenever called for, Saoud placed the utmost confidence, and he always kept them as a *corps de réserve*, for some special occasion.

The Wahaubys, in their warfare, paid no respect to the holy month of Ramazan; for the destruction of heretics and infidels, according to them, was fully as acceptable to God, as prayer and fasting. On their march, the shaiks of tribes were distinguished by their standards. Saoud had many, and of various colours; and his complement of baggage-beasts amounted to 200 or 250 camels at most; for during the time he continued in the field, he was expected to support and exercise the same hospitality he did at Dereyah. Mr. Burckhardt says: "If the army marches at night, the chiefs, and all the great shaiks, have torches carried before them." I never heard of this, and such a custom is so completely at variance with the common character of Arabian warfare, and so inconsistent with a system of surprise, which was that which Saoud almost always acted on, that I must be permitted to think, that in this instance, Mr. Burckhardt was misinformed. The main body of the army was always preceded by a troop consisting of thirty or forty horsemen, which body was called Sabr.

The thorough-paced Wahauby, like the early disciple of Mahommed, was profoundly convinced that he who fell fighting with infidels and heretics, passed from this life instantly into paradise: thus it was, when a shaik was killed in battle, and his mare came galloping back to her own ranks, without a rider, that the event was announced to Saoud in

terms of satisfaction : “ Joy to you, O Saoud ! the
“ mare of such a man is come back.”

In the capture and plunder of an Arab encampment, the Wahaubys, though they turned aside, and threw them a few rags, for the sake of decency, always obliged the women to strip themselves naked, but no further insult was offered to them, and when the plundering had ceased, some clothes were distributed amongst them.

To such as surrendered without fighting, Saoud seldom refused to grant security, or the *Aman Ullah*, viz. God's security. This was sometimes unconditional, and sometimes conditional ; when unconditional, it extended to person and property ; when otherwise, it was fettered with the *Halka*, by which was excluded the safe conduct of all horses, camels, shields, matchlocks, lances, swords, and all copper vessels.

It was only at Medina that Saoud thought it necessary to keep a constant garrison, for in all the other conquered districts, he relied on the prudence and valour of the shaiks he placed over them, and the terror of his own name, to retain the inhabitants in their subjection to him. To the south of Mecca, indeed, he is said to have recommended the shaiks to fortify, by towers, (*borje*) the places of their residence. The garrison of Medina was composed of matchlockmen from the Nedj and Yemen, and they received a liberal pay. These matchlockmen were considered to have formed the

élite of the Wahauby infantry, and it was these troops who stormed, carried, and plundered, Kerbela.

In the hasty and imperfect sketch which has now been laid before him, the reader will not fail to remark how little I have said concerning Abdul Wahaub, and how soon I lost sight of him, though in fact the founder of the sect. He took to himself more particularly the doctrinal part, and thus became the Moollah, (under which title was designated the spiritual leader and priest, the civil and criminal judge to the community) and he seldom or ever, I believe, took an active part in its external proceeding, or in its warfare. His son Mahommed, who succeeded his father in the characters above mentioned, had the misfortune, in his infancy, to be struck with an incurable blindness, and therefore, if his father, from choice, declined being martially active, he felt himself, from the loss of those organs, which are essential in all military operations, to lead a life of study, contemplation, and retirement, esteemed, honoured, and pitied by his countrymen.

Here, I had, originally designed to close my tale, but on reflection, I conceive many of my readers will entertain a wish to hear something in detail of the siege and capture of Dereyah. As it is now sometime since my correspondence with the East has ceased, I shall take this account from a work published by a M. Mengin, and when I say that

to this work MM. Langlés and Jomard have condescended to add several notes, I think I bespeak for it a certain degree of credit.

“ Le 13 Janvier, 1818, Ibrahim Paçha, à la
“ tête de huit cents chevaux, vint reconnoître les
“ alentours de Chakra, et choisit le lieu le plus
“ convenable pour y établir son camp. Il y eut
“ dans cette occasion, deux hommes tués et plu-
“ sieurs blessés. Le soir il revint à son quartier
“ général et donna l'ordre aux chefs de se tenir
“ prêts. Le jour suivant on se met en route. La
“ marche était souvent retardée par l'artillerie qui
“ était obligée de se frayer un chemin à travers
“ des sables mouvans. A midi l'armée forte de
“ quatre mille cinq cent combattans arriva sous
“ Chakra, suivie de six mille chameaux chargés
“ de vivres et de munitions. Ibrahim la fit placer
“ au midi, et à l'orient de la ville, en ordonnant
“ aux soldats de faire des discharges de leur mous-
“ quets: l'artillerie prit position sur une eminence,
“ d'où elle canonna vivement la ville; elle était
“ secondée par le feu de la mousqueterie. La
“ nuit du 16ème la brèche était praticable
“ aux murs des jardins, couverts par les dattiers.
“ Les troupes furent envoyées à l'assaut des maisons
“ situées hors de la ville; on se battit de part et
“ d'autre avec acharnement. Les Wahaubys re-
“ poussèrent les Turcs; mais effrayés par l'effet
“ des obus et des bombes, ils cédèrent le terrain,
“ et se retirèrent dans la ville. Plusieurs forts

“ furent pris et repris en peu d’heures. Les Turcs
“ enlevèrent de vive force les maisons et les ou-
“ vrages situés hors des murs. Dans ces attaques,
“ l’armée perdit quarante-deux hommes et deux
“ prisonniers, il y eut une centaine de blessés.
“ L’ennemi laissa sur le champ de bataille cent
“ soixante-huit morts, auxquelles on coupa les
“ oreilles ; on vint les déposer devant le Paçha,
“ avec les bannières qui avaient été prises sur
“ divers points. Tous les prisonniers furent dé-
“ capités sans distinction.

“ A la suite de ce premier succès, Ibrahim fit
“ investir la place. Les choses semblaient devoir
“ prendre la même tournure qu’à El Raas : mais
“ sans écouter les conseils de ses officiers, qui lui
“ avaient fait commettre des fautes dans d’autres
“ circonstances, le prince se rendit à l’avis de M.
“ Vaissière, et forma de suite un siège en règle.
“ On établit des redoutes où les Wahaubys avaient
“ élevé des retranchemens, car il y avait dans la
“ ville cinq pièces de canon. Le chef de cette
“ artillerie était un Turc, déserteur de l’armée de
“ Toussun Paçha.

“ Lorsque les ouvrages furent terminés, l’artil-
“ lerie bombardait la ville. Tout présageait que le
“ siège serait long. Pendant qu’on était aux prises,
“ des cavaliers moghrebins rentrèrent au camp :
“ ils avaient fait une sortie sur des tribus ennemies,
“ et ramenaient du bétail, des chameaux, et des
“ effets de campement.

“ Le feu continuel de l’artillerie causait de
“ grandes ravages. Le 19ème Janvier au soir, les
“ habitans, et la garnison de Chakra envoyèrent
“ un parlementaire à Ibrahim Paçha, en lui de-
“ mandant à capituler. Il y eut pendant deux
“ heures une suspension d’armes. Rien n’ayant
“ été conclu, les hostilités recommencèrent avec
“ vigueur, jusqu’au 21 au matin.

“ La garnison députa de nouveau un de ses au-
“ quartier général. On arrêta les articles d’une ca-
“ pitulation, après que Ibrahim eut donné un mou-
“ choir blanc au gouverneur, Ahmed-Iben-Yahya,
“ qui était beau frère d’Abdullah. A midi la ville
“ ouvrit ses portes. La capitulation portait que
“ les soldats au nombre de quatorze cents, dépose-
“ raient leurs armes le 22; que le lendemain matin
“ ils partiraient pour se rendre dans leurs pro-
“ vines respectives, en promettant de ne plus
“ servir durant la guerre; que les cinq bouches à
“ feu seraient remises à l’armée turque, avec
“ toutes les munitions, les armes, et les effets de
“ campement. Le paçha donna la poudre, les
“ lances, les sabres, et les fusils, aux habitans des
“ Nedjd, ses alliés. On trouva dans la ville du
“ blé, de l’orge, et du riz. Ces provisions furent
“ achetées et payées : elles servirent à la subsist-
“ ance de l’armée pendant un mois.

“ Dès qu’il eut pris possession de Chakra, Ibra-
“ hym députa un de ses officiers à son père, pour
“ lui annoncer qu’il allait se disposer à marcher

“ sur Dereyah. L'envoyé était chargé d'une
“ grande quantité d'oreilles en signe de triomphe.

“ Chakra, situé dans une plaine, est dominé sur
“ tous les points par deux montagnes. Elle sou-
“ tint six jours de siège, et se serait encore rendu
“ plus-tôt si l'on eu attaqué sur la côté le plus
“ faible. Dans l'intérieur des murs, la garnison
“ et les habitans eurent cent soixante-dix hommes
“ tués, et deux cent quarante blessés; parmi lesquels
“ trente cinq femmes, et plusieurs enfans. La
“ perte des Turcs ne fut que de cent trente
“ hommes : beaucoup de soldats étaient dangereuse-
“ ment blessés.

“ Plus tard après la prise de Dereyah, Ibrahim
“ Paçha fit démolir les forts et combler les fossés
“ de Chakra. Elle était regardée comme la plus
“ forte place du pays.

“ Ibrahim Paçha ayant fait rassembler les vivres
“ nécessaires à son armée, prit des dispositions
“ pour partir, laissant trois cents malades et bles-
“ sés à Chakra, où il établit un hôpital sous la
“ direction du médecin Gentili. Après le départ,
“ il survint une forte pluie, qui inonda la plaine,
“ et obligea le général de placer son camp sur la
“ montagne voisine. Une partie des vivres fut
“ trempée par l'eau. La pluie avait formé des
“ torrens, dont les habitans détournèrent le cours,
“ pour l'arrosement de leurs terres et de leurs
“ jardins.

“ Dès que la terre fut assez desséchée pour

“ permettre l'artillerie de marcher, l'armée se mit
“ en route. Quelques villages aux environs de
“ Chakra se soumirent, les autres étaient aban-
“ donnés ; Abdullah avait obligé les habitans à se
“ retirer sur Dereyah. Il fit conduire une grande
“ quantité de bétail vers la province d'El Hassah,
“ où il paraissait décidé à conduire les restes de
“ son armée.

“ Avant d'aller droit à Dereyah, Ibrahim Paçha
“ jugea convenable de s'emparer de Dorama. On
“ l'avait assuré qu'il y trouverait beaucoup de
“ vivres, et que cette ville se rendrait sans com-
“ battre. Les habitans, craignant qu'on ne dé-
“ truisit leurs plantations, comme on l'avait fait
“ ailleurs, se mirent sur la défensive : ils vivaient
“ de leurs cultures, dont l'excédant servait à ali-
“ menter la population de Dereyah, et fournissait
“ aux besoins des caravannes, et des pèlerins qui
“ vont chaque année de la Perse à la Mecque.

“ Arrivé devant Dorama, Ibrahim y trouva de
“ la résistance. Les habitans en s'opposant à l'at-
“ taque, tuèrent un grand nombre de Turcs. Le
“ gouverneur, Souhoud ebn Abdullah, se vit forcé
“ de se retirer dans une grande maison avec ses
“ gens, pour mettre à l'abri ses propriétés et ob-
“ tenir une capitulation. Entouré de tous côtés
“ par les troupes turques, il prit le parti d'aban-
“ donner les habitans à leur discretion. Le vain-
“ queur, qu'une résistance inattendue avait irrité,
“ ordonna à ses soldats de tout passer au fil de

“ l'épée, et de n'épargner personne. Cet ordre
“ reçut de suite son exécution.

“ Après avoir dispersé quelques partis ennemis,
“ les Turcs, avides de pillage, entrèrent dans la
“ ville, où ils exécutèrent les volontés de leur
“ chef avec plus de promptitude que s'il leur eût
“ enjoint de monter à l'assaut. Ils firent main
“ basse sur les habitans. La fusillade fut si vive,
“ qu'en moins de deux heures la plupart périrent
“ dans leurs maisons.

“ Le gouverneur, retiré dans son habitation avec
“ des soldats fidèles, n'avait point encore été at-
“ teint. On plaça deux bouches à feu pour y faire
“ brèche, mais Ibrahim, ayant su que cette demeure
“ renfermait des objets précieux, des armes, et des
“ chevaux de grand prix, pensa qu'au lieu de faire
“ périr les derniers défenseurs de Dorama, il était
“ plus profitable de leur accorder le pardon qu'ils
“ demandaient. Il consentit à ce que le comman-
“ dant et ses gens sortissent de la ville sans armes
“ ni bagages, pour se rendre à Dereyah, en pro-
“ mettant de ne prendre désormais aucune part à
“ la guerre.

“ Le 22 Mars, 1818, Ibrahim, qui avait été ar-
“ rêté par les pluies, quitta Dorama. Il marcha
“ vers Dereyah, dans l'intention d'assiéger cette
“ place. L'armée Ottomane était forte de cinq mille
“ cinq cents hommes, cavaliers et fantassins ; l'ar-
“ tillerie se composait de douze pièces, y compris
“ deux mortiers et deux obusiers : on alla camper

“ à El Ayench, et de là on se porta sur El Melka,
“ plantation à deux lieues de Dereyah. Une partie
“ de cette route passe à travers des montagnes
“ dont les défilés sont fort difficiles à franchir. Le
“ lendemain, Ibrahim poussa une reconnaissance
“ avec huit cents chevaux, et une pièce de canon,
“ jusque sous les retranchemens de la ville ; des
“ troupes sortirent à sa rencontre, il y eut une es-
“ carmouche : on perdit du monde de part et
“ d'autre ; le général rentra dans son camp. Le 6
“ Avril, il vint poster son armée devant la place,
“ hors de portée de canon des ouvrages avancés.
“ De leur côté, les Wahaubys prirent les positions
“ les plus avantageuses à la défense.

“ Dereyah est composé de cinq petites villes,
“ entourées chacune d'une muraille garnie de bas-
“ tions de distance en distance ; il y avait en outre
“ un bon fort qui défendait le quartier appelé
“ Ghácybeh, ainsi que Tourfych ; situés tous deux
“ près d'une montagne. Abdullah ebn Souhoud
“ habitait Tourfych ; Sâhl n'en était séparé que
“ par le lit du torrent El Bâten.* Kossycreyn se
“ prolongeait au-milieu des jardins : ses habitans
“ n'ayant aucun point de défense, se retirèrent, dès
“ le commencement du siège, dans les autres par-
“ ties de la ville.

“ Les Turcs s'occupèrent de suite de construire
“ des redoutes et de faire les préparatifs, pour dé-
“ loger l'ennemi de divers forts, et des montagnes

* Which was dry except in the rainy season.

“ qu’il occupait. Sur ces entrefaits, Fayçal, frère
“ d’Abdullah, sortit de la ville avec deux mille
“ hommes, pour élever à portée de fusil des re-
“ tranchemens parallèles à ceux des Turcs ; il
“ s’empara aussi des positions, pour les empêcher
“ de s’y établir.

“ La nuit du 12 au 13, Ibrahim Paşa fit dresser,
“ à la faveur de l’obscurité, deux fortes batteries ;
“ on y plaça deux bouches à feu. Le 14, au matin,
“ on commença une vive canonnade contre un
“ bastion placé sur le revers d’une montagne. Plu-
“ sieurs Bynbachis* reçurent l’ordre de protéger
“ avec leurs troupes l’attaque de l’artillerie, tandis
“ que les dehlyst† et ychagassis‡ gardèrent le dé-
“ filé du torrent El Bâten, et que la cavalerie de
“ Rochuan-Aga, unie à des Arabes égyptiens,
“ marcha pour occuper la ligne du désert, et em-
“ pêcher que le détachement qui défendait le bas-
“ tion ne prît la fuite, ou que des troupes ne sor-
“ tissent et ne vinssent, par quelque mouvement
“ imprévu, mettre les Turcs entre deux feux.
“ Ibrahim Paşa ayant sagement calculé ses dis-
“ positions, commanda à son artillerie de battre
“ en brèche : une tour du bastion s’écroula : à cette
“ vue, les Wahaubys se mirent à fuir, abandonnant
“ leurs blessés, deux pièces de canon, des muni-
“ tions de guerre, des vivres, et des effets de

* Colonels.

† Turkish troops ; the word means literally mad-men.

‡ Household troops, literally Gentlemen of the Chamber.

“ campement ; l’infanterie turque poursuivit les
“ fuyards jusque dans les jardins de la ville : on
“ leur fit des prisonniers, qui furent de suite mis
“ à mort. Les soldats portèrent des têtes et des
“ oreilles à leur général, pour recevoir le prix de
“ leur trophée.*

“ Les jours suivans il n’y avait que des affaires
“ d’avant-postes. Ibrahim, ayant été obligé de
“ se tenir sur la défensive, jusqu’à l’arrivée d’une
“ caravane qui devait lui apporter les moyens de
“ continuer le siège, donna tout le temps à son
“ ennemi de fortifier les positions qu’il occupait.

“ De son côté, Abdullah n’épargnait rien pour
“ électriser ses troupes ; il leur prodiguait de l’ar-
“ gent et des vêtemens.† Les postes les plus im-
“ portans furent confiés à des hommes de son
“ choix.

“ Ibrahim Paçha voulut pourtant s’emparer
“ d’une petite élévation, où il y avait deux pièces
“ d’artillerie qui l’inquiétaient. L’infanterie wa-
“ haubite défendit la position avec beaucoup d’opi-
“ niâtreté. Les Turcs étaient sur le point de
“ lâcher prise, quand leur général donna l’ordre à
“ Ouzoun-Aly et à Rochouan Aga de charger
“ l’ennemi en flanc. Ce mouvement, exécuté avec

* It seems that a pair of ears and a head were equal in price—50 piastres. This horrible and barbarous custom has often been the occasion of innocent persons losing their lives, to satisfy the cupidity of a Turkish soldier.

† When it was too late.

“ précision, décida du succès. L’ennemi abandonna son artillerie en se retirant sous le canon de la place. Ibrahim eut à regretter, dans cette attaque, Sélim-Agha, son Kasnadar, qui fut tué dans une charge de cavalerie.

“ Après ce coup de main, Fayçal se trouva trop exposé dans ses retranchemens, qui n’étaient plus protégés par aucun fort, quitta sa position, et se replia avec ses gens au milieu des jardins, où il se mit à l’abri d’autres outrages.

“ La joie que causait à Ibrahim ce premier succès, fut encore augmentée par l’arrivée d’une caravane de quinze cents chameaux chargés de riz, d’orge, et de farine, que le gouverneur de Bussorah envoyait sous la conduite d’un de ses officiers, au général de l’armée turque. On vit aussi arriver, du Kairo des Moghrebins, et des cannoniers, avec des chameaux chargés de roues, d’affûts, et d’autres objets d’artillerie. Les malades et les blessés de l’hôpital de Chakra, guéri par les soins de M. Gentili, qui les accompagnait, rejoignirent leurs drapeaux. Des convois, expédiés de Médine et Aneyzeh, apportaient de la poudre, et des boulets avec du biscuit, cinq mille moutons, du blé, de l’orge, et du beurre ; ces provisions ramenèrent l’abondance ; le soldat reprit sa gaieté.

“ A peine l’armée fut-elle ravitaillée, que l’ennemi fit une sortie sur le camp de Rochouân Agha, qui tenait à l’aile gauche : il fut vivement

“ repoussé, et dut se plier dans la place. La tran-
“ quillité ne fut point troublée pendant plusieurs
“ jours. Abdullah fit élever des murs, et creuser
“ des fossés, pour empêcher un assaut, sans que
“ les Turcs songeassent à inquiéter les travailleurs.

“ Voyant qu’il perdait chaque jour du monde
“ par les maladies et le feu d’ennemi, sans obtenir
“ aucun résultat satisfaisant, Ibrahim prit la réso-
“ lution d’établir des redoutes pour battre en
“ brèche un bastion qui donnait sur les jardins et
“ les ouvrages de Ghâcybeh. M. Vaissière fut
“ chargé de ce travail ; dès qu’il fut terminé et
“ les pièces placées sur leurs plates-formes on com-
“ mença le feu. L’ennemi de son côté riposta par
“ une forte fusillade qui mit un grand nombre de
“ soldats hors de combat ; mais le feu des assiégeans
“ fut si bien dirigé, qu’il parvint à deloger les
“ Wahaubys du bastion, et à faire brèche. Les
“ chefs refusèrent de monter à l’assaut ; ils dirent
“ à leur général que les soldats ne voulaient pas
“ marcher. Les soldats criaient hautement que
“ leurs chefs ne voulaient pas les conduire ; Ibra-
“ hym ne put se faire obéir, et commanda qu’on
“ cessât de tirer. Ayant consumé une partie de
“ ses munitions, violemment irrité de l’inexécution
“ de ses ordres, et fort inquiet sur le résultat du
“ siège, il abandonna la droite du camp, où il se te-
“ nait depuis quelques jours, et revint dans sa
“ tente. Il écrivit de suite à son père pour l’in-
“ former de ce que s’était passé, et lui demander

“ des renforts. Ahmed Agha, son oncle, fut por-
“ teur de ses dépêches. Dès que le vice-roi eut
“ reçu cette nouvelle, il fit partir Khalyl Pacha,
“ qui était gouverneur d’Alexandrie, avec trois
“ mille hommes, infanterie et cavalerie.

“ Les assiégés ayant attribué la conduite d’Ibra-
“ hym à la timidité des Turcs, reprirent courage, et
“ se fortifièrent de plus en plus; chaque jour ils ve-
“ naient attaquer le camp; il en résultait des com-
“ bats, dont plusieurs furent meurtriers. Des chefs
“ de village, abandonnant le parti d’Abdullah,
“ vinrent se rendre au quartier general de l’armée
“ ottomane; ils conduisaient du bétail et des pro-
“ visions qu’ils devaient porter à Derayeh.

“ On était déjà au 26 mai, et le siège n’avan-
“ çait point : deux mois s’écoulèrent dans cette
“ position bien pénible pour Ibrahim Paçha. Une
“ partie de la ville était libre; souvent on y rece-
“ vait des vivres du dehors; des secours arrivaient
“ de la province d’Hassa sans que les Turcs pussent
“ s’y opposer. Les Wahaubys ne souffrant point des
“ longueurs du siège, faisaient souvent des sor-
“ ties, et obligeaient leurs ennemis à rester sous
“ les armes cinq à six heures par jour; on perdait
“ inutilement du monde. Il y avait dans le camp
“ beaucoup de blessés et de malades. Un jour, c’é-
“ tait le 21 Juin, après une action meurtrière où
“ l’on avait eu cent soixante hommes mis hors de
“ combat, parmi lesquels des officiers de distinc-
“ tion, la troupe, fatiguée, était à peine rentrée

“ sous les tentes, qu’un accident imprévu porta la
“ consternation dans l’armée. Un tourbillon de vent
“ du sud, fréquent en Arabie, s’éleva dans le milieu
“ du camp, emporta le feu qu’un soldat avait allumé
“ pour faire sa cuisine, et passa directement sur
“ une grande tente placée au loin entre deux
“ petites éminences, où était le dépôt des muni-
“ tions de guerre. Il y avait plus de deux cents barils
“ de poudre, deux cents quatre vingt caisses de
“ cartouches, des obus, et des bombes chargés.
“ Tous les objets d’artillerie furent perdus. L’ef-
“ fet de la détonation renversa les tentes ; il y en
“ eut plusieurs de brûlées. Pendant dix minutes,
“ on entendit le bruit de l’explosion des projec-
“ tiles ; les obus éclataient en l’air ; poussée avec
“ violence ; ils mirent le feu à des monceaux d’orge
“ et de blé destinés à la nourriture de l’armée.
“ On s’empressa d’éteindre l’incendie. Malgré les
“ prompts secours, la moitié des provisions fut con-
“ sumée. On voyait des cadavres noircis par la
“ poudre, des membres épars çà et là, des blessés
“ couverts de plaies. La terre trembla aux en-
“ virons ; Derayeh en ressentit la secousse.

“ Cette catastrophe frappa les Turcs de frayeur
“ et d’étonnement. Elle laissa Ibrahim Pacha au
“ milieu des déserts, à plus de cinq cents lieues de
“ l’Egypte, et en présence d’un ennemi plus nom-
“ breux que lui, sans autres munitions que les car-
“ touches conservées par les soldats dans leurs
“ gibernes, et environ neuf cents gargouses, et trois

“ cents bombes ou obus qui se trouvaient dans les
“ batteries. Ibrahim fut affligé sans doute, mais
“ il montra dans cette circonstance critique beau-
“ coup de courage et une grande présence d’esprit.
“ Il avait alors vingt-six ans ; à cet âge il sut se
“ raidir contre l’adversité. Ouzoun Aly lui en-
“ voya son adjudant, pour s’informer de sa situa-
“ tion, et demander si l’on avait pu sauver quelque
“ chose de l’incendie. “ Tout est perdu,” répondit
“ Ibrahim à cet envoyé, “ il ne nous reste plus
“ que du courage et des sabres pour attaquer l’en-
“ nemi à l’arme blanche. Dites à votre maître de
“ se tenir sur ses gardes comme je vais m’y tenir
“ moi-même.” Les chefs de l’armée suivirent son
“ exemple, et montrèrent la même résolution.

“ Pendant que chacun faisait de tristes réflexions
“ sur la situation de l’armée, huit à dix éclaireurs
“ sortis de Derayeh, vinrent à la vue du camp re-
“ connaître ce qui s’était passé. L’alarme fut
“ générale ; on courut pour les repousser. Des
“ renforts survinrent, et la mêlée fut vive. Les
“ Wahaubys, voyant que les Turcs combattaient
“ comme les jours précédents, prirent le parti de
“ se retirer. Aussitôt qu’Abdullah fut informé
“ que les assiégeans avaient perdu leurs munitions,
“ il rassembla son conseil, et l’on résolu unanime-
“ ment d’attaquer le lendemain.

“ Prévoyant que sa position rendrait l’ennemi
“ plus audacieux, et qu’il ne manquerait pas de
“ faire des sorties, Ibrahim Paçha avait harangué

“ énergiquement ses troupes. Il leur avait ordonné
“ de ménager les munitions, et de ne tirer que
“ lorsqu’il le faudrait absolument ; il leur avait dé-
“ fendu, sous peine de la vie, de céder un pied de
“ terrain à l’ennemi.

“ Le jour suivant, au matin, les Wahaubys sor-
“ tirent de la place, au nombre d’environ quinze
“ cents. Ibrahim éprouva d’abord une légère
“ crainte, mais son courage prit le dessus. Les
“ avant postes commencèrent à tirer sur l’ennemi.
“ Le feu ne pouvait être de longue durée, les car-
“ touches devaient bientôt s’épuiser ; les chefs de
“ l’artillerie dépêchèrent au pacha pour savoir de
“ quelle manière il fallait agir. Ibrahim se trans-
“ porta sur une éminence où il y avait trois bouches
“ à feu, et envoya en toute hâte des officiers sur
“ tous les points du camp, pour ordonner qu’on
“ laissât approcher l’ennemi, en tirillant par inter-
“ valle, et qu’on fit ensuite un feu bien nourri.
“ Au lieu de tenir les Turcs en échec, pour leur
“ faire consumer leurs munitions, les Wahaubys
“ voulurent tout-à-coup les aborder : l’artillerie
“ obtint alors tout son avantage : les pièces tirèrent
“ à mitraille. Accablé par le feu, les assiégés se
“ replièrent, en laissant beaucoup de morts et de
“ blessés. Les Turcs ne coururent point à leur
“ poursuite. Dégouté par le mauvais succès de
“ cette attaque infructueuse et mal combiné, Ab-
“ dullah tint ses troupes sur la défensive.

“ Ibrahim s’occupa de faire panser les blessés,

“ et soigner les malades, qui augmentaient chaque
“ jour. Les nuits étaient froides, et la chaleur
“ était accablante pendant le jour. La dyssenterie
“ et l’ophthalmie faisaient des ravages dans le
“ camp ; les officiers de santé, malgré leur zèle,
“ ne pouvaient suffire à tout. Le paçha dévoré
“ d’inquiétude ne prenait aucun repos. Il fut at-
“ taqué de cette même maladie, qui le fit souffrir
“ pendant plusieurs jours. Ses yeux larmoyans
“ ne lui permettaient pas de voir la lumière. On
“ lui administra les secours convenables, et bientôt
“ il fut à même de veiller aux soins de son armée.
“ Après l’explosion du dépôt des munitions, il avait
“ expédié des courriers à Chakrà, Boureydeh,
“ Aneyzeh, la Mekke, Médine, et Ianbo, pour
“ demander qu’on remplaçât promptement ce qu’il
“ avait perdu.

“ Après vingt-cinq jours, un détachement de
“ deux cents Dehlys, qui tenait garnison à Aney-
“ zeh, arriva au camp, suivi de deux cents cha-
“ meaux chargés de poudre, de bombes, et de
“ boulets. D’autres caravanes parties de Médine,
“ apportèrent des vivres et deux pièces de canon ;
“ seize cents hommes, sous la conduite de différens
“ chefs, leur servaient d’escorte. A l’aide de ce
“ secours, l’armée reprit une attitude offensive.

“ Fayçal-el-Daouch,* qui se tenait avec ses
“ Arabes à quelques lieues du camp, pour contenir

* This person must not be confounded with Fayçal Ibn Saoud, the brother of Abdullah.

“ les tribus ennemies, se porta au quartier général
“ afin de prévenir Ibrahim que plusieurs villages
“ communiquaient journellement avec Dereyah,
“ et qu’il ne pouvait empêcher les habitans d’y
“ conduire des provisions. D’après ce rapport, le
“ pacha prit la résolution d’aller réduire ces villages.
“ La nuit du 15 août, il sortit du camp, avec deux
“ mille hommes d’infanterie et cavalerie, et deux
“ bouches à feu. A la faveur de l’obscurité, il
“ passa à peu de distance de la place. Les Wa-
“ haubys, prévenus de ce mouvement, ou avertis de
“ la marche par le bruit des pièces et le hennisse-
“ ment des chevaux, firent des décharges de leur
“ artillerie sur les troupes turques, et y causèrent
“ quelques ravages.

“ Informé le lendemain de l’absence d’Ibrahim,
“ Abdullah ordonna une sortie sur toute la ligne
“ des assiégeans. Le combat fut opiniâtre ; le
“ feu de la mousqueterie et de l’artillerie dura plu-
“ sieurs heures. La chaleur était extrême ; on
“ voyait des femmes Wahaubites, portant des
“ cruches remplies d’eau, braver les balles, pour
“ donner à boire à leurs défenseurs. Après de
“ grands efforts, les Turcs parvinrent à repousser
“ leurs ennemis. Cette journée leur coûta beau-
“ coup de monde : le médecin Gentili, appelé
“ pour donner des secours aux blessés, eut le pied
“ emporté par un boulet, en se rendant à la tente
“ du Byn-bachi Ismayl Agha ; son collègue To-
“ deschini lui fit l’amputation. Le jour suivant,

“ Ibrahim Pacha fut de retour de son excursion,
“ qui avait eu le succès qu’il en attendait ; il
“ s’était emparé du village d’Harka, où il avait
“ laissé un détachement. A peine rentré dans sa
“ tente, on lui dit que Gentili était blessé ; il vint
“ le voir accompagné de M. Vaissière : il lui té-
“ moigna tout l’intérêt qu’il prenait à son état, et
“ lui promit qu’il ne l’oublierait jamais.*

“ Cependant de nouveaux renforts arrivaient de
“ temps en temps. Le Byn-bachi Pachô, à la
“ tête de quatre cents hommes d’infanterie, vint
“ se réunir à l’armée. Peu de jours après on
“ reçut un corps de cavalerie, avec du bétail et
“ des vivres.

“ Les Arabes, que le général avait dépêchés
“ loin du camp, pour faire des incursions sur les
“ tribus ennemies, ramenèrent quelques milliers
“ de moutons. Ces divers secours avaient rendu
“ le courage aux soldats. Ibrahim reçut aussi
“ l’avis que son père lui envoyait Khalyl Pacha
“ avec trois mille hommes. Ne voulant pas que
“ sa gloire fût partagée, il prit dès-lors la résolu-
“ tion de donner un assaut à la place pour la
“ prendre avant l’arrivée de ce général : après
“ tant de fatigues, Ibrahim avait la noble ambition
“ de détruire seul le boulevard des Wahaubys.
“ Le désir de terminer cette mémorable entreprise,

* For the honour of Ibrahim, it must be observed, he made Gentili a present of 10,000 piastres, and continued him as an army surgeon with a fixed salary.

“ le força de prendre promptement des disposi-
“ tions. Il ordonna donc à son artillerie de com-
“ mencer le feu sur tous les points ; l’infanterie,
“ placée dans les redoutes avancées, tirait à
“ travers les crénaux. Ce fut dans cette occasion
“ qu’un soldat, apercevant sur le revers d’une
“ montagne, Fayçal, frère d’Abdullah, qui faisait
“ une reconnaissance à la tête d’un détachement,
“ lui tira un coup d’arquebuse, et le renversa.

“ Il semblait que le siège devait trainer en lon-
“ gueur, mais Ibrahim pressa les attaques. A la
“ faveur de la nuit il réunit les troupes, auxquelles
“ il commanda de se porter en avant, et ne laissa
“ dans les redoutes et les batteries que les hommes
“ nécessaires à leur défense. La cavalerie des
“ ychagassis, conduite par son selikdar, reçut l’or-
“ dre de se tenir en embuscade derrière une mon-
“ tagne qui était à la droite du camp, pour se
“ jeter au besoin près du lit du torrent El Bâten.
“ Ouzoun Ally fut chargé d’observer les mouve-
“ ments des assiégés. L’artillerie commença à
“ lancer des bombes et des obus. Les Wahaubys
“ prévenus par leurs espions que les Turcs de-
“ vaient donner l’assaut à leurs ouvrages, étaient
“ prêts sur tous les points ; mais Ibrahim fit pas-
“ ser sa troupe sur une petite chaussée où il
“ n’y avait pas de postes avancés. Huit cents
“ hommes d’infanterie, marchant sans bruit, arri-
“ vèrent dans les jardins sans être aperçus, et
“ firent feu de tous côtés. Les Wahaubys sur-

“ pris, n’opposèrent aucune résistance ; ils aban-
“ donnèrent une redoute garnie de trois bouches
“ à feu avec des munitions. Ceux qui voulurent se
“ défendre perdirent la vie, ou furent blessés et
“ prisonniers. Cet avantage mit les Turcs à même
“ d’assiéger de plus près la ville de Ghâcybeh, et
“ de cerner un fort où commandait Saad, fils d’Ab-
“ dullah.

“ Les ordres du général avaient été ponctuelle-
“ ment exécutés : la cavalerie avait fait plusieurs
“ charges près du lit du torrent, et obligé l’ennemi
“ à se replier. Les assiégés eurent beaucoup de
“ morts et de blessés. Il y avait parmi ceux-ci
“ des parens d’Abdullah. Mohammed ebn Mo-
“ châry, son beau-frère, eut le pied droit emporté
“ par un éclat d’obus. L’attaque imprévue des
“ Turcs du côté qui n’était point gardé, et la perte
“ de quelques-uns des chefs au commencement de
“ l’action, contribuèrent à la défaite des Wahau-
“ bys. Les assiégeans n’ayant point rencontré
“ d’obstacles, eurent peu de monde hors de com-
“ bat ; mais il mourut chaque jour des blessés
“ qui ne voulaient pas se laisser amputer, ni souffrir
“ qu’on leur coupât des chairs pour dilater leurs
“ plaies.

“ Le fort où commandait le fils d’Abdullah avait
“ un matériel considérable en artillerie et muni-
“ tions de guerre ; il était défendu par cent cin-
“ quante hommes, qui n’avaient de vivres que pour
“ deux jours, parce qu’ils ne croyaient pas se trou-

“ ver exposés aux coups de leurs ennemis. Saad,
“ privé de secours, se rendit le troisième jour.
“ Il s’en remit sans capitulation à la générosité
“ d’Ibrahim Pacha, qui le retint prisonnier. Les
“ Turcs étaient près des murs de la place. Ibra-
“ hym, certain que la ville serait bientôt prise,
“ voulait pour cette fois épargner le sang de ses
“ soldats. Il fit prendre de nouvelles positions à
“ son artillerie, augmentée des pièces prises à l’en-
“ nemi ; des boulets et des bombes portèrent la
“ désolation dans les villes de Sâhl et de Ghâ-
“ cybeh. Les habitans voyant près de leurs murs
“ leurs ennemis auxquels ils ne pouvaient opposer
“ qu’une faible résistance, fatigués par les cris et
“ les pleurs des femmes et des enfans, demandèrent
“ à capituler. Ghâcybeh se rendit à condition que
“ les Turcs n’entreraient dans ses murs qu’après la
“ prise de Toureyf. Sâhl imita ensuite son exemple.

“ La reddition de ces deux villes porta la déso-
“ lation parmi les Wahaubys. Sahoud Ibn Ab-
“ dullah, qui avait été gouverneur de Dorama,
“ quitta Derayeh ; il fut pris avec d’autres fugitifs par
“ un détachement de cavalerie qui gardait les pas-
“ sages et les chemins du désert. Ibrahim l’acheta
“ 10 bourses du soldat qui l’avait eu en sa posses-
“ sion. D’abord il lui reprocha d’avoir manqué à
“ la parole qu’il avait donnée avant de quitter
“ Dorama, de ne point porter les armes contre les
“ Turcs ; ensuite il le fit mettre à mort, malgré
“ l’intercession de plusieurs chefs Wahaubys, qui

“ étaient au quartier général dans le parti des
“ Turcs. Les soldats et les habitans eurent la
“ liberté d’aller où bon leur semblerait.

“ Cependant Abdullah encourageait les siens à
“ une résistance inutile. On était fatigué des
“ longueurs du siège ; il ne lui restait que peu de
“ monde avec sa garde, composée de quatre cents
“ esclaves noirs. Ibrahym fit diriger le feu de
“ son artillerie contre la ville où résidait ce prince,
“ au milieu des restes de sa patrie expirante. Les
“ soldats furent obligés d’entrer dans Ghâcybeh,
“ pour faciliter les opérations dirigées contre
“ Toureyf et Tourfyeh. Cette dernière place mit
“ bas les armes.

“ Resserré dans sa position, Abdullah ne voyait
“ autour de lui que des hommes consternés et des
“ conseillers timides. Les clameurs du peuple le
“ forcèrent à arborer le drapeaux de paix. Il en-
“ voya le 9 Septembre, un parlementaire à Ibra-
“ hym Pacha. Le feu de l’artillerie des assiégeans
“ cessa à l’arrivée de l’envoyé qui dit au général
“ qu’Abdullah Ebn Saoud, demandait une suspen-
“ sion d’armes et une conférence : elle lui fut de
“ suite accordée.

“ Après quelques heures, Abdullah lui-même
“ vint, accompagné de deux cents des siens, à la
“ tente d’Ibrahym, à qui il fut présenté par son
“ *dividar*.* Ce prince gardant un extérieur affec-
“ tueux, était assis sur un divan. Abdullah s’ap-

* Literally, *Inkstand Bearer*, may be translated, Private Secretary.

“procha pour lui baiser la main qu’il retira par
“modestie ; ensuite il le fit asseoir, et lui demanda
“pourquoi il continuait la guerre tandis que le
“peuple demandait à se soumettre. ‘Ainsi le
“‘voulait le destin,’ répondit Abdullah, ‘maintenant
“‘la guerre est finie.’—‘Si vous voulez encore
“‘vous défendre,’ répliqua le pacha, ‘je vous
“‘donnerai de la poudre et des munitions.’—‘Non,
“‘Seigneur ; Dieu a favorisé vos armes. Ce ne
“‘sont point vos soldats qui m’ont vaincu, c’est lui
“‘qui a voulu m’humilier.’ Des larmes étaient
“prêtes à couler de ses yeux. Ibrahym chercha
“à le consoler, en lui disant que bien des grands
“hommes avaient aussi éprouvé les vicissitudes
“de la fortune. Le chef de Wahauby, demanda la
“paix, son vainqueur lui accorda tout, mais il lui
“répondit qu’il n’était point autorisé à le laisser à
“Dereyah, que l’ordre de son père était de l’en-
“voyer en Egypte. Abdullah réfléchit un instant
“et demanda un délai de vingt-quatre heures,
“pour donner une réponse décisive sur le parti
“qu’il avait à prendre. Après le café qu’Ibrahym
“lui avait fait servir ainsi que la pipe, il se leva
“et sortit de la tente avec le même cérémonial
“qu’il avait observé en entrant. Son fils Saad,
“qui était détenu prisonnier, lui fut rendu. Le
“pacha conçu des inquiétudes sur le résultat de
“cette conférence ; il craignait que le prince
“déchu de son pouvoir, n’eût pris la fuite, ou
“ne se fût donné la mort avant de se décider

“ à partir pour le Kaire. Cette pensée l’occupa
“ tellement qu’il ne prit point de repos. Il donna
“ des ordres à tous les chefs de cavalerie d’établir
“ partout la plus grande surveillance.

“ Dans le court entretien qu’il avait eu avec
“ Ibrahim, Abdullah avait conçu une favorable
“ opinion de sa personne; ces dispositions contri-
“ buèrent à l’abuser sur la destinée que lui était
“ réservée. Il pouvait, sans doute, prendre la fuite,
“ monté sur un dromadaire agile, et à la faveur
“ d’une nuit obscure; mais il craignait que sa fa-
“ mille ne reçut des outrages, et que Toureyf ne fut
“ incendié. Il fit donc une action héroïque en se
“ décidant à partir pour L’Egypte. Après l’expi-
“ ration du délai de vingt-quatre heures, il se rendit
“ de nouveau à la tente d’Ibrahim, qui le reçut
“ avec les mêmes égards et lui demanda quelle
“ résolution il avait prise. Abdullah lui répondit
“ qu’il était décidé à partir,* pourvu que sa vie
“ lui fût garantie. Le prince lui dit qu’il ne pou-
“ vait disposer de la volonté de son père ni de celle
“ du sultan, mais qu’il les croyait l’un et l’autre
“ trop généreux pour le faire mourir. Abdullah
“ lui recommanda sa famille, il le pria de ne point
“ détruire Dereyah et de ne causer aucun dommage
“ à ceux qui avaient pris les armes contre les Turcs.
“ Toutes ses demandes lui furent accordées; il
“ reçut un mouchoir blanc, en signe de paix, et

* “ Sic ait; *atque animum picturâ pascit inani*

“ *Multa gemens largoque humutat flumine vultum.*”

“ retourna à Toureyf, prendre des dispositions
“ pour le fatal voyage qu’il allait entreprendre.
“ Plusieurs fois il se rendit au quartier général.
“ Le pacha l’invitait à sa table et le traitait avec
“ distinction.

“ Enfin ce prince trop confiant fit ses derniers
“ adieux à sa famille éplorée, il quitta ses amis,
“ ses défenseurs avec regret, et sortit de son palais
“ accompagné de Sourry, son Kaznadar, et Ab-
“ delaziz Ebn Salman, son secrétaire, qui furent
“ tous deux associés à son infortune. Sa suite
“ était composée de ses esclaves noirs les plus
“ affidés. Il se rendit avec ses équipages à la
“ tente d’Ibrahym, prit congé de ce prince, reçut
“ ses dépêches pour Mahommed Aly, et s’achemina
“ à travers le désert, sous l’escorte de quatre cents
“ hommes commandés par Rochouân Ayah.

“ Cependant Abdullah était arrivé au Kaire, le
“ 17 Novembre, 1818. Il fut conduit à Chobra,
“ et présenté au vice-roi, auquel il baisa la main.
“ Mohammed Ali le fit asseoir, et ordonna qu’on
“ servît du café. Dans l’entretien qu’il eut avec
“ ce prince, il lui demanda ce qu’il pensait de l’é-
“ vènement qui l’amenait devant lui : ‘ Tel a été
“ le sort de la guerre,’ répondit Abdullah. Mo-
“ hammed Ali désira connaître ses sentimens à
“ l’égard d’Ibrahym Pacha, et lui demanda son
“ opinion sur son fils. ‘ Il a fait son devoir,’ dit
“ Abdullah, ‘ et nous avons fait le nôtre, ainsi

“ Dieu l’a voulu.’ Le vice-roi le fit revêtir d’une
“ pelisse d’honneur, et lui destina la maison d’Is-
“ mayl Pacha, à Boulâq. Pendant l’entrevue,
“ Abdullah tenait dans sa main une petite boîte
“ d’ivoire, en forme d’écrin ; le vice-roi lui demanda
“ ce que c’était. Il lui dit qu’elle contenait ce que
“ Saoud son père avait enlevé au tombeau du
“ prophète ; il ouvrit : il y avait trois magnifiques
“ manuscrits du Koran, garnis de rubis au dehors
“ de la couverture, trois cents perles d’une belle
“ dimension, et une émeraude à laquelle était at-
“ taché un cordon en or. Mohammed Ali lui ob-
“ serva, que beaucoup d’autres objets avaient été
“ pris au tombeau. ‘ Il est vrai,’ dit Abdullah,
“ ‘ mais mon père n’en a eu qu’une partie. Il y en
“ a eu de vendus à l’encan, une autre partie a été
“ partagée entre les chéryfs de la Mekke, des
“ Aghas, et des cheykhs des Arabes.’—‘ Il est de
“ fait,’ répliqua le pacha, ‘ car nous avons trouvé
“ de pareils objets chez le chéryf Ghâleb.’ En
“ même temps il fit apposer son sceau sur la boîte ;
“ Abdullah y mit aussi le sien. Le vice-roi lui dit
“ de la garder soigneusement, et de la remettre à
“ la sublime Porte lors de son arrivée à Constan-
“ tinople, où il devait bientôt se rendre. Le 19,
“ Abdullah partit pour Constantinople. Le vice-
“ roi avait demandé sa grâce, mais la politique du
“ divan fut implacable. Abdullah fut sacrifié au
“ ressentiment d’un peuple fanatique. Ce prince,

“ après avoir été promené pendant trois jours par
“ toute la ville, fut décapité sur la place de Sainte
“ Sophie, avec ses compagnons d’infortune.”

*Jamque dies infanda aderat, mihi sacra parari
Et salsæ fruges et circum tempora vitæ.*

I have preferred to give in M. Mengin's own words, to translating them into English, the foregoing account of the fall of Dereyah and of Abdullah's surrendering himself to the Turks, because as I possess no information on these subjects but from the public prints of the day, I consider this to be the fairest method both to the reader, to M. Mengin, and to myself. No one can fail to perceive how inferior in talent Abdullah was to his father, Saoud :—to this inferiority the Arabs are willing to ascribe their depression and his misfortunes ; but Abdullah has never been accused of want of personal courage, though in judgment, political sagacity, and that species of generosity which attaches such soldiers as are the Arabs to their chief, it is acknowledged he was eminently deficient ; nor did he possess that invaluable spirit of patience, which leads men exalted to high command, and having great things to perform, to listen to counsel ; or, if he did listen, he possessed not the spirit of discernment, to reject the bad and follow the good. The bitter fate of himself and his family seems plainly to have been brought on by his want of conduct and judgment. To me it

is curious to see that the misfortunes of my old friends the Persians, in their warfare with the Russians, and the Wahaubys in their war with the Turks, originated in the same cause,—each brought undisciplined infantry, and magnificent irregular cavalry, to stand against the fire of artillery : the result of the experiment was the same.

The narrative I have submitted to the candour of the reader affords abundant proofs that if Abdullah had confined his defence to the mode of warfare in which the Arabs are so expert, and consequently so formidable, of harassing and distressing an enemy by sudden and unlooked-for attacks,—by charging their convoys of provisions,—by shortening, by various means, their supply of water,—it is difficult to imagine how a Turkish army could have been long kept together, on a parched desert, under a burning sun. There were, however, two mistakes committed by Abdullah, so fatal and so glaring in themselves, that I feel confident the reader has not passed them over :—the first at Raas, when he had intercepted the Turkish communication between Khahara and Medina ; when, by this means, their camp depended for its daily supply on two or three villages whose means were nearly exhausted ; and when the cavalry of the Wahaubys was constantly hovering round their camp and scouring the country, he signed an ignominious peace, which, after all, was not ratified by Mohammed Ali Paçha. The second, his

singular supineness, or rather infatuation, in not beating up the Turkish camp and army on the 26th of May, when the dreadful explosion took place, which fired the one, and threw the other into the utmost dismay and confusion,—he fatally and unaccountably remained inactive till the next day, when his enemy had had time to recover from his panic.

He must have known, even if Dereyah was captured, that the whole Nedjd was not conquered. It might have been from humanity, it might have been from affection to his family, that he did not attempt to fly from Dereyah;* but the confidence he placed in Turkish generosity and faith must have been infatuation; and the more extraordinary, because it was against the maxims of his creed and the experience and consent of his countrymen. By the Arabs the lesson has been dearly purchased; but years hence may prove that its price did not exceed its future value.

I wish not to attempt to dim one ray of Ibrahim Paçha's glory. I feel unwilling to impeach one atom of his merit. But if all M. Mengin relates passed, I consider his chief glory to have been the manner in which he acted towards the fallen prince, (always, *bien entendu*, that when he received his submission, he did not hold out to him false hopes

* “He that hath a wife and children, hath given hostages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises of virtue or mischief.”—BACON.

of life. This is a species of glory of all others *to a Turk* the most honorable. His merit, notwithstanding all his errors and oversights, is, that he shewed himself possessed of decision, of presence of mind, of bravery, of great kindness, when occasion required, to his soldiers, by parting with that which to a Turk is the *unum necessarium*—money; and by, at last, an aptitude to receive counsel. But there are clouds over the character of himself and his father, which, to use an Oriental metaphor, a stronger sun than the sun of my pen can alone disperse.

Whenever the completed and appointed time of any kingdom or people arrives, *He* who measures all human affairs by rules inscrutable to weak man, seldom gives them much other means to judge of his divine designs, than by putting on the stage a weak leader, for those who are to be punished; and an able one for those who are to execute the mandate of his wrath.

END OF THE WAHAUBY.

NOTES TO THE WAHAUBY.

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NOTES TO THE WAHAUBY.

NOTE I.

“ Only muster seven camel-riders.”—Text, Page 8.

THE Reader may here remark, if he pleases, that the first convert to the Prophet was his wife Kadijea, who thereby obtained the title of Un-ul-Moumeneez, *i.e.* Mother of the Faithful; and that the first proselyte Abdul Wahaub made, was his father-in-law.

NOTE II.

“ Visible Imaum, or spiritual head of the followers of Islam.”—Text, Page 9.

The following, from “ Le Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman,” by D'Ohsson, elucidates this point.

CODE DOGMATIQUE.

34°. Que l'Imam doit être vtsible, qu'il ne doit pas se dérober aux “ regards du public, ni être l'objet de son attente.

“ C. L'Imam doit être visible, et doit se montrer au public, soit “ dans les temps calmes soit dans les temps orageux, afin de pouvoir “ diriger les affaires de l'état, maintenir l'ordre dans l'empire, “ prévenir les maux, et dissiper les troubles qui pourraient l'agiter.”

OBSERVATIONS.

“ Cet article a principalement pour objet l'opinion des hétérodoxes “ Sebyeys sur la personne de Mohammed, dit Mehedy, le directeur “ céleste, qui est le doraïème et dernier Imam de la race d'Aly.

“ Ce Prince n'avait que cinq ans, lorsqu'il herita de l'imameth de
 “ ses aieux ; à l'age de douze ans, il se perdit dans une grotte à
 “ Semen-rey, qui donna lieu à différentes opinions, les unes plus
 “ enthousiastes que les autres, sur sa nature et son apparition
 “ prochaine.

“ 35°. Que l'Imam doit être issu du sang des Courcyschs, sans
 “ cependant que sa naissance soit restreinte à la branche de Hash-
 “ chem, ou à celle d'Aly. Il suffit qu'il ne soit pas d'une autre race.

“ C. Ce point est appuyé sur cette parole du Prophète :—‘ Les
 “ Imams doivent être de la race de Courcyschs ;’ mais il n'est pas
 “ absolument requis qu'ils sont issus de Haschem, ou d'Aly, vû la
 “ légitimité du Khalifat, d'Ebu Bekr, d'Ormar, et d'Osman, qui
 “ étaient issus de Courcyschs par d'autres branches que celle de
 “ Haschem ou d'Aly.

OBSERVATIONS.

“ La Maison ottomane n'a pas l'avantage d'être du même sang
 “ comme l'exige la loi canonique, pour avoir droit à l'imameth. Ce-
 “ pendant selon les opinions unanimes des Juristes modernes, ce
 “ droit est acquis aux Sultans ottomans par la renunciation formelle
 “ qu'en fit, l'an Heg. 923 A.D. 1517, en faveur de cette maison
 “ souveraine, dans la personne de Sélim I, Mohammed XII, Ebn
 “ Djecafar, dit Mutcwevckil-al-allah. C'est le dernier des Khalifes
 “ abassides, dont le sacerdoce fut détruit du même coup qui ren-
 “ versa la puissance des Mamlukes circasses en Egypte. Sélim I.
 “ reçut encore dans la meme année les hommages du Schérif de la
 “ Mecque, Mohammed Eb-ul-Berckeath, qui lui fit présenter dans
 “ un plat d'argent les clefs du Kaabé, par Ebn Noumy son fils.

If we look at the renunciation made by the Khalif to Sélim I descended as he was from the Tartars, and the supposed right it gave him to claim being considered as the visible Imaum, it surely is one of the most extraordinary transfers on record ; and if we regard the value to the Turkish Emperors of the acquisition, it must be esteemed as one of the most, if not the most precious ever made : for it is this sacred character, and the privileges belonging to it, which have preserved and maintained that Empire through many a direful storm.

NOTE III.

"Slowly moving Ottoman."—Text, Page 11.

Towards the latter end of the year 1784, Mr. Latouche, who was then chief of the Bussora Factory, left it to return to England. He proceeded from Bussora to Bagdad, in order to take leave of Suleiman Paçha, whom he had been very instrumental in placing in that Paçhalik, and with whom he had large accounts to settle. The Paçha was at that time at War with the Chaub Arabs, a tribe which possess a large district, bounded on the North by the Walfar River, and on the South by the Gulf of Persia. The power of the Montefik Arabs was then unbroken, and Twiney, their great and renowned shaik, at the head of the tribe. He had agreed with the Paçha to make a forced march, and take the Chaubs by surprise. His encampment was on the banks of the Shut-al-Arab, and just on the line by which Mr. Latouche was to pass. Twiney then and for some time past, had had it in his power, either to afford great assistance in the expedition of our packets across the desert, or, if so disposed, to throw great impediments in the way of their transit; it was therefore thought right, that Mr. Latouche, previously to leaving the country, should visit him, and make him a small present. It was in the latter end of November, that our visit to the shaik took place, and we took our leave of him just as the sun was setting. His camp consisted of from 1000 to 1200 cavalry, besides necessary attendants.

The instant we were clear of the camp, the tents were struck, and the whole body began to cross the Shut-al-Arab, which is there more than half a mile broad, by swimming. The next morning about nine, Twiney beat up the Chaubs' camp, and completely routed their force. The march he made was nearer seventy than sixty miles, in a strait line, besides having two large nullahs or creeks to pass *à la nage*. The Chaubs considered themselves in perfect security, having intelligence that Twiney was engaged to receive Mr. Latouche the preceding evening.

NOTE IV.

“ *The Shaik of Grain.*”—Text, Page 12.

The following is taken from “A Journal across the Great Desert, from Aleppo to Bussora, by Colonel James Capper.”

“ January 24, 1779. In the morning, Capt. Twyss came, and told us he should sail for Bussora next day. He had six English gentlemen passengers with him, going over the Desert, and also M. Borel du Bourg, the French officer who had been plundered and wounded by the Arabs on the Desert. M. du Bourg, wishing to hear the latest news from Europe, and perhaps also desirous of conversing with a person who had travelled the same route as himself, came and spent the evening with me at the broker’s house. I told him I was no stranger to what had befallen him on the Desert, and easily prevailed on him to give me an account of his adventures.

“ The particulars of the business upon which he was sent, he of course concealed, but in general terms, that soon after the engagement between the two fleets near Brest in July 1778, M. de Sustine his friend and patron, ordered him to carry dispatches overland to India. He said he left Marseilles on the third of August, but that owing to the stupidity of the captain of his vessel, and to contrary winds, he did not arrive at Latichia before the end of the month ; and from thence he proceeded to Aleppo. The French Consul could not collect more than twenty-five guards to attend him across the desert, with which, on September 14, he began his journey. He met with no serious molestation until he was within fifteen days of Bussora, when early one morning he perceived himself followed by a party of about thirty Arabs, mounted on camels, who soon overtook him. As they approached, he, by his interpreter, desired they would please to advance or halt, or move to the right or left of him, as he chose to travel by himself ; they answered that they should not interfere with him ; and went forwards at a brisk rate. M. de Bourg’s people then suspected them of some hostile design, and told him to be on his guard. In the evening, between four and five

“ o’clock, he observed them halted, and drawn up, as if to oppose
“ him, and in a few minutes three other parties, consisting of
“ about thirty each, appeared in sight in opposite directions,
“ seemingly inclined to surround him : from these appearances very
“ naturally concluding their intentions to be hostile, and conse-
“ quently his situation desperate, like a gallant man, he thought
“ only of selling his life as dearly as possible ; he was armed with a
“ double barrellled fusee, a pair of pistols and a sabre. As he
“ kept marching on, he first fell in with the party in front, who fired
“ at him, which he returned as soon as he came within musket
“ shot of them, and killed the shaik : when he had discharged his
“ fire arms, before he could load them again, several of the Arabs
“ broke in from different sides, and cut him down. Stunned
“ with the blow, he knew nothing that passed afterwards, until
“ about an hour before day-break the next morning, when he
“ found himself entirely naked on the ground, a quantity of blood
“ near him, and a part of the flesh of the side of his head hanging
“ upon his cheek. In a few minutes, he recollected what had
“ passed, but as he could feel no fracture or contusion in the skull,
“ he began to think his wounds were not mortal : this however was
“ only a transient gleam of hope, for it immediately occurred to
“ him that without clothes or even food, he was likely to suffer a
“ much more painful death. The first objects that struck him when
“ he began to look about, were, those who had been killed on both
“ sides in the action ; but at the distance of a few yards, he soon
“ afterwards perceived a great number of Arabs, seated round a
“ fire ; these he naturally supposed were his enemies ; nevertheless,
“ he determined to go to them, in hopes either to prevail on them
“ to save his life, or else to provoke them to put an immediate end
“ to his miseries. Whilst he was thinking in what manner, without
“ the assistance of language, he should be able to excite their
“ compassion, and to soften their resentment against him for the
“ death of their companions, which these people he had heard
“ seldom forgive, it occurred to him that they paid great respect
“ to age, and also that they seldom destroy those who supplicate for
“ mercy ; from whence he concluded that if he could throw himself

“ under the protection of the oldest person amongst them, he
“ might probably be saved. In order to approach them unper-
“ ceived, he crept towards them on his hands and knees, and when
“ arrived within a few paces of their circle, having singled out one
“ who had the most venerable appearance, he rushed forwards,
“ and springing over the head of one of the circle, he threw
“ himself into the arms of him whom he had selected for
“ his protector. The whole party were at first extremely asto-
“ nished, not having the least notion of his being alive ; but when
“ their surprise subsided, a debate arose whether or not they should
“ allow him to live. One of them, who had probably lost a rela-
“ tion or friend, drew his sword in a great rage, and was going
“ to put him to death, but his protector interposed, stood up with
“ great zeal in his defence, and would not suffer him to be injured ;
“ in consequence of which, his adversary mounted his camel, and
“ with a few followers, went away. When this contest was over,
“ the shaik, for so he happened to be, perceiving M. du Bourg
“ entirely without clothes, presented him with his abba or outer
“ cloak, and invited him to approach the fire, and gave him coffee
“ and a pipe, which an Arab, when he is not on a march, has
“ always prepared. The people finding M. du Bourg did not
“ understand Arabic, enquired for his interpreter, who was found
“ asleep slightly wounded.

“ The first demand the Arabs made, was for his money and
“ jewels, which, they observed, Europeans always have in great
“ abundance, but which are concealed in private drawers, that
“ none excepting themselves can discover. He assured them, these
“ opinions were erroneous with respect to him, for that he was not
“ a rich merchant, but only a young soldier of fortune, employed
“ to carry orders from his government in Europe to their settlements
“ in India : but that if they would convey him to Grain, a place
“ near Bussora, on the sea-coast, on their arrival there, and on
“ the receipt of his papers, he would engage to pay them two-
“ hundred Venetian sequins, (about one hundred pounds sterling.)
“ After a few minutes’ consultation with each other, they acceded
“ to his proposals, returned him his oldest Arabian dress, and

“ during the rest of the journey, treated him with tolerable kindness and attention.

“ After M. du Bourg's arrival at Grain, he easily prevailed on an Armenian to advance him the money, to fulfil his engagements with the Arabs, and also to send the French Resident at Bussora an account of what had befallen him on the Desert; desiring to be supplied with money and other necessities, to enable him to proceed to Pondicherry. His letter, very fortunately for us, fell into the hands of the English Resident at Bussora, who having heard of our rupture with France, was convinced he must be charged with public dispatches of consequence, and therefore determined to arrest him. Every generous mind will lament the necessity there was, of adding to the distresses of this spirited and unfortunate youth; but the lives of thousands, and perhaps, the safety of our settlements in India, depended on his being intercepted: but to prevent his being treated with any rigor, or suffering any indignity, Mr. Abraham, the second in Council of the Factory, was employed to seize him.

“ The town of Grain, which is situated about seventy miles S. E. of Bussora, is governed by an Arab shaik, very much attached to us, but Mr. Abraham knew it would be very difficult to prevail on him to violate the rights of hospitality towards a stranger, and without the shaik's connivance the execution of the project would have been absolutely impracticable, Mr. Abraham went down to Grain in a country boat, accompanied by the captain of one of our ships, and immediately proceeded to the shaik's house, to whom he communicated his business. The Arab at first violently opposed the measure, but being mollified by presents, and also assured that M. du Bourg should not receive any personal injury, he at last acquiesced. When Mr. Abraham knocked at the door, M. du Bourg had retired to rest, but he instantly got up to admit him, thinking he was a person sent from the French Resident, with an answer to his letter. As soon as he discovered the mistake, he attempted to defend himself, but was instantly overpowered and conveyed to the sea-side, where he was put on board the ship that had been sent from Bussora,

“ and was just then come to anchor off the place. He had two
“ packets, one for Pondicherry and another for the Mauritius,
“ which were found ; but M. du Bourg observed to me, that they
“ missed the key of the cypher in which these dispatches were
“ written, by neglecting to search the lining of his clothes. It was
“ perhaps a fortunate circumstance for M. du Bourg that he was
“ taken prisoner ; for his wound, through unskilful management,
“ and the want of proper remedies, was grown extremely bad : nor
“ is it improbable that if he had attempted to proceed in a country
“ boat, the only conveyance that he could have got at Grain, his
“ wound would have occasioned his death, long before the boat
“ could have arrived at any French settlements in India. I made
“ use of these arguments to console him for his misfortunes ; but,
“ zeal for his country, the natural enthusiasm of his disposition,
“ and the hopes given him of promotion, had he executed his com-
“ mission, made him deaf to everything I could say to console
“ him. Disappointed but not discouraged, he was then on his way
“ to Bussora, to proceed over the Great Desert a second time ;
“ which, I was afterwards informed, he passed, with every assist-
“ ance he could receive from the gentlemen of our Factory.”

The reader will perhaps allow me to make a few observations on this interesting Narrative. When I joined the Bussora Factory in the year 1784, Mr. Latouche, the principal actor in this drama, (at least as far as the resolution to seize M. du Bourg went) was still at the head of that Factory : Mr. Abraham was dead. I had therefore frequent opportunities of hearing all the circumstances attending it, from the mouth of the first-mentioned gentleman, who never refused to gratify the curiosity expressed by any of our visitors on the subject. Mr. Latouche was perhaps as benevolent, humane, and generous a being as ever existed ; and he always prefaced his relation of this business, by expressing the pain it gave him to cause a young man, who had already suffered so much, to be seized, and thereby perhaps to destroy for ever all his hopes of advancement in life : and in strict justice to Messrs. Latouche and Abraham, I feel bound to say, that nothing but the deepest sense of duty could have urged them to do what they did ; for they had

only received private, imperfect, and very confused accounts of war having been declared between England and France, which, if those accounts had been untrue, would have caused for the seizure of M. du Bourg, such reclamations, both from the French Ambassador at the Porte, and from the French Government itself at home, as must have caused their ruin.

The narrative of Colonel Capper, generally speaking, is substantially true, but there are some minute interesting circumstances omitted, which I will supply. M. Rousseau was, at that time, French Consul at Bussora, and the Arab, charged with the draft given by M. du Bourg to the Armenian at Grain, carried it to that gentleman, who either hesitated, or refused to honor it: the Arab indignant at this, and not aware of the consequences, immediately determined to see if he could get the money for it from Mr. Latouche, and accordingly carried it to the English Resident. This was the way in which Mr. Latouche first knew that M. du Bourg was at Grain. Captain Sheriff, a remarkably powerful man, was the Commander of the Company's cruiser, which carried Mr. Abraham down to Grain. The cruiser anchored out of sight of the town, and after dark, the Captain and Mr. Abraham pushed off from the vessel for the town, and left the boat and her crew near the beach to receive them on their return, after the business was done. Abraham knocked at the door of the house in which Du Bourg was lodged, and it was agreed between them, that the instant Du Bourg appeared, Sheriff should clasp him in his arms, and Mr. Abraham proceed to search his apartments. M. du Bourg came in his shirt to open the door, and on being seized by Sheriff, asked only to be allowed to retire to put on his drawers; this was refused. Mr. Abraham found the packets and a brace of loaded pistols in Du Bourg's room. Having now everything they wished, they covered Du Bourg with an abba, and carried him to the boat, which pushed off; and on reaching the cruiser, she weighed her anchor and sailed for Bombay; the dispatches thus seized, were never decyphered.

The shaik was for some time inexorable in respect to allowing the seizure of M. du Bourg's person to be made, and at last was

not "*mollified by presents*," but by being told that Du Bourg was a person who had run away from his creditors in Europe, with the design of cheating them. So that it was the old shaik's love of *justice*, and not his *avarice*, that induced him to act as he did; and the reader may judge of this, when told, that some years after, when Shaik Twiney, the great Shaik of the Montifik Arabs, (who rebelled against the Paçha of Bagdad, seized on the town of Bussora, and was afterwards completely defeated by the Paçha in a pitched battle on the banks of the Euphrates, to the northward of Bussora,) took refuge with the Shaik of Grain; the latter, notwithstanding he was offered large bribes on the one hand, and threatened with the whole power of the Paçhalik of Bagdad, on the other, refused to give up his guest. Old Suleiman Paçha, after trying bribes, threats, and every thing else, to effect his purpose, without success, made on the occasion a very remarkable speech:—" *After all, I regard it as a great happiness to have, in case of a rainy day, a person of the temper of the Shaik of Grain, so near me.*"

Now, I must be allowed to add, that M. du Bourg brought the principal part of his misfortunes on himself, for want of knowing the Arabs better, and by the hastiness and rashness of his firing on them. The shot that was fired by the Arabs, was like a shot fired by a vessel to bring another to; and had he submitted, and through his interpreter acquainted the shaik who he was, and what he was, they would have been glad and happy to have released him on the same terms as they afterwards did, even after the murder of their shaik, and have carried him safely either to Bussora, or Grain. Besides, it must have been evident to any who reflected, that the Arabs coming in so large a body, designed to rob without bloodshed. I am fully justified in saying this, because, except the imprudent firing, exactly the same thing happened to myself, in crossing the Great Desert, from Bagdad to Aleppo, in the year 1806; and in twenty minutes after we met "*our friends*," I was comfortably eating a lamb pilau in the tent of the principal person who stopped us.

M. du Bourg, on his arrival at Bussora, on his return to

Europe, was so highly incensed against the French Consul, that he neither visited him, nor took any notice of him, but became a guest at the British Factory, where I am sure I scarce need add, he received every respect and attention.

NOTE V.

“Appointed by His Majesty and the Secret Committee of the East India Company.”—Page 16.

In the month of June 1798, I received an order in Herefordshire, from the Secretary at the India House, to attend the Chairmen, Messrs. Bosanquet and Lushington, as quickly as possible; and on coming to London, I found considerable alarm entertained in respect to the destination of the French fleet which had sailed from Toulon, as well as, that the troops on board of it, were designed to pass through Egypt to India.

The morning after my arrival in London, I was carried by Mr. Bosanquet to Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon, and after several schemes were proposed, of which I respectfully pointed out the insufficiency and inutility, it was settled I should proceed to Bagdad, with an appointment from His Majesty's Ministers, and the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The intent of this appointment, was, in the event of the French influence prevailing at Constantinople, to endeavour to keep the Paçha staunch to us; or if the Porte and ourselves drew together, to make him afford every assistance in his power to his Sovereign.

One of the proposals made to me, was to accompany Commodore Blankett to the Red Sea, as a sort of joint Commissioner with him, to all the Arab powers on the coast of it. This, however, I refused to accept, first, because Blankett, I believe, had never seen an Arab in his life, and consequently knew nothing of their manners and customs; and secondly, because I had seen in the Chairman's parlour at the India House, that the Commodore had more of Hawser Trunnion's disposition in him, than I chose to be connected with—for in a conversation, concerning the passage through the Mosambique Channel, some remarks being made about the

uncertainty, difficulty, and even danger of it; the Commodore very cavalierly exclaimed: "Lord d—n you all, for a parcel of fools together." I offered Mr. Dundas, to go amongst the Arabs by myself; but when I explained to him the services I expected to be able to render at Bagdad, he determined to send me there. God knows, poor Blankett had afterwards enough of the Mosambique Channel.

NOTE VI.

"*Command of his Kiah, Ally Pacha.*"—Page 17.

The predecessor of Ally Paçha, the Kiah, was Ahmed Paçha Kiah, and the last, was one of those extraordinary persons, who now and then appear, and rise to great eminence in the East.

He originally entered the service of Suleiman Paçha, in the very inferior station of a stable boy, from which one may fairly conclude his family was low in the world. On the capture of Bussora by the Persians, Suleiman, who was at that time Governor or Mussaleem, and had defended the town, was sent up to Schyras, as prisoner of war, together with Coja Yacoob, the great Jew *shroff* or banker at Bussora: Ahmed also accompanied his master.

The allowance Kerim Khan made to Suleiman for his sustenance, was not so liberal, as to preclude the necessity of his applying at times to Yacoob for assistance, who in the true spirit of Oriental foresight, never refused to grant it. The go-between on these occasions, was the boy Ahmed, and by these opportunities, he profited, to work himself into great favor, both with his master, and the Jew banker. When Kerim Khan died, and the Persian Government released Suleiman, the banker and the boy returned with him to Bussora, when Suleiman received from the Porte, the rank of Paçha; and the Government of Bussora, reinvested Yacoob with his former office as banker to the Government, and chief administrator of Finance; and promoted Ahmed to the rank of *Ich-agasi*, or gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

Shortly after this, Suleiman was elevated to the great Pachalik of Bagdad as well as Bussora, and Ahmed instantly received the im-

portant and confidential office of *mohurdar* or keeper of the Paçha's seal. It is a rule throughout the Turkish Empire, that on the elevation of a person to the rank of a Paçha of three tails, and on his nomination to one of the superior Governmets, he should appoint a *kiah* or lieutenant, with an application to the Porte, to confer on the person so appointed, the dignity of a Paçha of two tails, and it is very unwillingly that the Port ever allows this rule to be infringed, because considerable perquisites are due, and considerable presents are expected to accompany the grant of such appointment. The merited confidence Suleiman reposed in Ahmed, and his great talents and aptitude for business, rendered Suleiman unwilling to make an appointment of another seal keeper, and Ahmed's situation rendered an immediate application on his part, for his receiving the distinction of two tails, indecent and improper. Suleiman, therefore, on one pretence or another, eluded all orders received from the Porte on the subject, till the beginning of the year 1785, when he nominated his favorite as his *kiah*, who shortly afterwards, received the tails from Constantinople. From this time, to the time of Ahmed's assassination, the whole and entire administration of the affairs of the great Paçhalik of Bagdad, which latterly had received very considerable augmentation of territory, rested on the shoulders of Ahmed: nor was this confidence ever abused, for Ahmed owed his assassination, not to any decrease of favor, or distrust of fidelity to his benefactor, but solely to an intrigue in the Harem, and Ahmed's own unwillingness to shackle himself with a disagreeable wife.

Suleiman Paçha had a daughter who became marriageable about the year 1790: at that time, and frequently afterwards, the Paçha had proposed to marry this lady to his Kiah, and latterly had promised that the marriage should be accompanied by his own retirement to private life, and an application to the Porte for Ahmed's appointment as his successor. The lady according to report, was extremely plain in person, and violent in temper; so much so, as to lead some to suspect, that her mind was not of the soundest. If Ahmed married this lady, her rank required, and she would probably have peremptorily demanded, that he should dismiss his

present harem, amongst which, there was a Georgian lady of singular talent and beauty, of whom Ahmed was deeply enamoured, and in whose society he delighted to spend those hours which he could snatch from the cares of Government. This lady, he found it impossible to part with; he therefore from time to time, framed different excuses, for avoiding the acceptance of the Paçha's offer, and the proposed honor of his daughter's hand.

By some means or other, Ahmed's conduct in the business came to the knowledge of the Paçha's daughter, and the lady, being heartily tired of living in single blessedness, which perhaps, the forms of her father's harem rendered more irksome to her; and feeling, as was natural, not very much pleased that her charms, whatever they might be, should be made light of, resolved to revenge herself on her temporising gallant, and to obtain for herself an establishment of her own. She contrived therefore, by means of some of the Jewish women admitted to the harem, to make known to Ally, a Georgian slave of her father's, and his *kusnadar* or treasurer, her wishes and resolutions; accompanied by a promise, that if he would contrive the means of putting Ahmed out of the way, she would bestow her hand on himself.

One part of Suleiman Paçha's household consisted of between two or three hundred Georgian slaves, forming a select body-guard to the Paçha, and from this class of persons, his predecessors as well as himself, were accustomed to fill up the most important offices of the state. Suleiman, however, by the advice of his Minister, trenched on this custom as much as possible, and consequently, the Kiah was by no means popular with this body: so that Ally ran little risk in disclosing his project to several of them; and had less reason to doubt that they would be ready to assist him in the execution of it. A party of assassins was soon formed against Ahmed, and a few peevish words which one day dropped from Suleiman on the subject of Ahmed, were reported by Ally to his confederates, as a regular command from their master to put the Minister to death.

It is the etiquette of the court of Bagdad, that as soon as the Paçha comes out in the morning from his private apartments of

the Palace, the Kiah should come to him, and take his pleasure on such business as requires to be transacted in the course of the day. At this time, the Paçha is never attended, but by such Georgians as hold particular offices about his person, such as the Treasurer, the Sword-bearer, the Pipe-bearer, the Coffee-bearer, &c. to the number of about nine or ten, and all these Ally had contrived to attach to his interest.

I have already mentioned that the Paçha, when in public, sits at the corner of an elevated Iwan or open room, at the opposite end of which are steps leading to the door of its entrance. It was when Ahmed had commenced to mount these steps, that Ally struck him in the breast with his dagger. The Kiah reeled from the stroke, and staggered to the corner where his master was sitting, making a faint appeal to him for mercy; and though Suleiman on seeing what had happened had covered his face with his shawl, he cried out loudly to spare his minister. The Georgians, however, had gone too far to heed the orders of their master, or to recede from the bloody work they had undertaken; and Ahmed, notwithstanding the Paçha's cries, was absolutely hacked in pieces by the conspirators. The Paçha, violently affected, rose hastily, ran into the harem, sending immediately for Mohammed Bey, an Arab, one of his counsellors, and for the Jew Abdullah, the court banker.

He had an interview with these persons in the intermediate apartments between the harem and the public hall of audience. His first exclamation to them was, "They have killed my adopted son!—they have destroyed my faithful minister Ahmed." He then entered on the consideration of what was proper immediately to do. By the persuasion of Mohammed Bey and the Jew, who begged him to consider that the deed could not be recalled, the Paçha with extreme reluctance was prevailed on to order a public proclamation, that the death of the Kiah was undertaken in consequence of his order, from having made a discovery that Ahmed was endeavouring to supplant him; and as a reward for effecting the murder, he bestowed the hand of his daughter on Ally: the blood-stained nuptials were celebrated the same evening; and the poor old Paçha was left with the Hebrew, unavailingly to bewail

the fate of his favorite, and to lament the loss of his inestimable services. When I came to reside at Bagdad, in 1798, Abdullah became exceedingly useful and very much attached to me, and it was from him I had these particulars ; but this I know of myself, that whenever in the course of business the old man mentioned Ahmed's name to me, the tears started in his eyes ; and on a particular occasion, when the Paçha, the Jew, and myself, were of one opinion as to the remittance of money to the Grand Vizier, then at the head of the Turkish army in Egypt, and Ally Kiah held a contrary one, the Paçha said to the Jew and myself after the Kiah had left the room, " Ally has no more brains than a jackass."

As I had twice to conduct negociations of some intricacy with Ahmed Paçha, and saw him often for some months, I think myself well able to offer the reader a character of this most extraordinary man.

In person, appearance, and manners, he was the completest Turkish gentleman I ever saw ; and by those who had seen both he was considered as being very like Sultan Selim, a circumstance which seemed to give him pleasure, as he always received an allusion to it with peculiar complacency. He retained no trace of the lowness of his early condition ; his face though full, and slightly marked with the small pox, was very handsome, and his smile was more pleasing than it is possible to describe : his figure, as far as the folds of the ample Turkish dress would allow discovery, must have been good, and all his motions were dignified and easy.

In his dress, his table, and domestic establishment, he was particularly nice, splendid, luxurious, and magnificent. His temper appeared most equable, his voice most harmonious—and however he might be agitated or disturbed, his countenance never disclosed the slightest trace of what was passing in his mind. Punishments in Turkey as in Persia, generally are executed, even if capital, before the great man himself, but Ahmed never commanded these to be inflicted, without strongly manifesting how much he was affected by them. He had found time to make himself a most respectable scholar in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic ; and at Constantinople and Tæheran it was acknowledged that none excelled him in the elegance of epistolary composition, whether on the

subject of diplomacy or other affairs of state. Whatever Moham-
medan prejudices he had, he never threw them, as most Turks do,
in the face of the Christians ; always styling the Christians Naza-
renes, and the Jew "Yehoudee," or Jew, carefully avoiding to use
to either the offensive and opprobrious appellative of Giaour or
Infidel. Notwithstanding this, he contrived to stand well with
the most bigotted Mohammedan doctors at Bagdad. By strictly
following the rule, that every one introduced to him could tell him
something useful, it was astonishing to observe the quantity of
information he had accumulated on various subjects, particularly
on European Politics and the French Revolution. The greater
part, however, of his information on the last was not given him
from the purest sources, being generally afforded to him by the
Frenchified Armenian merchants from Constantinople who settled
at Bagdad.

He loved money, as believing it to be what particularly it is in
the East, power, but he parted with it liberally for any purposes
connected with his comforts, luxuries, or reputation. If he gave
his word, I always found it might be depended upon ; but to give
his word was most difficult to prevail on him, unless accompanied
by some saving clause which left future contingencies open to him
without breach of faith. He had an invariable rule when any one
was introduced to him, of saying such a person has told me so
much good of you, that I have long been desirous of seeing you.
In what I had to do with him, I could seldom or ever after the
first time obtain a regular audience on business, but was either
invited to meet him at the gardens, or to be present at some shew
or fête at the palace, or something of that sort, at which time he
would bring forward business as if by chance, and break it off
just at the point which suited his purpose ; always managing with
wonderful adroitness to make you consider as quite sure at the
next meeting to carry your own point, but when that came, you
found to your surprise you had the same ground to go over again
with no better effect. The only way I ever found to bring him to
a conclusion was, when quite certain that the point in debate was
right and tenable, never to allow myself to be prevailed on to
argue it twice, for he had great fluency of language, and a power

of mystifying the plainest things, and of drawing conclusions from your own arguments against yourself—beyond any one I ever did business with. He was repeatedly offered and pressed to take the office of Reis Effendi at Constantinople, but he had a fatal security he should succeed his friend and master in the Paçhalik of Bagdad.

Of Ahmed, Ally was the reverse,---being ignorant, bigotted, irascible, obstinate, ill-mannered, and brutal.

The lively and accomplished author of Anastasius gives the following character of Ahmed Kiah, and also an account of his assassination ; the latter being perfectly fanciful, as I can unreservedly avouch.

“ Nothing, indeed, could be more fascinating than Ahmet’s exterior—his features were fine, his figure noble, his manners dignified yet mild, his wit playful, without pungency—he seemed to promote unrestrained liberty of speech, even where it attacked most directly his opinions and interests ; his own expressions often dropped as if from an unguarded and guileless heart. He spoke with affability to all, and never ceased bewailing the pomp his situation required. No passion could ever be perceived to disturb the serenity of his countenance or the placidity of his temper. He would occasionally perform acts of great liberality ; always expressed his repugnance to harsh or cruel measures, and when compelled by reasons of state to sign the death-warrant, even of his bitterest enemy, shed tears of sympathy which he seemed afraid to show.”

“ But black was the heart wrapped in this fair covering. If Ahmet’s countenance remained ever serene—if no angry word escaped his lip, no passionate gesture ever gave vent to his resentment, his malignant feelings only rankled the more fiercely within his steel-hardened bosom ; his apparent candour was but the snare in which he entrapped the confidence of the unwary. Humble in his manners, his heart swelled with unbounded pride : for every piastre he gave in gifts, his agents doubled their exactions tenfold : his aversions, his hatreds, undiscoverable in the presence of their object, broke out with greater violence in distant times and places. The more he expatiated on the pleasure

“ of pardoning, the more certain it was that he meditated some
“ act of signal revenge ; and if he sighed at being obliged to re-
“ present his master, it was because he longed for Suleiman’s death
“ to become master himself.”

————— “ Mean while tell me what is the news from Bagdad.”

“ Great, cried Feiz-ullah, great, indeed ! I do not ask whether
“ you remember your friend, the Kehayah. Suleiman had toiled
“ so many years to give this faulty diamond a sort of false lustre,
“ that he felt loth to throw away his labor, and to own his choice
“ a bad one. Determined to leave a monument of his might, he
“ was too old to begin a new creation. All the insinuations against
“ Ahmet, therefore, were treated as sheer envy, until a day when
“ there came to hand a something passing hints—a packet from the
“ Reis Effendi, inclosing a letter to the Porte in the Kehayah’s own
“ hand-writing. It represented Suleiman as wholly superannuated ;
“ and the child of his favour only modestly proposed to set him
“ aside, and to step into his place. On receipt of this document, a
“ divan was immediately convened of all the individuals hostile to
“ the Kehayah, and the business laid before them. Suleiman
“ wished only to dismiss his old favorite ; but being with much
“ difficulty made sensible of the danger of this lenity, he signed the
“ Kehayah’s doom. Scarce was the order issued, when Ahmet
“ himself appeared. He suspected some plot against his authority,
“ and came to daunt his enemies. Suleiman gave him his wonted
“ reception, while the Kehayah casting a look of rage around the
“ astonished circle, only seemed to count the new victims he in-
“ tended immolating to his safety. No time was to be lost. Ally
“ Khasnadar boldly rushes forward, and strikes the first blow—all the
“ rest follow. Dropping down on his knee, Ahmet now raises to-
“ wards the Paçha his supplicating hands, but the Paçha had thrown
“ a shawl over his face, in order not to see the execution, and in an
“ instant the favourite was dispatched. His mangled body was
“ thrown out on the steps of the Divan, remained exposed during
“ the whole day to glut the greedy eyes of the populace ; and his
“ head, added the Tartar, pointing to a little bundle tied behind him,
“ I have here. As it has been carefully pickled, I entertain no
“ doubt of carrying it safe to the Sultan according to my instructions.”

The same agreeable author notices the Jew Abdullah, as follows :

“ A descendant of one of the tribes of Israel was the secret
 “ instigator of this attack upon our liberties. Formerly Chief of
 “ the Customs at Bussora, the Jew Abdullah had been removed
 “ from that situation on some complaint of the English factory.
 “ He was since become, at Bagdad, not only the cashier, but
 “ Chief Counsellor to the Kehayah, whose financial operations he
 “ entirely managed. Ahmet would sooner have affronted many a
 “ great man in office than his little Jew. Abdullah leaving his
 “ ancient wife with his old employment at Bussora, had entirely
 “ new furnished his harem at Bagdad ; and it was said that in
 “ honour of the young spouse with whom he adorned his new
 “ establishment, he abstained three whole days from usury, the
 “ sabbath, however, included. Little had this proof of love
 “ availed him. The fascinating Sarah made but an inadequate
 “ return for such sacrifices ; and while the husband passed his
 “ mornings with the Kehayah, one or other of the Kehayah’s
 “ officers used to beguile the solitude of his wife.”

I cannot help attempting to defend my old friend Abdullah’s connubial honor, by saying, that in the course of my long residence and visits at Bagdad, I never heard the slightest suspicion breathed against the honour or chastity of “ the fascinating Sarah ;” but as Abdullah was the first instance in that part of the world of a Jew (although the Mosaical Law allows it) taking two wives at a time, the Jewish ladies of Bagdad and Bussora were extremely violent in their abuse of poor Abdullah ; and my banker’s wife, who came once with her husband to thank me for some services I had done them, plainly told me, “ she hoped that “ he would be cuckolded ten times a day, for he richly deserved it.”

NOTE VII.

“ *The Government of Suleiman Paçha.*”—Page 17.

This person was the Musaleem or Governor of Bussora, and defended the town against the besieging Persians under Sadik Khan Zund. When the city was at last surrendered, the Governor and the principal Ions were sent prisoners to Schyras. On

the death of the Vakeel, Sadik Khan left Bussora, and assumed the government of Persia, and shortly afterwards sent orders to the Persian garrison to evacuate the city. At the request of the inhabitants, and through the mediation of the English Factory, Suleiman and the Ions were released from captivity, and returned to Bussora, which, in this manner, was restored to the Turks. The Porte immediately afterwards appointed Suleiman, Paçha of Bussora. Ahmed, the Paçha of Bagdad, was deprived of life nearly at the same time, and thus that great Paçhalik became vacant.

Suleiman aspired to succeed Ahmed. The Paçhalik of Bagdad was indebted in several large sums of money to the East India Company, and Suleiman himself was largely indebted to several individuals composing their Factory there. It was judged, therefore, that to support Suleiman in his pretensions to the Government of Bagdad, was the most likely means of speedily recovering these debts. His interests at Constantinople were, in consequence, strongly recommended by the Bussora Factory, to the care and good-will of H. M. Ambassador at the Porte, and a very large sum of money was remitted to His Excellency, to be distributed amongst the great officers of the Divan, according to his judgment and discretion.

After the firman in his favor had been received, and he had taken possession of his new additional Paçhalik, Suleiman required an account of how the money had been employed, and to whom it had been given. Sir R. A. was then the Ambassador at Constantinople, and after some little delay the required account was transmitted to the Paçha. In it were several sums inserted as having been given to the Walidah, or Sultan's mother, to the Grand Vizier, to the Janissary Aga, to the Kiah Bey, &c. &c.; the account closing with an item of 20,000 piastres, (which in those days was full 2,000*l.*;) given to a person whose name it was not proper to mention. The Paçha repeatedly desired to know the name of this person, but never could obtain farther intelligence on the subject; so that to the end of his life he made no scruple, when he was displeased at any business between the Factory and himself, of pettishly accusing the Ambassador of having pocketed this

money. Of Mr. Latouche's services to him on this important occasion he always expressed the most grateful sense, and never mentioned his name but with regard and respect.

Suleiman had a great deal of waggery about him. It so happened that I had a guest arrived at Bagdad to whom I was anxious to shew the flight of the Shaheen hawk, which, when let off from the hand, skims the surface of the ground till it comes almost under its prey, and then mounts nearly perpendicularly to seize it. Of this species of hawk I was not at the time possessed. I ordered, therefore, my hawkman to make enquiry amongst all the officers of the Paçha who were allowed to carry and fly hawks, if any one of them had a hawk of this species to sell. The enquiry soon reached the old man's ears. Just at that moment he had one of these hawks which fled shy, that is, that fled up to his game. was afraid to attack it, and returned to his master's hand. This bird was given by him to one of his Ich-Agas or Gentlemen of the Chamber, and he was told he would carry it to a good market by offering it to me. It was brought, and with it such a character, as justified asking and giving a high price for it. I purchased it, and my friend and myself left Bagdad for a few days, and pitched tents near the Ruins of Ctesiphon, where in those days game of all sorts was to be found in abundance. The next morning the Shaheen was soon put to trial. He started beautifully and determinedly, but on approaching his game, which was a wild goose, which put itself in the attitude of defence, he turned off, fled back, and seated himself on the hawkman's hand. A second trial was made—a second failure—a third trial took place, and a third failure. I accused my hawkman of having over-fed the bird since he had been in our possession. He declared he had not. All the night the bird was kept awake by lights, and looking glasses placed before him, and no food given him. Next morning he was again taken out, and though the bird was most evidently eager for food, on being launched after his game, he behaved exactly in the same manner as he had done before.

After we returned to Bagdad, I had occasion to see the Paçha on business, and when the conference had closed, and I was retiring, the old man called me back, and said, "Ho, ho, I hear you had

“ fine sport with your new hawk the other day—you must have made an excellent bargain.”—“ So far from it,” I replied, “ that I was thinking of applying either to your Highness or the Minister, to oblige the person of whom I bought him, to return me my money and take back his bird—he flies shy.”—“ If that is all,” said the Paçha, “ you have no just cause of complaint, because every one knows that an Osmanlee, (*i. e.* a Turk) never sells a good hawk, a good horse, a good sword, or a pretty slave; therefore, those who buy any of these articles from them, are held to go to market aware of this, and with their eyes open,” and laughingly added, “ I am sorry in my conscience I cannot afford you any assistance.”

When I returned from the palace, I related to my hawkman what had happened, he said, “ never mind sir, the Paçha is an old rogue, but ten to one we shall be up to him before the season’s over.”

Not long after, my hawkman heard that the Pacha, on the last day he was out with his hawks, had, in a very long and hard chase, lost the best of his *bala-bauns* or hawks, that are trained to fly after the antelope. Ally Aga, for that was my hawkman’s name, came with great joy in his countenance to give me this intelligence, beseeching me to go out hunting early the next morning, as he thought it very likely we might fall in with, and retrieve the Paçha’s *bala-baun*. Sure enough this happened. The bird was kept very safe and secret for more than a fortnight, when Ally Aga walked out with him on his hand intentionally towards the palace. He was almost immediately accosted by one of the Paçha’s gentlemen, who asked him where his master got the bird he carried. The reply was—“ it was a young raw bird sent to his master by Meer Ally Khan, the Governor of Bunder Reig.” “ By my father’s soul,” replied the other, “ I do not believe a word of it—I will swear it is the bird the Paçha lost about a fortnight ago.”—“ Forbear to do that, your honor,” replied my hawkman, “ for by swearing to a lie you will put your father’s soul and your own to great risk.”

Ally Aga returned home, acquainted me whom he had met, and with the conversation which had passed between them, adding,

“ we must immediately prepare for what will happen. I must “ change the color of the new bala-baun.” He, therefore, commenced washing him daily in the strongest grounds of coffee, and playing some particular tricks with the wing feathers. In a few days, as had been foreseen, the Paçha sent for the Linquest of the Residency, and told him he had great reason to believe the resident (myself) had found his favorite bala-baun, and that he was in my possession. I gave the Paçha to understand, that any one whom he would send for that purpose, should freely examine every hawk I had. It was not long before a person did come for this purpose. The whole of my birds were shewn him. He was particularly struck with the bala-baun, and examined him most minutely; and finished by saying, “ if the color of the two birds, “ and the wing feathers were not so very different in each bird, I “ should swear this to be the Paçha’s bird; as it is, I am convinced “ it is not.”

Not long after this, I had occasion to pay the Pacha a visit of ceremony, and as I was coming away, I said, “ I hope your “ Highness is satisfied about your bala-baun.” “ Yes, I am,” said he, “ but pretty much in the same manner as you were satisfied about your shaheen—you were taken in when you bought “ your shaheen, and the fool I sent to examine your birds, knew “ nothing of the business on which he was sent. I am sure that “ your shaheen fled away with my bala-baun, (*i. e.* was the occasion of losing it)—by my life tell me if it is not so—if it is so, “ you are welcome to keep the bird.”—“ So called on, please “ your Highness,” said I, “ the bird is your’s, and shall be sent “ to you immediately. I confess I felt much hurt at being so “ much joked about my unfortunate purchase, and I was determined, if I could, to return the compliment to you in kind.” The Pacha was greatly pleased at his bird being returned to him, but ever afterwards when I made any proposition to him he did not exactly like, he would say with a smile, “ cunning Fringee, “ (*i. e.* cunning European) what trick are you going to play me “ now ?”

Suleiman was, perhaps, as fine a specimen of a Turkish Paçha as ever existed. Born a Georgian, he was possessed of great

manly beauty—his stature and form were such as to give the greatest effect to the magnificence of the Turkish dress—his countenance had a strong expression of reflection and humanity—he was as expert in all military and field exercises and sports as those who made them their employment and profession—sincere and warm in the exercise and belief of his own religion, he was as tolerant as a Turk could be towards those whom an article of his own faith bound him to consider as infidels—exact and economical in his expences, he was accused of avarice, but when he considered his country to be in danger, he freely and readily parted with that which he had amassed slowly and by degrees. I can vouch (for it passed through mine and the Jew Abdullah's hands) to his having sent, first and last, to the assistance of the Eusoof Paçha, the Grand Vizier, during his campaign in Egypt against the French, half a million of pounds sterling in money. His court was splendid, and the establishment of his household was on the scale of that of a great sovereign. In the early part of his life he had received many favors and great assistance from the English, and to the very last moment he acknowledged these; and any favor asked for an English gentleman travelling through his Paçhalik, was sure to be gracefully and cheerfully granted.

The old man, like the Philosopher Square, had a humorous bye-word of the fitness of things; and in business with him, if you could touch this string in the right place, it would always respond in tune. Mr. Latouche had made him large advances in money, both for obtaining the Paçhalik, and other purposes; and when Mr. Latouche on his way to Europe proceeded to his camp, a very considerable balance was due to him, the payment of which the Paçha wished to postpone. Hearing this, Mr. L. said, “Is it fit your Highness that I should, at 5,000 miles distance, say, the Paçha of Bagdad owes me money?”—“No!” said the old man, “Ahmed (who was then his treasurer, and afterwards was the famous Kiah Paçha) “pay Mr. Latouche directly.” It has been already said, the disastrous event of the plunder of Kerbelaie by the Wahauby, broke the old man's heart; and I was assured that when the account of it was first announced to him, the Paçha exclaimed, “It is not fit I should live longer.”

NOTE VIII.

"*Nothing in the dress of the Envoy.*"—Page 26.

LETTER AND DRESS OF THE WAHAUBY ENVOY.

The Wahaubys in their dress strictly observed all the sumptuary precepts enjoined in the Koran, but there was one particular part of the dress by which a person of this sect was always known. The Bedouins or inhabitants of the desert universally wear on their heads a sort of handkerchief, called *keffie*. This is thrown flat on the head, being first folded to a triangle, the corners of which are left to hang on the neck and shoulders; the inferior Shaiks over this hoist round the head a piece of cotton cloth, woven with narrow stripes of red; the greater men of the tribe a Cashmire shawl, and these sometimes in full dress wear a crimson cap with a black tassel at the end, called a *fass*—the best and finest of these are manufactured in Barbary. Of the keffies, there are great manufactures at Bagdad and Damascus, and they are generally woven with a border in which there is a mixture of silk and cotton;* but those made to be sold at Dereyha or to the Wahaubys, are wove without any mixture of silk, and, therefore, by looking at the keffie an Arab wears, it is easy to distinguish whether he is a Wahauby or not. It is not the fashion to change these keffies, but on the great feast of *el Fether*, which commences on the close of the month of Ramadan or the fast; the consequence is, that they are often in no very cleanly state.

For the epistolary style of the Wahaubys, it is impossible to present the readers with a better specimen, than the letter written between twelve and thirteen centuries ago by the Calif Abubeker to the Arabian Princes of the day, inviting them to the invasion of Syria. The copy of this letter is given by the learned Ockley, in his History of the Saracens, and is as follows:—

* "An Arab who had not embraced this creed would assuredly have some part of his dress of silk, either the kerchief round his head would be interwoven with silk, or his gown would be sewed with silk." B. M. W. p. 214.

“ In the name of the most merciful God.”

“ Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kobâpha,* to the rest of the true
“ believers. Health, and happiness, and the mercy, and blessing
“ of God be upon you. I praise the Most High God, and I pray
“ for his Prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint, that I intend to
“ send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of
“ the Infidels. And I would have you know that the fighting for
“ religion is an act of obedience to God.”

The agreeable author I have before alluded to, makes his worth-
less hero Anastasius pay a visit to Abdul-Aziz, the Wahauby
Prince, at Dereyha; and as I am confident the description of this
visit, though fictitious, is in perfect good keeping, I shall extract
a part of it, and I can only heartily wish it may convey to the
reader as lively an idea of the Court of Dereyha as it did to me.

“ No sooner had my person and Mansoor's presents been made
“ fit to offer themselves before Abd-ool-Azeez than I requested an
“ audience in all due form. This was immediately granted. It took
“ place in the open air at the gates of what I needs must call, more
“ from the dignity of its tenant than its own, a palace; and the
“ Schaich received me squatted on a rush mat. Notwithstanding
“ his advanced age of seventy-five, he still displayed good features,
“ and a handsome, though somewhat harsh and forbidding counte-
“ nance, and through all the affected meanness of his dress shone
“ a lofty and commanding air. I felt a sensation of awkwardness
“ at the richness of my own apparel, so much exceeding that of
“ the high personage whose favor I came to seek. On this subject,
“ however, I might have spared myself any uneasiness. The
“ Schaich seemed to contemplate my glitter—if noticed by him at
“ all, with perfect indifference; and when I presented to him the
“ gifts of Mansoor he cast upon them the careless survey of a
“ man who considers such things as beneath his attention. The
“ letter certainly puzzled him. He seemed to feel as if it ought
“ not, and he saved himself by his supercilious glance the em-
“ barrasment of owning that he knew not what to make of it.

* These were Abubeker's sir-names, and D'Herbelot tells us—“ Le second
“ titre que Mahmet luy donna est celui d'Atik, qui signifie, Delivré du feu
“ d'enfer et par conséquent prédestiné.”

“ When, at the conclusion of my harangue, I repeated to him the
 “ sentence, and shewed him the signet imparted to me by his
 “ emisary at Bagdad, his brow unfurled, and his features relaxed
 “ into a more affable expression. Still he remained, after I had
 “ done a few moments, musing and silent. At last ‘ Stranger,’
 “ said he, in a slow and deliberate manner, ‘ wonder not, if an
 “ old warrior, accustomed to treachery and deceit, should not feel
 “ immediate confidence in Mansoor’s protestations. If the light
 “ of truth has really penetrated his heart, the Lord be thanked,
 “ especially by himself who must be the greatest gainer, since the
 “ choicest blessings of heaven both here and hereafter never fail
 “ to reward sincere conversion—but I know the faith of the Turks,
 “ and I distrust the very Arab whose breath mingles with theirs.
 “ Mansoor’s artful conduct may have deceived, and it is only on
 “ trial that I shall think myself secure of his sincerity. The de-
 “ cisive hour, (added he, starting from his seat) is perhaps not far
 “ off, when all who appear not for us shall be treated as if they
 “ had been against us. The spears already are pointing, and at a
 “ distance which no other eye can reach, I already see the war-
 “ dust rising,”

I have been principally induced to give the above quotation,
 because, during my long residence at Bagdad, I was assured, by
 more than one person, that whenever Abdul-aziz spoke of the
 Turks, it was customary for him to work himself almost to frenzy,
 and that he then made use of nearly the last words mentioned by
 Anastasius.

If it were not impossible that my humble judgment could add
 either to the author’s fame, or his pleasure, I would say, that with
 all the descriptions of persons, manners, and places, which he gives,
 (of those known to me, and those not a few) I am delighted with
 their correctness and vividness. Burckhardt gives a description of
 the mansion or palace of the Wahauby chief, which, as it agrees
 with the account I received from persons who had visited it, I shall
 give in the words of that very intelligent and enterprising traveller.

“ The mansion of the Wahauby chief stands on the mountain
 “ about five minutes walk from the town; it is spacious but without

“ any splendid apartments ; all the married members of the reign-
 “ ing family have their own chambers, and there are many rooms
 “ for guests, with whom the house is constantly filled ; for all the
 “ chiefs of tribes, who come to Dereyah on business, are invited to
 “ the mansion or palace of the great Shaik. There are not any
 “ Khans, or public inns, so that every stranger quarters himself
 “ upon some inhabitant, and the people of Dereyah are proverbially
 “ hospitable. The immediate neighbourhood is barren, yielding
 “ only some date trees. Dereyah is supplied with provisions
 “ chiefly from Dhoroma, a large and populous village, one day’s
 “ journey to the east, or north east.”

NOTE IX.

“ *The lamentable business at Kerbela.*”—Page 27.

Paragraph of a letter from the Resident at Bagdad, to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated Bagdad.

“ The enclosed copies A and B, of political dispatches, from me
 “ to the Governor-General, contain so ample a statement of affairs
 “ here, that I have little to trouble you with in addition to them,
 “ farther than to mention that the most credible accounts of the
 “ value of the plunder obtained by the Wahaubys at Imaum
 “ Hossein, *i. e.* Kerbela, amount to three millions of piastres.”

Extract of a letter from the Resident at Bagdad to the Governor-General, dated Bagdad, May 5, 1802.

“ A number of the wretched victims of the affair of Meshed
 “ Hossein, mostly poor widows, and fatherless children, have come
 “ within these few days to Kasemeen. I sent 1,300* piastres to
 “ be distributed amongst them, which, at the same time that it was

* In addition to this, which was charged to the East India Company, the subscription of the Persians, for the relief of their brethren carried into captivity, was entirely managed by me, and assisted by the influence which my public character gave me at Bagdad, we had the pleasure to restore to their families and country, between two and three hundred of these miserable captives, every one of whom wishing to return into Persia, I paid the passage of. He who is acknowledged to have been the wisest of men has told us,—“ Cast thy bread upon the waters: for after many days thou shalt find it.” *The book of God uniformly speaks immutable truth*;—I think myself fortunate in having always believed it to do so; but if I had wanted proof of it, that proof, in this instance, was amply afforded me in Persia, the last time I was there.

“ a most seasonable relief to the poor sufferers, will, in future, if I
 “ may trust report, be very beneficial to the British interests in
 “ Persia. A tradition, acknowledged for fact amongst the Persians,
 “ has given this little donation a particular and very singular
 “ effect.”

The tradition acknowledged for fact in Persia, alluded to in my letter to the Governor-General, I shall give in the words of my old and worthy friend, and fellow-traveller, Colonel William Franklin, of the Bengal establishment. History, perhaps, does not contain a more affecting and tragical story than the misfortunes of Hossein in the plains of Kerbela.

“ On the death of the Caliph Ali, who was assassinated at Cufa,
 “ Mohweia, of the house of Ommia, succeeded to the Caliphat,
 “ which he had disputed with Ali during his life time. Mohweia
 “ dying shortly after, was succeeded by his eldest son, Yezzeed.
 “ In the interval, the inhabitants of Cufa had sent a solemn em-
 “ bassy to Hossein, at Medina, requesting him to come and take
 “ possession of the government, giving assurance of their faithful
 “ support. Upon this assurance, Hossein determined to set for-
 “ wards, at the same time taking with him the whole of his
 “ family (excepting his youngest daughter who was at that time
 “ sick.) He began his march* to Cufa on the 8th of Zulhuj,
 “ accompanied by a considerable body of troops. Intelligence of
 “ this being carried to Yezzeed who was then at Damascus, he sent
 “ orders to Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, to assemble an army
 “ and to crush the rising rebellion, by cutting off Hossein and his
 “ followers. Obeidollah in obedience to the command of his
 “ master, sent his deputy, Ibn Saad, with ten thousand men,
 “ giving him express orders to intercept Hossein in his route.
 “ The army, in consequence, began their march; and Obeidollah
 “ remaining in the city, took care by seizing the heads of the

* It was on this journey that Hossein saw, or imagined he saw, a wraith or warning spectre, which Oakley relates as follows:—

“ When night came on he ordered his men to provide as much water as they
 “ should have occasion for, and continued his march in the night. As he went
 “ on he nodded a little, and waking on a sudden said:—‘ *We belong to God,
 “ and to him we return.*’ I saw a horseman who said:—‘ *Men travel by night,
 “ and the destinies travel by night towards them.*’ This I know to be a
 “ messenger of our deaths.”

“faction, entirely to quell the insurrection, by which means the
 “Cufeans perceiving the situation of affairs, regardless of the
 “oaths and promises they had made, treacherously left the un-
 “happy Prince to his fate, for which behaviour they are cursed
 “by the Persians and all the followers of Ali to this day.
 “Hossein with his army had not advanced far, before intelligence
 “was brought him, that the enemy had taken their station between
 “him and the river Euphrates, which lay in his intended route,
 “by means of which he was entirely cut off from water, an event
 “of the most distressing nature in the sultry climate of Mesopo-
 “tamia, where from the violence of the heat, the weary traveller,
 “even when supplied with water, can scarcely exist. This was
 “the primary cause of all the misfortunes which befel him;—his
 “men disheartened at the idea of perishing with thirst, forsook
 “him in great numbers, deserting so very fast, that in a few days
 “his force was reduced to the inconsiderable number of seventy-
 “two persons; among whom were several of his own kindred,
 “particularly his brother Abbas Ali, his nephew Casim, the son
 “of his brother Hassan, his own son, Zein-ul-Abudeen, a youth of
 “twelve years of age, and his two infant children, Akbar and
 “Asker; of the females were his daughter Seekeena, his sister
 “Zeinab, and his aunt Kolsoom. In this situation, continual
 “skirmishes and distresses thickening upon him, were finally ter-
 “minated on the 10th Mohurram, when Ibn Saad, advancing with
 “his whole force, surrounded this little troop, and they were cut to
 “pieces, after fighting most desperately. Asker Hossein’s infant
 “son was killed by an arrow in his father’s lap,* and Hossein

* “Quite tired out, he (Hossein) sat down at the door of his tent,
 “and took his little son Abdollah on his lap, who was presently killed with an
 “arrow. Hossein took his hand full of the child’s blood, and throwing it up
 “towards heaven, said, ‘*O Lord! if thou withholdest help from us from
 “Heaven, give it to those that are better, and take vengeance upon the wicked.*’
 “At last he grew extremely thirsty, and whilst he was drinking, he was
 “shot in the mouth with an arrow. He then lifted up his hands, which were
 “both full of blood, and prayed very earnestly. Then Shamer encouraged
 “some of the stoutest of his men to surround him:—at the same time a
 “beautiful child, with jewels in his ears, came to embrace him, and had his
 “hand cut off with a sword; to whom Hossein said, ‘thy reward, child, is
 “with God, thou shalt go to thy pious forefathers.’ Then they surrounded
 “him, and he threw himself into the middle of them, charging sometimes
 “on the left and sometimes on the right, and which soever way he turned

“ himself, at length exhausted with fatigue, and fainting under a
 “ multitude of wounds, fell ; his head was immediately cut off,
 “ and the enemy’s troops then rushing into his tent, began a general
 “ plunder, and took prisoners the remaining son of Hossein, who
 “ was sick in bed, together with the female branches of the family
 “ already mentioned, bereaving them at the same time of their
 “ ornaments and jewels, and treating them in the most insulting
 “ manner. In a few days after they were all conveyed to Damascus,
 “ with the head of Hossein, to be presented to the Caliph Yezzeed.

“ The tradition goes that at this period an Ambassador of one
 “ of the European states, happened to reside at the Caliph’s Court,
 “ who, on the arrival of the prisoners, was struck with compassion
 “ at the miserable appearance they made, and asked Yezzeed who
 “ they were ; the Caliph replied that they were of the family of
 “ the prophet Mahomed, and that the head was the head of Hossein,
 “ the son of Ali, whom he had caused to be put to death for his
 “ rebellion ; whereupon the Ambassador rose up and reviled the
 “ Caliph very bitterly, for thus treating the family of his own
 “ prophet. The haughty Yezzeed, enraged at this affront, ordered
 “ the Ambassador to go himself and bring him the head of Zein-
 “ ul-abudeen, on pain of immediate death ; this, however, the
 “ Ambassador flatly refused, and as the Persians believe, embracing
 “ the head of Hossein, turned Mussulman, on which he was im-
 “ mediately put to death by the command of Yezzeed.”

I have read some where, and I cannot now recollect where, that
 the ambassador here mentioned was a person sent from the Greek
 Emperor, who happened to be present on the arrival at Damascus
 of these miserable captives : be this as it may, the Persians think

“ himself, they flew off like so many deer before a lion. His sister, Zeinab,
 “ the daughter of Fatima, came and said, ‘ I wish the heavens would fall
 “ upon the earth!’ then turning to Amer, she asked him, ‘ if he could stand
 “ by and see Hossein killed.’ Whereupon tears trickled down his beard, and
 “ he turned his face away from her. Nobody offered to meddle with him till
 “ Shamer set them on again, with reproaches and curses ; one of them for
 “ fear of Shamer, threw a lance at him, but made it fall short, because he
 “ would not hurt him. At last one wounded him upon the hand, a second
 “ upon the neck, whilst a third thrust him through with a spear. When he
 “ was dead they cut off his head ; and when the corpse was searched, there
 “ were found upon it three-and-thirty wounds and four-and-thirty bruises.”—
Ockley, Hist. Sar. v. 2.

the interference and conduct of the European was much to his honor, and in the scenic representation of this tragedy on the tenth of Moharrum, the character of the European is never omitted. I have twice happened to be in Persia at this epoch, and each time it cost me a suit of clothes, to dress out the representative of this important personage. The Persians, if they can, prevail on an Armenian to play this part of the sacred drama. The reader who may wish for a more detailed account of this lamentable catastrophe, will find it in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens; and though quaintly told, if he reads it without being sensibly affected, he has much stronger nerves than I am possessed of.

When the head of Hossein, and the prisoners, were carried before Obeidollah, the Governor of Cufa, he treated both the one and the other with great indignity; but, on their arrival at Damascus, Yezzeed is said to have expressed sorrow at the death of Hossein, and ultimately sent the women and children to Medina honorably attended.

Ockley has a story on this subject which has always pleased and affected me so much, that I cannot repress the desire I feel to lay it before the reader.

“The person to whose care Yezid had committed them, behaved himself so civilly and respectfully to them all the way, (for they travelled in the night as well as in the day, and he was very vigilant over them) that Phatemah said to her sister Zeinab: ‘Sister, this Syrian hath behaved himself so kindly to us, do not you think we ought to make him a present?’—‘Alas!’ said Zeinab, ‘we have nothing to present him withal but our jewels.’—‘Then,’ said the girl, ‘let us give him them:’ she consented, and they took off their bracelets, and sent them to him with an apology, begging of him to accept of them as a token of their respect for his courtesy: he modestly refused them, with this generous answer: ‘If what I have done had been only with regard to this world, a less price than your jewels had been a sufficient reward; but what I did was for God’s sake, and upon the account of your relation to the Prophet, God’s peace be upon him.’ When they came to Medina, there was such lamentation made between them and the rest of the family of Hashem, as is not to be expressed.”

Notwithstanding the Persians so confidently assert that the body of Hossein was buried at Kerbela, and that the remains of it lie under the dome erected over it by the first sultan of the Bovidé race, (Abab-ed-dowlah) there are strong reasons for doubting whether such is the fact. Ockley, from a MS. in Archbishop Laud's Collection, says, "then they rode their horses over Hossein's body backwards and forwards so often, that they trampled it into the very ground;" and afterwards, apparently from the same authority, says, "some pretend to shew his burying place near the river Kerbela; others say there are no footsteps of it remaining."*

Ockley, on the authority of Abulpheda, says:—"There are different reports concerning the head; some say it was sent to Medina, and buried by his mother; others that it was buried at Damascus, in a place called the garden-gate, from whence it was removed to Ascalon, and afterwards, by the caliphs of Egypt, to Grand Cairo, where they interred it, and erected a monument over it, which they called the sepulchre of Hossein the Martyr. The Egyptian caliphs, who called themselves Phatemites, and had possession of Egypt from before the year 400 till after the year 660, pretend that Hossein's head came into Egypt after the five hundredth year of the Hegirah; but the Imams or the learned say there is no foundation for this story of theirs, but that they only intended by it to make their pretence to the nobility of their extraction pass more current, since they called themselves Phatemites, as being descended from Mohammed's daughter Phatemah,"† (who was Hossein's mother.)

* D'Herbelot, in the Life of Motavakkel the tenth caliph, tells us: "L'an 236, H. Motavakkel, qui s'était déclaré hautement l'ennemi d'Ali et de toute sa postérité, défendit sous de rigoureuses peines les pèlerinages qui se faisaient à son tombeau, et ordonna peu après que le tombeau de Houssain, fils d'Ali, qui était dans la Plaine de Kerbela, où il avait été tué, fût entièrement rasé; et que, en effacer entièrement tous les vestiges, il ne se contenta pas d'en faire labourer la terre, mais il y fit passer encore un canal d'eau dessus.

"Les Schiites, ou sectateurs d'Ali, qui donnent à ce sépulchre de Houssain le nom de Maschad Moccades, Moali, Mozzeki, c'est-à-dire le lieu saint, sublime, et pur, où Houssain, qu'ils regardent comme un martyr, a souffert la mort, disent que Motavakkel fut frustré de son attente, et qu'il ne fut jamais possible de conduire l'eau du canal jusqu'à ce tombeau, et qu'elle s'arrêta par respect à sa vûe; ce qui fit que l'on lui donna le nom de Haïr, qui signifie étonné, et respectueux, nom qui a passé jusqu'au sépulchre même de Houssain, à cause d'une telle merveille."

† The account D'Herbelot gives of the head is this: "La tête de Houssain

Malcolm says, I know not on what authority, that *forty days* after the death of the Imaum, the head was brought back from Damascus, and buried at Kerbela : it is certain the Persians commemorate this event on the 20th of the month of Sefer, but I consider it to be equally certain it never took place. Of these and such-like tales may be said

————— “Isti *fabulæ* librum
 “Persimilem, cujus, velut ægri somnia vanæ
 “Fingentur species.”

Translation, *ad literam*, of a note written by Hajee Hossein, a merchant residing at Kazemeen, near Bagdad, to Harford Jones, Esq. Political Resident at the Court of the Paçha of Bagdad, which I am indebted to the politeness of the East India Company for permission to take a copy from their records.

An Account of what in these times happened at Imaum Hossein.

On Wednesday the 18th of Zilhijeh, (2nd April) news reached Imaum Hossein that the Wahaubys were arrived. The inhabitants of the town were some of them on pilgrimage, (at Meshed Ally) and some in the town ; and when the above intelligence was received, every one of those at Imaum Hossein hastened towards the gates ; and a person then present, on whose veracity dependence may be placed, reports, that at that time he was on the tower of the gate which fronts towards the Kimeh Gah,* which being an elevated situation, he perceived the Wahaubys at a distance, who, according to the best of his judgment, amounted to between 6 and 7000 camels, and about 400 or 500 horsemen, who, when they drew near to the gardens surrounding the town, dismounted, and pitched about ten or twelve tents, amongst which was a green tent, about which they all collected, and divided their forces into three parts,—one part of which marched to the northward, one to the southward, and the other towards the Kimeh Gah gate.

“fut envoyée par Obeidollah à Sezid, qui lui insulta, et ne permit qu’avec peine qu’elle fut enterrée dans la ville de Damas. Elle fut mise d’abord dans un lieu nommé Bab-al-faradis, la porte des jardins, d’où elle fut transportée à Ascalon en Palestine, et de là au Caire, par les Khalifes fathemites, maîtres de la Syrie, et de l’Egypte, dans une mosquée bâtit exprès, sous le nom de Maschehad Houssain, c’est-à-dire le sépulchre du martyr Houssain.”

* The place where Hossein’s tent, during the battle, was supposed to be pitched.

Between this gate and near to the city, is a caravanserai, built by the present Paçha of Bagdad, of which they took possession, and began to fire at the tower of the Kimeh Gah gate, and at length made a breach in the wall. The Nakeeb, whose name is Syed Mortizeh, and the Governor of the city, Moollah Omar, fled from another gate; and the inhabitants, seeing this, every one began to occupy himself in providing means for his own safety; and the Wahaubys entered the city, putting to death whomsoever they met in the street, until they arrived at the outer wall of the court before the sacred tomb, where they found the gates shut, which, notwithstanding all the endeavours they used for that purpose, they found impossible to force.

Seeing this, they took possession of a house belonging to a person named Hajee Reza, which adjoined the outer wall of the tomb; in which having made a hole, they got into the area before the tomb itself, and here they put about thirty or forty persons to death, and first broke to pieces the rails of the sacred tomb, which front the door where they entered; they then broke to pieces the case of the tomb, which, in the time of Kerim Khan, was a work of seven years labour; and then broke the looking-glasses, each of which was two *guz* (7 feet) in length, and brought from India.

After this, the four little domes which had been the work of different Beglerbegees, and were ornamented with superb looking-glasses, were broken to pieces; and the walls, which were cased with plates of gold, ornamented with lapis lazuli, were entirely destroyed.

And they carried away the two treasuries, containing the legacies of different emperors and kings to the sacred tomb, and the gold and silver candlesticks, the embroidered curtains, and the carpets; but one treasury, which was rather higher than the rest, escaped their ravage; and most people imagine that the treasury which escaped is very inferior in point of value to that which has been plundered, but some are of a contrary opinion, and God only knows the truth.

Besides this, the gates, which were covered with plates of gold and silver, they broke to pieces, and the windows, whose sashes were gold, they carried away. They also on the terrace of

the tombs put to death about thirty or forty persons, together with the four treasurers.

Moreover they destroyed about one half of the great dome of the tomb, which was constructed with copper bricks, thickly covered with plates of gold, the donation of the present King of Persia, and carried them away. They massacred about four or five hundred persons in the apartments which compose the edifice of the tombs, the bodies of some of whom they burnt.

And in that part of the town which fell into their hands, which was more than two-thirds, they shewed no mercy, but put every body to death, stripping the women quite naked, plundering and carrying away whatever they found in the houses.

They also beat and tormented the women, to make them discover whatever was hid in their houses, and few of them escaped without wounds, so that more than two-thirds of the town were treated in this manner. The men and women slaves they carried away with them; and they employed themselves in this business from the morning to the ninth hour (evening) at which time they evacuated the place and returned to the desert; and the number killed much exceeds 3000 people,* but the greatest part were killed in their houses, therefore the exact number cannot easily be come at.

True translation and copy.

HARFORD JONES.

I find a detailed account of the plunder given in a note to M. Mengin's book, by M. Jomard,—on what authority I know not. I was British Resident at the Paçha's court at the time, and could not procure any such account which I could depend on.

“ On trouva placés au tour du tombeau vingt sabres montés en
“ or et garnis de pierreries.

“ Une perle de la grosseur d'un œuf de pigeon, était suspendue
“ devant le tombeau; elle fut la propriété de Saouhoud, ainsi que
“ les armes.

“ On prit des vases, des lampes, et d'autres objets d'or et d'argent
“ massif.

* It is since found, that by account taken, between 5 and 6,000 lost their lives in this terrible affair.

“ On arrâcha les larmes d'or incrustées dans les murs et au milieu des boiseries.

“ Il y avait des tapis de Perse d'un riche tissu.

“ Cinq cents plaques de cuivre, couvertes de feuilles d'or, étaient disposées pour revêtir l'extérieur du dôme.

“ Les dépouilles arrachées des magasins et de l'intérieur des maisons, furent immenses.

“ On enleva plus de quatre milles chals de Cachemire, des étoffes de l'Inde, deux milles sabres, deux milles cinq cents fusils.

“ Des esclaves noires, et Abyssiniennes.

“ Environ 6000 quadruples d'Espagne.

“ 350,000 sequins de Vénise.

“ 400,000 ducats d'Hollande.

“ 160,000 sequins de Constantinople.

“ 60,000 tomans.

“ 250,000 talaris et piastres d'Espagne.

“ 4,000 roupies, (roubychs).

“ Des perles, des rubis, des émeraudes, de diamans, et autres objets d'or et d'argent.

“ Tel est le compte approximatif qui fut fait aux puits de Akai-zer, à une journée de Kerbelé, où Souhoud s'arrêta pour visiter les immenses dépouilles enlevées par ses soldats.”

M. Jomard, in a note, adds: “ Ces renseignements m'ont été fournis par une personne qui se trouvait auprès de Souhoud.”

NOTE X.

“ *The decease of Suleiman Paçha.*”—Page 29.

About seven days before Suleiman Paçha expired, it was pretty generally known throughout the city that his recovery could not take place but by miracle. He was attended by M. Outrey, a French surgeon, long settled at Bagdad, in whom the Paçha had placed a considerable degree of confidence, and latterly also by several Persians, who professed the art of healing, and whose science extended little farther than the virtue and effects of herbs and simples. There had been, however, at the Paçha's desire, an application, made by me, to the Government of Bombay, for a

medical gentleman to attend upon him; one was accordingly sent—but after the first few days, whether the Paçha disliked his system of medicine, or whether Outrey's influence prevailed, the attendance of this gentleman at the Palace was seldom called for. About forty hours before the old man died, Mohammed Bey came to my house, told me the Paçha's illness was most serious, and that it was the wish of his family, the Kiah, and his Council,* that Dr. Short should proceed to the Palace to visit him. Now the real state of the Paçha's health had been, for some time past, as much as possible kept a secret from the public, nor could I draw anything from Mohammed Bey, farther than that he was very ill, so that I was rather anxious the Doctor should see the Paçha, as thereby I should become acquainted with the real state of his case. The Doctor, however, thought he had not been treated by the Paçha with proper respect, and that his credit and dignity would be compromised in now attending him; and finding argument and persuasion could not get the better of the Doctor's feelings, I was at last compelled to put his going to the Palace on a *political footing*; and telling him I should hold him answerable for the consequences, if he refused to execute my wishes. When he returned from the Palace I learnt from him it was utterly impossible that the Paçha could survive twenty-four hours.

The person who then filled the important office of Janissary Aga at Bagdad, was a man of great ability, extremely ambitious, and for his affability and mildness very much beloved by the inhabitants. The police of the city, which is under his care, had never been known to be better, or more efficiently conducted. Another Turkish gentleman, high in office (Mohammed Sayed Effendi) and himself, had taken it into their heads that the discovery of the Philosopher's stone was not only possible, but that they were on the very verge of making it. Mohammed Sayed had hurt his fortune considerably by this whim, and the Janissary Aga had beggared himself; but still they kept on:—the Janissary Aga finding, as well as he could, the means of prosecuting the experiments, and the other the place of secrecy in which they were made. The Aga, however, was a person greatly respected at

* Mushsaheb.

Constantinople, and the Porte had full confidence, that through his means, whenever Suleiman Paçha died, they should receive the lion's share of his treasure; and that he would prevent it being dissipated amongst the Georgians, forming the Paçha's household—the Aga, on the other hand thought, that by means of this treasure, and by the esteem and respect which the inhabitants generally, of Bagdad, professed to feel for him, he might be able to prevail on the Porte to grant him the investiture of the Paçhalik on the old man's decease.

Nearly as soon as the report of the Paçha's being seriously ill became credited in the city, the Aga desired to have a conference with me in one of the gardens to the southward of it; and in the conference, he not only disclosed to me the ambitious views he entertained, but asked me to assist him in their realization, by writing in his favor to the British Ambassador at the Porte. This I declined to do. I said to him—"You are, by your office, and
" the constitution of the Empire, the officer whose duty it is, not
" only to take charge, for the Porte, of the Paçha's treasures
" when he dies, but also to assume the government during the
" interregnum of the Paçha's decease, and the appointment of his
" successor. Now, when you have fully established yourself in
" these great trusts, it appears to me it will be then time enough
" for you to apply to the Porte for a Firman for the Paçhalik—if
" you obtain possession of the *Paçha's treasures*, I think you may
" consider yourself pretty certain *to obtain his place*—but if you
" fail in this, my advice to you is, to go with the stream, for de-
" pend on it, though the Janissaries and some of the inhabitants
" will support you at first, they will desert you when the money
" comes into play, and you will pay the forfeit of your ambition."

Early in the morning on which the Paçha died, the Aga sent for my linguist, and returned him with a message to me, that the Paçha could not live two hours longer,—that he could only obtain possession of the Palace by storm,—and that probably about the *Namez-ez-zour* (the mid-day prayer,) I should hear the first gun fired. The house in which I lived at Bagdad had a *gazebo* over the street, under which the Janissary (to go direct from his house to the Palace) must pass. A little after ten o'clock, the Janis-

sary Aga, at the head of the completest rabble I ever saw, all with naked sabres, and using the most furious gesticulations, passed under the gazebo to occupy the citadel. The Aga alone was on horseback, and immediately about him there were from twenty to thirty Ojaklees, or men of rank and influence amongst the Janissaries. The whole cortège might be from one thousand to one thousand five hundred persons. The Aga spoke to me as he passed, and said,* “ Beg, do not be alarmed, all parties will respect “ you.” I answered, “ I am obliged to you, but you are all bound “ to do so.”

The Aga, early in the morning, had sent 500 Janissaries to seize Mohammed Bey, the great Arab, who was the agent at the Paçha's court for the Shaiks of all the tribes tributary to the Paçhalik, and who resided in a large house in the suburbs, on the western side of the Tigris. It was found, however, the Bey had not returned from the palace the night before, and this was the first untoward circumstance which befel the Aga. The first gun, as the Aga had told me, was fired just as the call to the prayer of noon was made. The gun itself stood without a carriage on the floor, or parapet, of one of the *solid towers* in the citadel, the ascent to which was by means of an inclined plane. When the gun was fired, the recoil was so great as to force it down the inclined plane

* My situation was not altogether free from anxiety. At the instance of Suleiman Paçha I had procured for him a large quantity of musquets and bayonets, and shell, from the Government at Bombay. At the time Suleiman Paçha died, the boats on which these stores had been laden at Bussora, had reached a little above the ruins of Ctesiphon, about twelve or fifteen miles below Bagdad. The instant, therefore, Doctor Short returned to me from the Palace, and told me of the perilous situation of the Paçha, I dispatched an order to the commander of the boats to anchor in the stream, at a small distance from the bank of the river where he was, and not to move from thence without my written orders. Both the Kiah and the Janissary Aga applied to me for the delivery, to them, of these military stores, which I civilly told them was impossible. The applications were renewed, the same answer repeated; but in consequence of some expressions reported to me, I was induced to add to both applicants,—that I should send down to the commanders of the boats the national colours, with orders to hoist them at the mast heads, and that, therefore, any attempt to remove these stores, (which were yet unpaid for) without my orders, would be treated by me as a national affair, and as such represented to the Government in India, and the King's Ambassador at the Porte. I dispatched two of my Sepoy guards in charge of the colours, and they were regularly hoisted till the stores were ultimately delivered to Ally Paçha, after he had received from the Porte his appointment to the Paçhalik.

to the court below, from whence, with immense labour, it was trailed up again to be recharged. The calibre of this gun was prodigious, the ball it threw was of marble, and the report, when fired, astonishing. My house, which stood at some distance from the citadel, every time this gun was fired, was shaken to the foundations, and when the balls fell in the Tigris, which most of them did, such of us as were not in rooms might, at that time, distinctly hear the splash the ball made when it reached the water.

The firing of this gun was the signal of general alarm and confusion throughout the city,—the bazars were broken up, all business put a stop to, and every one retired to his house, and fastened his doors. The mortars soon began to play from the citadel, but they were so ill managed, that throughout this noisy squabble the greater part of the shells fell in the Tigris, or in the empty streets, and caused but little mischief. Of all those aimed at the palace only one took effect; this burst through the roof of the Harem, descended through the upper apartments, and lodged in the Serdaub, or summer vault, in the very middle of a circle formed by the ladies and children of the late Paçha. Fortunately for them, the fuze kept burning for some time, and they had presence of mind enough to make good use of it, by hastening to another chamber, and so escaped destruction. I believe the only other shell which struck an inhabited building, was one that struck a house in which a party of Armenians were assembled, in the Sordaub, at cards. This shell exploded between the ceiling and the floor of the chamber immediately over their heads, and so did no harm to the party. Now as cards and drinking arrack are synonymous terms amongst the Armenians in Turkey, these jolly fellows took the explosion of the shell for a thunder clap, and were not aware of the danger they had been in till the next day.

Although the Janissary Aga failed to make any serious impression on the palace, yet for eight or nine days he kept his ground tolerably well; but then, as I had foretold him, the money began to work; and the work of desertion began and proceeded most rapidly amongst his friends and supporters. He then attempted to set up one of the other Georgian slaves of the late Paçha, in opposition to Ally Kiah, but this failed; he quitted the citadel, retired to his

house, then there he was immediately besieged, taken prisoner, and carried before Ally Kiah, where he was instantly put to death, by wounds from as many of the surrounding Georgians as could reach him with their daggers; and so eager were they in this bloody business, that many of them received wounds from their companions, in endeavouring to gratify their revenge by wounding the Aga. Fourteen of the principle Ojâklees were seized on the same day that the citadel was abandoned, and, at midnight, all these Ojâklees were strangled. A Janissary is always put to death at night, and by the application of the bow-string, or cord; and at the moment the victim receives this round his neck, a cannon is fired, to announce the fact to his brethren in the city. In this instance, the first of these melancholy messengers was fired at midnight, and each succeeding five minutes the dreadful tidings were repeated.

“ There have I made my promise to call on him,
“ Upon the heavy middle of the night.”

To be awoke from sleep by such a proclamation, that the direful promise is performed, gave the report of each cannon a deeper and more awful sound, and made an impression on me which is not yet worn out.

The fighting and confusion in the city, from beginning to end, lasted between a fortnight and three weeks; the expense of powder, balls, and shells, was enormous, from all which, the list of killed and wounded did not amount to more than five; but, to make up for it, when Ally Kiah became completely triumphant, the bow-string and the gallows had their full share of victims. The greatest danger, generally speaking, which the inhabitants of Bagdad were exposed to, was at night, at which time the principal firing of musquetry took place. From the heat of the weather, it was impossible to sleep in a room, or under cover, and everybody, therefore, slept on the terraces of their houses, on which the spent balls often fell so thick as to be anything but pleasant. The sentinel who was on guard at the end of my terrace, was struck with one, which gave him a most severe bruise, and, in the course of these magnanimous battles, they often fell on my bed, with a force sufficient, if they had happened to fall on the head, to have produced very unpleasant, if not very serious consequences. It was easy,

after the party of the Janissary Aga were put down, to procure the signatures of the principal inhabitants of Bagdad, to a petition to the Porte, for the appointment of Ally to succeed his late master, and I can say that the sum of money sent to strengthen this petition (for the whole of it went through mine and the Jew Abdullah's hands) did not quite reach sixty thousand pounds, and this was all the Porte got of Suleiman Paçha's treasure, except some pieces of jewellery, shawls, furs, house furniture, and rich India goods. It is true there had been large drafts made on it by the expences of the expeditions against the Wahaubys, the remittances to the Grand Vizier in Egypt, and by the hush-money to the Porte and Persia, on the capture of Kerbela; but, notwithstanding all these, there were still very pretty things left for the principal Georgian slaves to scramble for; and Assad Beg, the old Paçha's son, about thirteen years old, certainly did not get the lion's share of his father's property.

NOTE XI.

"Pilgrimage for the last time."—Page 32.

THE MAHHMIL.

"Le Surré-Eminy, et les deux Muzdedjys traversent le canal
 "sur une galère, avec les mulets chargés du trésor, pour se rendre
 "sur la côte d'Asie à Scutary. Mais les chameaux sont depouillés
 "de leurs ornemens sur le quai même, par des officiers du Kislar-
 "Aghassy, qui les rapportent le même jour au sérail, sans aucune
 "cérémonie. On ne les pare avec cette magnificence qu'en mé-
 "moire du chameau qui portait le Mahhfil ou siège du Prophète,
 "dans ses voyages, comme dans ses expéditions guerrières. C'était
 "une espèce de trône où il se plaçait pour rendre la justice aux
 "peuples. On suppose même que ces chameaux sont de la race
 "de celui que montait ordinairement Mohammed. C'est par cette
 "raison qu'on les appelle indistinctement Mahhfil et Mahhmil; le
 "premier mot signifiant siège, le second une bête de somme ou de
 "monture. La présentation du second chameau n'a d'autre objet
 "que de remplacer le premier en cas d'accident. On ne les con-
 "duit jamais à la Mecque, de peur qu'ils ne succombent aux
 "fatigues dans un aussi long voyage. On les conserve soigneuse

“ ment au sérail, où leur race est censée se perpétuer sans mélange,
 “ et d’une manière pour ainsi dire miraculeuse. Ils sont cependant
 “ remplacés à la Mecque par deux autres que l’on croit également
 “ descendre de celui que montait le Prophète. L’un est gardé en
 “ Syrie par le Paçha de Damas, qui le conduit tous les ans à la
 “ Mecque, avec la caravane des pèlerins qui partent de cette con-
 “ trée pour l’Arabie. Ces deux chameaux, décorés comme ceux
 “ de la capitale, sont menés aux différentes stations que font les
 “ pèlerins encore hors de la ville l’avant veille et la veille du Beyram,
 “ surtout à celle du mont Arafath, comme on le verra plus bas.”—
D’Ohsson, Tab. Gen. Ed. fol. p. 84.

The Surri Ameen Agassi, regularly each year leaves Constantinople for Mecca, on the 12th of the moon of *Rejeb*,—which, in consequence of this, is made a sort of religious holiday. A procession is made to the palace, in which the Mahhmils are paraded before the Grand Seignor, and the Surri Ameen Agassi receives his dispatches and orders. The procession afterwards passes through the principal streets of Constantinople.

NOTE XII.

“ *Little Sylph’s Crew.*”—Page 37.

CAPTURE OF THE SYLPH,—FROM MR. SHERIDAN’S JOURNAL.

November 26, 1808. Arrived the *Minerva*, merchant ship, from Bombay, she left Muscat eighteen days ago. In her came as passengers, Conyers, who had command of the Sylph at that place, and Mohammed Hossein, Sir Harford’s Persian secretary, who was passenger on board her. The account which the latter gives of the misfortune which befell the Sylph, is as follows:—That Graham (who had the command of the Sylph) did not expect the Dows were going to attack him, being totally unprepared; so much so, that he only fired one gun. *La Nereide* had seen the two Dows, but on Corbet being told by Conyers, that the Sylph was fully able to beat them off, she proceeded on her course. On the pirates coming along side the Sylph, they poured in an immense quantity of stones, which drove the people below, and they then took possession of the Sylph. Mohammed Hossein Khan hid himself

below, in the same hole with Graham, the commander; from whence he heard the Wahaubys murdering their prisoners in cold blood;—the method they took was to order a man to the gangway, where they cut his throat, and then thanked God for their victory;—they then ordered another, till every one who had remained on deck was dispatched. Mohammed Hossein Khan then heard them calling for lights, to search the hold. At this critical moment a shot from La Nereide passed through the Sylph; luckily the commander of La Nereide heard the one shot fired by the Sylph, and immediately tacked to her assistance. The Wahaubys now got on board their Dows, and said they would go and take the man-of-war, which they said they would have done before, but that they thought the man-of-war* would give them the most trouble, and therefore they preferred taking the Sylph first. Every one, therefore, of the pirates, quitted the Sylph, and Mohammed Hossein Khan came on deck, where he saw the Dows, which Corbet suffered to come quite close to him, begin the attack by throwing stones into La Nereide. Immediately after, he heard a tremendous roar of cannon, and both Dows disappeared. Every soul on board them was destroyed, except nine, who had sense enough to get into their boat before coming alongside La Nereide. The crews of the Dows consisted of three hundred men each.

The reader will perceive this account differs little from the one have given in the text of the work, except in the dreadful chastisement the Wahaubys received from my brave and gallant friend.

NOTE XIII.

“The murder of the Mameluke Beys by the Grand Admiral Hassan Paşa.”—Page 45.

“From the commencement of the war in Egypt, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to change the government of that country; at the same time, the Grand Vizier, and the Captain Bashaw, held out to the Beys and the Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be immediately restored on the destruction of the infidels. On the expulsion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, seven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold

* Instead of man-of-war, it should be Bengal merchant ship.

a conference with the Captain Bashaw, on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their re-establishment. They were received on their arrival with every demonstration of hospitality and respect. On pretence of a wish that they might accompany him in a visit of ceremony to the British commander, at Alexandria, but in reality with a view to send them to Constantinople, he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war, whither he himself was to accompany them. But after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ship, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given them by General Hutchinson, never to trust themselves on board any Turkish vessels, and to apprehend some violence after they should be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers who had charge of them to reconduct them to the shore. The officers, pleading the orders of the High Admiral, refused to comply with their request. The Beys, grasping their arms, began to use force: a conflict ensued, in which four of the Beys were killed, and three wounded. Several of the boatmen shared the same fate. The Grand Vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure as many of the Beys as he could, by force or fraud: some fell into his hands, others made their escape to Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinson, apprised of all this, ordered his troops under arms; remonstrated severely with both the Grand Vizier and the Captain Bashaw, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys, and the bodies of the slain, for honorable sepulture; and the Beys also who were in the power of the Grand Vizier. The Captain Bashaw imputed the disasters that had befallen the seven Beys, whom he had invited to his residence, to themselves, whose suspicions he said were without foundation; and excused his own conduct from the orders that had been sent both to himself and the Grand Vizier from the Porte, which was well assured, that it was never the intention of the Court of London to take any part in the internal regulations or government of Egypt; but after the expulsion of the French, to leave the Ottomans established there what form of government they should think proper. The Captain Bashaw carried his head very high, and maintained great pomp and splendour, such as he deemed suitable to the sovereign dignity of

the Porte. He affected to treat General Hutchinson in some sort as the guest of the Grand Seignor, in sending him regularly a second course, consisting of all the delicacies that could be provided for his table. Thus, he artfully combined an air of hospitality with an air of superiority and supremacy in Egypt. There were not a few who said the General should have declined to accept the hospitality of the Turkish High Admiral—assumed greater state himself—and, in a word, a tone of mastery and controul for a time, in a province recovered almost solely from the French by the British arms. They were even of opinion, that it would have been as wise as magnanimous, to have punished the treachery of the Captain Bashaw, and avenged the death of the three Beys, by hanging him up at the yard-arm of the frigate, on board which he meant to decoy them. So great an act of justice would have struck the East with an admiration and awe of the British name, and exalted it above every other in the world.

There were, however, other considerations that weighed down the opposite scale in the balance. Had it been the purpose of our government to retain possession of any port or ports in Egypt, such a measure might, perhaps, have been accounted not less eligible than daring. But it was not the design of Britain to do anything that might offend and alienate,—but, on the contrary, to cultivate, the favor of her Turkish *ally*.

General Hutchinson did not embrace a line of conduct that would probably have been condemned by his court as extravagant and imprudent;* nor did he tamely and meanly acquiesce in a measure dictated by barbarian perfidy. But steering a middle course, he demanded with inflexible firmness the freedom of the Beys, which was granted.

There could not have been a fitter agent in this business than General Stewart, who at the head of a strong detachment carried the remonstrances and demands of the British commander in chief to the Captain Bashaw.

But the Beys, though left at their own disposal, foresaw the evacuation of Egypt by the English and the establishment of the

* And if so most rightly and justly.

power of the Turks, at least in the lower regions of that country. Their faithful Mamelukes were either dispersed, or had fallen by the sword. They listened therefore to the fair promises that were made them by the Captain Bashaw and Grand Vizier,—and solemnly confirmed by their oaths on the Koran,—of protection, favor and preferment, if they would throw themselves into the arms of the Sultan. They signified this consent in writing to the Grand Seignor, and also to General Hutchinson. The Porte extended to Egypt the system of Government by Bashaws.”—*Annual Reg.* 1801, *Hist. Europe*, p. 241.

I shall now give a French version of this unfortunate business.
 “ Dans cet état de choses, il était bien difficile que des intérêts
 “ si opposés pussent être réconciliés. La politique du cabinet
 “ de Saint James n’était par celle du Divan. Les généraux en
 “ chef des deux armées avaient des instructions contraires, et telle
 “ fut la première cause des révolutions dont l’Égypte devint le
 “ théâtre.

“ La Porte voulait détruire la puissance des mamlouks en
 “ exilant de l’Égypte les principaux chefs, et pour parvenir à ce
 “ but, il avait été convenu avec l’ambassadeur Anglais qu’elle leur
 “ céderait des apanages dans ses provinces d’Europe.

“ Le Grand Vizir et le Capitan-Paça, qui avaient des ordres
 “ secret, cherchaient par de sourdes menées les moyens de mettre
 “ à exécution le projet de leur gouvernement; projet dont il avait
 “ reçu la communication officielle, et qui avait été approuvé par
 “ le Lord Elgin, Ambassadeur à Constantinople.

“ Cependant, les principaux Beys de la Maison de Mourad, tels
 “ qu’Osman Bey Tambourgy, Osman Bey Bardissey, Mourad
 “ Bey Soghâyr, et plusieurs autres, avaient reçu du Capitan-Pacha
 “ l’invitation de se rendre auprès de lui. Ils tinrent conseil entre
 “ eux sur le parti qu’ils avaient à prendre, mais les avis étaient
 “ partagés, et le temps s’écoulait sans qu’ils s’arrêtassent à aucun
 “ parti. On finit pourtant par se déterminer à répondre à cette
 “ insigne faveur. Plusieurs de ces Beys aimaient à croire que
 “ l’amiral voulait donner aux Mamlouks de Mourad le gouverne-
 “ ment du Kaire, afin de l’enlever à la maison d’Ibrahim Bey,
 “ qui n’avait point quitté les tentes du Grand Vizir. Ils se rendir-

“ ent donc au camp d'Aboukyr, où le Capitan-Paça les recût avec
“ toutes sortes de marques d'honneur et de distinction. Leurs
“ tentes furent placées dans la demi-lune qui formait le campe-
“ ment de ses troupes. Les premiers jours se passèrent en visites
“ de cérémonie, et il ne fut nullement question des motifs du
“ voyage. Chaque jour on montait à cheval, pour faire des pro-
“ menades militaires, et déjà plus d'un mois s'était écoulé sans que
“ le Capitan-Paça leur eût encore rien fait entrevoir sur ses dis-
“ positions à leur égard. Ce long silence leur donnait des inquié-
“ tudes. Ils s'en plaignirent au Général Hutchinson, qui les
“ rassura sur les bonnes intentions de la Porte en leur faveur, mais
“ cette déclaration ne fit pas cesser leurs craintes, et leurs méfiances
“ s'augmentait à chaque instant. Plusieurs d'entre eux eurent
“ l'intention de quitter le camp sans prendre congé du Paça, et
“ revenir au Kaire.

“ Enfin lorsque le Général Hutchinson rappelé en Angleterre
“ allait céder le commandement de l'armée anglaise au Lord
“ Cavan, le Capitan-Paça et les Beys furent invités de se rendre
“ à l'Alexandrie pour assister à la cérémonie qui devait avoir lieu
“ à cette occasion.

“ Le matin du jour indiqué, le Capitan-Paça invita les Beys
“ à venir déjeuner dans sa tente, avant de s'embarquer pour le
“ rendez-vous. Après le repas, on entra dans les canots qui
“ attendaient au rivage. Le Paça monta dans le sien avec les
“ Beys, et quelques uns de leurs Mamlouks. Les autres embar-
“ cations servirent à des officiers de sa suite.

“ A une certaine distance en mer, le Capitan-Paça aperçut
“ un esquif qui venait à lui : ' voilà sans doute des dépêches qui
“ m'arrivent de Constantinople,' dit-il aux Beys ; en effet, le
“ bâtiment s'étant approché, on lui remit un long pli qu'il dé-
“ cacheta en passant à bord de l'esquif, s'excusant auprès de ses
“ hôtes sur la nécessité de prendre de suite connaissances des dé-
“ pèches qui lui étaient adressées.

“ Les canots continuaient à voguer, l'esquif les suivait à une
“ grande distance, quand tout à coup, à leur entrée dans le lac
“ d'Aboukyr, les Beys virent en avant d'eux trois grandes cha-
“ loupes remplies de soldats bien armés. Ils s'aperçurent alors

“ qu'ils étaient trahis, et se préparèrent à la défense. L'un d'eux
 “ Mohammed Bey Manfoukh, mit le premier sabre à main, et
 “ dans le même moment les chaloupes firent feu à bout portant.
 “ Ecrasés par les balles, ces hommes courageux se battirent comme
 “ des lions contre les soldats qui montaient de tous côtes à l'abord-
 “ age. Dans une lutte aussi inégale, la valeur ne pouvait rien
 “ contre le nombre. Osman Bey Tambourgy, Mourad Bey, Osman
 “ Bey el Achbar, et Ibrahim Kiaya Sennary, furent tués, avec
 “ plusieurs Mamlouks. Osman Bey Bardissy, et Ibrahim Bey
 “ Husseyn, reçurent des blessures graves. Ceux qui échappèrent
 “ au massacre furent pris et transportés avec les blessés à bord
 “ du vaisseau du rivale capitaine,* où ils reçurent les secours qu'
 “ exigeait leur état. Quand on eut pansé leur blessures, on leur
 “ fit jurer sur le Coran qu'ils ne demandaient point être rendu aux
 “ Anglais, et qu'il resteraient avec les Turcs. Ceux-ci promettaient
 “ de leur côté, plus d'égards et déférence, en protestant que la
 “ malheureuse affaire qui venait de se passer, avait été la suite
 “ d'une malentendu.

“ A la première nouvelle de cette catastrophe le général Hutch-
 “ inson dépêcha le général Stuart au capitaine-Pacha pour lui re-
 “ procher l'indignité de sa conduite. En même temps l'armée
 “ anglaise sortit de son camp, et vint former devant les Turcs
 “ deux bataillons carrés, qui restèrent sous les armes jusqu'à ce
 “ qu'on eut obtenu une juste satisfaction.

“ Le Capitaine-Pacha ceda aux premiers effets du ressentiment
 “ des Anglais. Il fit débarquer les prisonniers et les blessés, qui
 “ furent transportés à Alexandrie. L'armée britannique rendit
 “ aux morts les honneurs de la sépulture. Dans ces conjonctures
 “ le capitaine-Pacha jugea prudent d'envoyer Isag Bey, son interprète
 “ et son confident, près du général Hutchinson, pour tâcher de le
 “ calmer. A la suite d'une conversation fort animée, le général
 “ lui dit, vivement :—‘ Votre maître est une perfide.’—‘ Vous
 “ n'ignorez pas,’ lui répondit le Bey, avec calme, ‘ la décision de la
 “ sublime Porte relativement à l'état futur des Mamlouks.’

“ Dans le même temps le vizir faisait arrêter Ibrahim Bey, et
 “ tous les Beys qui se trouvaient au Kaire. Il envoyait Taher

* Vice-amiral.

“ Paçha l’Albanais dans la haute-Egypte pour faire main-basse
 “ sur Mohammed Bey Elfy. Mais les généreux Anglais interpo-
 “ sèrent bientôt leur puissante influence, et le Grand-Vizir, séduit
 “ par les promesses ou intimidé par les menaces, fit remettre en
 “ liberté ses prisonniers.”

On these different statements I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections.

NOTE XIV.

“ *The whole of them to be massacred in the castle of Cairo.*”—

Page 46.

Just as all seemed ripe for this campaign, it was found necessary to take prompt measures of security against those pardoned Mamelukes resident within the city, for it was ascertained that they had already began caballing, and only waited for the marching of the army, or the absence of the Paçha himself, to throw all into confusion, and overturn his Government; who being informed of the plot, and seeing at once the critical nature and extreme hazard of his situation, resolved on striking a decisive blow, and prepared his counter-mine accordingly, by which the whole race that gave him alarm, was to be exterminated in one day.

It is not known that he consulted previously upon this matter with any other besides the Albanian chief, Hassan Paçha, the most confidential of all his advisers.

Dissembling, therefore, all suspicion on his part, and at the same time shunning every thing that might excite it on the part of the Mamelukes, he invited their chief, Saim Bey,* to an audience, and led him into familiar conversation, opening to him, first, his own views on this holy war, and inviting him to join in it.

The Bey had always passed for a man of craft and penetration, but he was overreached in this instance; for, acceding at once, and seeming flattered at the proposal, he entered freely afterwards into many details, and enumerated those whom he considered to be more or less under his disposal and influence, and speaking in so high and confident a tone of the attachment and union of his followers, as to leave no doubt at all of his ambitious views on the

* The Bey's real name was Shaheen.

mind of Mohamet Ali, who, therefore, proceeding in his scheme, as concerted with Hassan Paçha, concluded the interview by inviting him, with all his adherents capable of bearing arms, to present themselves at the citadel on the following Friday, in order that arrangements might be made as to the part which this important body should bear in the campaign.

On his return from the audience, the Bey communicated the whole substance of what had passed to such of the Mamelukes as were most in his confidence, one of whom, who had more discernment than the rest, cried out immediately :—" We are betrayed!"—" So much the worse," replied Saim, " if it be so," and rebuking him with a look, added :—" if there be danger we shall not want courage to meet it." Then calling together the principal as well as the inferior officers, over whom he presided, he recommended them that they should all accompany him to the citadel, at a certain hour of the forenoon on the day appointed.

In the mean while the Paçha was not idle in concerting measures for receiving them.

Before dawn, upon the Friday mentioned, (March 1, 1811) the drums were beating through the city, to call the troops together, as for some grand parade, few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and were marched off to the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

No specific instructions were given, but each man was strictly ordered after his arms had been examined, on no account to quit the post assigned to him, and to wait there further orders.

The hour of audience was at hand, and a procession of about five hundred Mameluke officers of higher or lower degrees, presented themselves at the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather a splendid shew, and were led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey was conspicuous; when entered, they proceeded immediately to the palace, which occupies the highest ground; and as soon as their arrival there was announced to Mohamet Ali, and Hassan Paçha, who were sitting in conference together within, an immediate order was given for the introduction

of the three chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Paçhas entering into a great deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee was brought, and last of all, pipes; but at this moment, when these were presented, as if from etiquette, or to leave his guests more at their ease, Mohamet Ali arose, and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that the gates of the citadel should be closed; that as soon as Saim Bey and his two associates should come out for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the same signal, the troops posted throughout the fortress should take aim at every Mameluke within their reach, while a corresponding order was sent down at the same time to those in the town, to such even as were encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers they should find, so that not one of the proscribed body might escape.

Saim Bey, and his two brothers in command, finding the Paçha did not return to them, and being informed, by the attendants, that he was gone into his Harem (an answer that precluded all farther inquiry) judged it to be time to take their departure. But no sooner did they make their appearance, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became, at once, a scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror; similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round, and preparing to return with them, so that the victims dropped by hundreds.

Saim Bey, himself, had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to one of the gates of the citadel, but all to no purpose, for he found it closed, like the rest, and fell there, pierced with innumerable bullets.

Another chief, Amin Bey, brother to Elfi, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation,—for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces, than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been esti-

mated from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet, fortune so favoured him, that though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

An Albanian camp was below, and an officer's tent very near the spot where he alighted; instead of shunning, he went in, and throwing himself on the rights of hospitality, implored that no advantage might be taken of him, which was not only granted, but the officer afforded him protection, even at his own peril, and kept him concealed so long as the popular fury and the excesses of the soldiery continued.

Of the rest of that devoted number thus shut in and surrounded, not one went out alive; and even of those who had quietly remained at home, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that was made after them, a high price being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

Such is Giovanni Finati's account of this tragedy; I shall now, as I have done before, give the French version of it from M. Mengin.

“ Le 1er. Mars, 1811. Tous à la citadelle, Châhyn Bey y parut
 “ à la tête de sa maison. Il vint avec les autres Beys présenter ses
 “ devoirs au Vice-roi, qui les attendait dans sa grande salle de réception.
 “ Il leur fit servir le café, et s'entretint avec eux. Lorsque
 “ tout le cortège fut rassemblé, on donna le signal du départ,
 “ chacun prit le rang que lui avait assigné le maître des cérémonies :
 “ un corps de dehlys commandé par Ouzoun Aly ouvrait la marche;
 “ venaient ensuite l'oualy l'ayher des Janissaires, et celui de subsistances,
 “ les odjaglys, les yoldaches, puis Sâleh-Koch avec ses Albanais,
 “ et ensuite les mamlouks que guidait Solymân Bey el-Baouâb;
 “ l'infanterie, la cavalerie, et les chefs de l'administration, les suivaient.
 “ La tête de la colonne eut ordre de se diriger vers la Porte-el-Azab,
 “ donnant sur la place de Roumeyleh. Le chemin qui y conduit est taillé
 “ dans le roc, il est étroit, difficile et escarpé : des angles saillans
 “ empêchent deux cavaliers de passer de front dans certains endroits.
 “ Dès que les Dehlys et les aghâs furent sortis, Sâleh-Koch fit fermer
 “ la porte, et communiqua à sa troupe l'ordre du Vice-roi d'exterminer
 “ tous les mamlouks. Les Albanais se retournèrent à l'instant, et gravirent
 “ le sommet des roches qui dominant le chemin, pour se mettre à l'abri des at-

“ teintes de leurs adversaires et les frapper plus surement ; ils firent
“ feu sur eux.

“ Ayant entendu les coups de fusil, les dernières troupes tirèrent
“ du haut des murailles où elles s'étaient mises à couvert. Les
“ mamlouks qui étaient arrivés à la première porte voulurent prendre
“ un autre chemin pour retourner dans la citadelle, mais ne pouvant
“ manier leurs chevaux, à cause de la position difficile dans laquelle
“ ils étaient engagés, et voyant que beaucoup des leurs étaient déjà
“ tombés, morts ou blessés, ils mirent pied à terre, abandonnèrent
“ leurs chevaux, et ôtèrent leurs premiers vêtements. Dans
“ cette situation désespérée, ils retournèrent sur leurs pas le
“ sabre à la main : personne ne se présentait devant eux, mais
“ on les fusillait de l'intérieur des maisons. Châhyn-Bey tomba
“ percé de balles devant la porte du Palais de Saladin. Soly-
“ mân Bey-el-Baouâb, demi-nu, courut tout effrayé implorer la
“ protection du Harem du vice-roi ; ce fut en vain ; il fut conduit au
“ palais, où le Prince ordonna de lui trancher la tête. D'autres
“ allèrent demander grâce à Toussun Paçha, qui ne prit aucune
“ part à ce que se passait.

“ Aussitôt les troupes eurent ordre d'arrêter partout les mam-
“ loukes ; ceux que l'on prenait étaient conduits devant le Kiâya-
“ Bey et décapités à l'instant même.

“ Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scène périrent malgré
“ leur innocence, tant le soldat était animé au carnage. Le cadavre
“ de Châhyn Bey fut traîné çà et là, la corde au cou. La citadelle
“ ressemblait à une arène ensanglantée, les morts mutilés encom-
“ braient les passages ; on voyait partout des chevaux richement har-
“ nachés, étendus à côté de leurs maîtres, des says* percés de balles,
“ des armes brisées, et des vêtements couverts de sang : toutes ces
“ dépouilles devinrent la proie des soldats. On comptait le matin
“ quatre cents soixante-dix mamlouks à cheval ; nul d'entre eux n'é-
“ chappa au massacre.

“ Amyn-Bey ne partagea pas la malheureuse destinée de ses
“ collègues. Il avait différé de se rendre à la cérémonie : retenu chez
“ lui pour quelque affaire pressante, il n'arriva près de la citadelle
“ que lorsque les dehlys commençaient à sortir de la Porte-eb-
“ Azab. Le passage de cette troupe ne lui permit point d'entrer,

* Palefreniers.

“ il attendit qu'elle fût sortie, mais voyant que la porte se fermait
 “ derrière eux, et ayant entendu presque aussitôt les coups de fusil,
 “ il prit le gallop, et se sauva avec sa suite à Baçatyn, et de là il
 “ gagna la Syrie, sous la protection d'un cheykh d'Arabes de la
 “ province de Charkyeh.

“ A peine le cortège avait-il commencé à défiler, que le Paçha
 “ devint inquiet: ses mouvemens trahissaient son émotion. Lorsqu'il
 “ entendit les premières décharges de mousqueterie, son agitation
 “ redoubla: il pâlit, et craignait que ses ordres n'ayant pas été bien
 “ exécutés, il ne s'ensuivit un combat que compromît le salut des
 “ siens et sa propre existence. La vue des prisonniers et des têtes
 “ fit cesser son inquiétude, mais elle ne rendit pas la sérénité à son
 “ visage, et n'apaisa point le trouble intérieur dont il était déchiré.
 “ Peu de tems après, le Gênois Mendrici,* un de ses médecins, entra
 “ dans l'appartement où il se tenait; et s'approchant de sa personne,
 “ il lui dit d'un air de gaieté ' l'affaire est finie; c'est un jour de fête
 “ pour votre Altesse.' Le Prince ne répondit rien, mais son silence
 “ était expressif; il demanda qu'on lui donnât à boire.” *Mengin,*
Hist. de l'Egypte. There can be no pleasure in reading, or in re-
 citing, the atrocities, which a soldiery carried on to blood, were, some
 hours after this horrible massacre, allowed to commit in Cairo.

NOTE XV.

“ *The capture of Yembo.*”—Page 49.

The place occupies a position of some natural strength, and being fortified after the old fashion (though, as it is said, at no remote period) with walls and towers, has rather the appearance of a castle than a town from the outside, the houses being very low. It has a recently erected battery towards the sea, which was under the direction of an engineer in the service of the Shereef of Mecca. The inhabitants and the garrison were not themselves regular Wahaubys; but partaking altogether of the same views and

* Mahomet Ali may say, perhaps, (how truly, I cannot pretend to judge) if I had not rid myself of the Beys, they would have ridded themselves of me; but what words are strong enough to express one's detestation of the sycophantic Genoese mountebank! all the vituperative appellations, and all the opprobrious epithets, in every language I am acquainted with, all, all, heaped together, would but feebly express my opinion of him!

interests, and implicated in the same cause, they shewed a determination to resist, and to keep their gates shut against us, after persuasion and fair means had been tried in vain with them at first.

It being, however, quite indispensable to the progress of the campaign, that we should be masters of this maritime post in the first place, as well as of its little port, our musters were no sooner complete, than it was regularly invested all round, the artillery playing briskly upon it from the land side, and a bomb vessel, built at Suez by Mahomet Ali, for the purpose of doing its utmost to reduce it on the other: but with all this activity we could not perceive that we were advancing towards our object, and our young Paçha became so exasperated by the obstinacy of the besieged, that he determined upon trying an assault.

His own personal energy and intrepidity of character had infused such spirit and emulation into the troops, that they waited only for the word, and shewed great impatience during the short delay requisite for the construction of scaling-ladders in sufficient numbers for mounting the walls.

On the other hand, those within were quite aware of this, and so well prepared to receive us, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity and determination of the attack, it may perhaps be fairly doubted whether it would have succeeded, had it not been combined with the disheartening and irreparable loss which happened to them at the moment, in the death of their chief engineer, killed by a cannon ball from the bombarding vessel; which rendering their battery useless, and leaving them exposed on that side, it became evident to them their little town could not long hold out; yet they formed their views rather to retreat than surrender. The walls, meantime, were very well defended, but all of the inhabitants not actually employed with the garrison in manning them, were collecting, and packing up, and carrying away everything that was precious and portable within, towards a small postern-gate, called the gate of Medina, from its opening in that direction.

The fortifications upon that side had never been scaled, and it was only towards night-fall that our soldiery began to gain any firm footing upon the other, upon which, all at once, as at some signal agreed upon amongst themselves, all the besieged fell back

precipitately in one direction, and got out of the gate which has been spoken of, cutting their way through the small number of assailants who happened to be posted thereabouts.

We thus became masters of almost an empty town, and though we soon found the enemy had left us but little of any value, yet according to the Turkish custom, all falling immediately to pillage,—the fugitives were not pursued.”—*Giovanni Finati*, vol. I.

Yembo, it appears, depended for its supply of water on that which fell from the heavens, and was caught and preserved in cisterns; and this, though sufficient for the use of its own limited population, failed to afford a sufficient supply for the large Turkish force assembled there after its capture,—in so great a degree, that Giovanni Finati represents, “Water soon entirely failed us.”

The Turks, therefore, found it necessary to undertake the laborious task of sinking wells to a great depth, in the execution of which they were greatly annoyed by the desultory attacks of the Wahaubys; to prevent this, they placed round the mouths of the wells a number of matt bags filled with sand, which being piled together, formed a kind of rampart impenetrable to the gun-shot of the enemy, and perfectly capable of defending those working behind it from being taken by surprise by cavalry.

NOTE XVI.

“*Fifty miles eastward of Mecca.*”—Page 30.

The reader may not be displeased at having the following note presented to him, It is from a book entitled “*Ludovici Patritii Romani novum Itinerarium Æthiopiæ, &c.*,” and extremely rare. The copy I possess belonged to the late Lord Guilford, and has come into my hands at no very extravagant price, through the attention of Mr. James Bohn.

“De unicornibus Templi Mechæ: quos Monocerotas appellant:
“qui fere alibi non visunter.

“Ab altera delubri parte septa visuntur sive claustra mavis
“appellari, in his unicornis gemini asservantur: locoque miraculi
“populo spectandos præbent. Nec ab re, Res est miratu dignissima

“ sunt cui ejusmodi ut illico denarrabimus. Alterum eorum quem
 “ constat longe proceriorem esse : pullo equino triginta menses nato
 “ haud absimilem crediderim : prominet in fronte cornu unicum
 “ longitudine trium cubitorum : longe natu minor est alter : utpote
 “ anniculus ac equino pullo simillimus : ejus cornu quaterni palmi
 “ longitudinem haud excedit. Coloris est id animal equi mustel-
 “ lini, caput cervi instar : collo non oblongo : rarissimæque jube ab
 “ altera parte solum dependentis. Tibias habet tenues : easdemque
 “ graciles admodum trinuli mos : ungulas anteriorum pedum
 “ bifidas habet : caprinos pedes ferme referentes. Tibiarum poste-
 “ riorum pars exterior villosa est : pilique plurimi : sane id *aial*
 “ ferum videtur. Verum ferotiam nescio qua comitate dividit
 “ eos unicornes quidem Sultano Mechæ dono dedit ceu rem
 “ inventu rarissimam, rem donoque preciosiorem. Aducti sunt
 “ ex Æthiopiæ ab Æthiopum rege : ut eo munire necessitudinem
 “ conjunctissimi cum Sultano Mechæ præfecto iniret.”

Varthema, or Barthema, was translated into English in the year
 1576, by Richard Eden, which translation I find the well-known,
 and not more known than esteemed, Mr. Evans, bookseller, in
 Pall Mall, has inserted at the end of his republication of Hak-
 luyt's Voyages—which I now also lay before the reader.

“ *Of the Unicorns of the Temple of Mecca, which are not seen
 in any other place.*

“ On the other part of the Temple are Parkes, or places en-
 “ closed, where are seen unicornes named of the Greeks, Mono-
 “ cerotæ, and are there shewed to the people for a Myracle, and not
 “ without good reason, for their seldomness and strange nature.
 “ The one of them is much higher than the other, yet not much
 “ unlike to a coolte of thyrtie months of age ; in the forehead
 “ groweth only one horne, in manner right forth, of the length of
 “ three cubits. The other is much younger—of the age of one
 “ year, and like a young coolte : the horne of this is the length of
 “ four handfuls. The beast is of the color of a horse of weesell
 “ color, and hath a head like an hart, but no long neck, a thynne
 “ mane hanging onelye on one syde, theyr legges are thyn and
 “ slender like a fawne or hynde, the hoofs of the feete are divided

“ in two, much like the feete of a goat, the outwarde of the hynder
 “ feete is very full of heare. This beast doubtless seemeth wylde
 “ and fierce, yet tempereth that fierceness with a certain comelie-
 “ ness. These unicornes one gave to the Sultan of Mecca as a
 “ most precious giffte. They were sent to him out of Ethiope by
 “ a Kynge of that country, who desired, by that present, to gratifie
 “ the Sultan of Mecha.”

Notwithstanding all Barthema has said, the reader may be inclined to consider it only as “*a lie with circumstance,*” and to exclaim with Hermia:—

— — — — — “ I’ll believe as soon
 “ This whole earth may be bor’d, and that the Moon
 “ May through the centre creep, and so displease
 “ Her brother’s noontide with the Antipodes.”

The following lively tale is extracted from an extremely pleasing work, Captain Thomas Skinner’s *Excursions in India*; which, if it does not bring forward much additional evidence in favor of these animals, certainly impeaches Barthema’s assertion, “*locoque miri-
 “ culi populo spectandos præbent.*”

“ As unicorns have been supposed, if they really do exist, to
 “ have their habitations among these hills, either on the Indian
 “ side, or on the opposite one, we could not be indifferent to the
 “ circumstance, nor cold about the possibility of gaining a peep
 “ at such an extraordinary phenomenon. Whenever we found
 “ intelligent people, we questioned them minutely upon the
 “ probability of such a piece, but nothing satisfactory were we
 “ able to elicit from our enquiries. At length at this place
 “ (Bunassa) we met a villager, whose replies to our cross-examina-
 “ tion gave us so much hopes that we felt quite elated at the
 “ prospect of beholding the long-looked for animal. ‘A big
 “ beast,’ said he, ‘quite mad with wickedness, comes very often
 “ at night out of the woods, and rushing into the fields, tears
 “ up the grain, and roars in such a manner that he makes us all
 “ tremble.’—‘Has he horns?’ we both exclaimed—‘a tremendous
 “ one!’ was the reply—‘one only,’—‘only one,’ continued the
 “ man, quite delighted with the interest we seemed to take in his

“ narrative, and that ‘ O ! a terrible one,’ stretching out his arms
“ to shew the length of it. ‘ He is sure to come into such a field
“ before midnight.’ We resolved to watch for him, and engaged
“ our informant to keep us company.

“ It was a fine rainy night, and the wind was howling through
“ the woods in a manner fearful enough to have tempted the
“ heroine of romance abroad. Before nine o’clock we were at our
“ posts, and planting ourselves beneath an overhanging crag of
“ great height and wildness, within sight of the destined arena,
“ and within sound of a mighty cataract, we sat with our guns by
“ our sides, and a couple of flasks to fortify us against cold and
“ the rain, like bandits waiting for their prey. It was just light
“ enough to give double size to every object, and the waiving of
“ the trees never failed to make us startle, while the crackling of
“ the branches that yielded to the storm threw us into the most
“ feverish excitement. ‘ How shall we secure the animal ? or if
“ we kill him, how get him stuffed and bear his bones to England ?’
“ were the questions we continually asked each other ; then like
“ the milk-maid in the fable, revelled in the fields of fancy, till
“ quite lost in speculation upon the advantages that would attend
“ so glorious a discovery.

“ Midnight at length arrived, and our patience was not ex-
“ hausted : still the wind and rain continued. At length, just a
“ little before day-light, we heard a heavy racing above us ; for
“ the rock beneath which we were sitting, projected with an abut-
“ ment, as it were, to a wide terrace. We rose in agony almost
“ from expectation, and stood ready to confront the monster, that
“ through our endeavours was no longer to live in fable alone ! It
“ was pitch dark, and blowing an hurricane ; the underwood above
“ us was crackling before the pressure of some large animal, which
“ evidently approached us. With our eyes rivetted upon the brow
“ of the crag we had been sitting under, we stood with cocked
“ guns and beating hearts, when, ‘ Ho !’ a loud cry from our
“ native companion, ‘ there he goes,’ was followed by a heavy
“ sound, as of the spring of a horse, and most assuredly there he
“ went, without even giving us the gratification that the traveller

“ received from the disappearance of the ‘ stout gentleman,’ after
 “ having, like him, passed a night of restless curiosity. The
 “ hill-man had seen little more than ourselves, and could not say,
 “ whether it were the very beast we were in wait for, or some
 “ other less formidable and less desirable. I have no doubt myself
 “ that it was one of the large elks, the mohr of these mountains,
 “ of which we had already seen several.”

Those who wish further information on this subject, may search for it in Pliny.

NOTE XVII.

“ *The Wahaubys considered the smoking of Tobacco to be unlawful.*”—Page 112.

The Wahauby could scarcely have a worse opinion of tobacco than King James I, who concluded his *Misocaprius* with this sentence :—

“ Tandem igitur, O cives, si quis pudor, rem infamam abjicite,
 “ ortam ex ignominia, receptam errore, frequentatam stultitiâ :
 “ unde, et ira numinis accenditus, corporis sanitas atteritur, res
 “ familiaris arroditur, dignitas gentis senescit domi, vilescit foris :
 “ rem visu turpem, olfactu insuavem, cerebro noxiam, pulmonibus
 “ damnosam : et si dicere liceat atri fumi nebulis tartareos vapores
 “ proxime repræsentantem.” I find, however, the following praise
 of snuff in a book but little known, and, I believe, tolerably scarce
 —it is entitled, “ *Raptas Ecstaticus in Montem Parnassum in*
 “ *eoque visus Satyrorum Lusus cum nasis tabaco prophoris sive*
 “ *Satyricon novum Physico-medico-morale, Autore Joanne Hen-*
 “ *rico Cohausen, Hilderio-Saxone. Amsterdam, 1726.*

“ Vos medici, nil vestra facit fœcundia linguæ,
 “ Naturæ motus linquite cuique suos ;
 “ Hæc nisi petophiles ægris destructæ sit omnis,
 “ Absque cellis medicis est reditura salus.
 “ Si mihi cor dolet aut caput, inde facesse catinum
 “ Nicotiana mihi sola ministrat opem.
 “ Præscriptis dolus est. Nemo mea fata repellat.
 “ Naturæ motum prosequor ipse meæ.

NOTE XVIII.

“ *The small town of Bedr.*”—Page 51.

This place is famous for a battle between the Prophet and his opponents, of which the following is an account:—

“ The sign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by
 “ Mohammed in the 2nd year of his hegira, (the 4th of March,
 “ A.D. 634) over the idolatrous Meccans, headed by Abou Sofiân,
 “ in the valley of Bedr, which is situate near the sea, between
 “ Mecca and Medina. Mohammed's army consisted of no more
 “ than 319, but the enemy's of near 1000 ; notwithstanding which
 “ odds, he put them to flight, having killed 70 of the Koreish, and
 “ taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only 14 of his own
 “ men. This was the first victory obtained by the Prophet, and
 “ though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of
 “ great advantage, and the foundation of all his future power and
 “ success. For which reason it is famous in Arabian History,
 “ and more than once vaunted in the Koran as an effect of divine
 “ assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted of three things.
 “ First, Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took
 “ a handful of gravel, threw it towards the enemy in the attack,
 “ saying, ‘ May their faces be confounded ;’ whereupon they im-
 “ mediately turned their backs and fled. But though the Prophet
 “ seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet he is told in the Koran
 “ that it was not he, but God, who threw it ; that is to say, by
 “ the ministry of his Angel. Secondly, the Mohammedan troops
 “ seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as them-
 “ selves, which greatly discouraged them. And thirdly, God sent
 “ down to their assistance 1000, and afterwards 3000 angels,
 “ led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse, Haizum ; and, according
 “ to the Koran, these celestial auxiliaries did all the execution,
 “ though Mohammed's men imagined they themselves did it, and
 “ fought stoutly at the same time.”—*See Sale's excellent and
 learned Notes to the Koran.*

This battle is the more remarkable, because, after it was over, high disputes took place about the division of the spoils ; to end

which, Mohammed pretended to have received orders from Heaven, and those orders continue to this day a canon of the Mohammedan law, as to the division of spoil taken from an enemy in battle.

NOTE XIX.

“ Fut décapité sur la place de Sainte Sophie avec ses compagnons d'infortune.”—Page 161.

The reader may, perhaps, be curious to learn what happened at Derayeh after its surrender, and I therefore add the following account, extracted from M. Mengin.

“ Cependant on était à Derayeh dans une grande consternation, causée par la nouvelle de la mort d'Abdallah. Chacun craignait un sort pareil, et se recommandait à la divine providence. La famille de ce Prince, trop confiant, était dans les larmes, car le gouverneur l'avait prévenue qu'elle devait se tenir prête à partir pour l'Égypte.

“ La guerre, les suites du siège, et la disette dont souffraient les habitans, produisirent une épidémie parmi eux: Les soldats, fatigués par des privations de tout genre, furent eux-mêmes attaqués. Le Pacha ordonna de faire diriger sur Médine une partie de l'artillerie, ainsi que les enfans d'Abdallah, Saad, Nasr, et Mohammed, et leurs oncles Omar et Abderrahman, frères de Souhoud. On conduisit au Caire ces victimes infortunées. La générosité que le Vice-roi déploya à leur égard, en leur accordant à tous des pensions alimentaires, adoucit les regrets que leur causèrent le souvenir de leur grandeur passée, et l'éloignement des objets de leurs affections.

“ Alors Ibrahim réunit les chefs des villes qui d'après ses ordres étaient venus à Derayeh; il leur enjoignit, dans un délai marqué, de démolir les murs et les fortifications de leurs places, et les rendit responsables de l'exécution de ses commandemens. Comme ce Prince sentait chaque jour davantage la nécessité d'évacuer le pays de Nedjd, il pressait l'arrivée des chameaux pour le départ des troupes. Il fit briser les canons de fer qui étaient inutiles. On en transporta les débris dans les villes de l'Hedjaz. Les maisons d'Abdallah et les mosquées furent détruites. Les habi-

“ tans durent renverser les murs et les forts que le siège avait
 “ épargnés. On trouva dans des lieux souterrains quatre cents cottes
 “ de mailles et des armures antiques.* Ibrahim en fit don aux
 “ Arabes ses alliés. Là, après avoir donné ses instructions à
 “ Mahmoud Effendy, il quitta pour la dernière fois la capitale du
 “ pays de Nedjd, qui fut bientôt incendiée.

“ A peine fut-il parti, que le gouverneur ordonna aux soldats de
 “ couper les dattiers, pendant que les habitans s'occupaient de
 “ démolir les murs. En moins de vingt jours Derayeh fut privée
 “ de ses habitans. Dès qu'une famille sortait de sa maison, les
 “ soldats y entraient pour la brûler, sans prendre garde si celles du
 “ voisinage étaient évacuées, car les troupes campaient sur la place.
 “ On était dans la saison la plus chaude de l'année, toute la végé-
 “ tation était anéantie ; ce qui formait un spectacle affligeant. Après
 “ ce désastre, Mahmoud Effendy rassembla son monde et alla
 “ rejoindre Ibrahim Pacha au camp de Chakra.”

At the end of this, the reader who refers to the text of M. Mengin, will find an account of a British force sent from India to Katyf, about which I know nothing,—except, that if the story be as he tells it, it is another instance of those precious schemes of folly and expense, which persons who know little or nothing about the matter, have but too frequently prevailed on the Government in India to adopt.

NOTE XX.

“ *Who sent Kadis, or Judges, from Dereyah.*”—Page 115.

And here I cannot help putting before the reader part of the 21st, and the whole of the 22nd verse, of the 18th chapter of *Exodus*.

“ Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men,
 “ such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness :—

“ And let them judge the people at all seasons : and it shall be,
 “ that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every
 “ small matter they shall judge : so shall it be easier for thyself,
 “ and they shall bear the burden with thee.”

* Amongst these there were no doubt many pieces the possession of which would have given great pleasure to an antiquarian.

Again: I wish to refer the reader to verses 18 and 19 of the 21st chapter.

“ And if men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed: if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and cause him to be thoroughly healed.”

NOTE XXI.

I am almost of opinion, that both Tasso and Ariosto borrowed the idea of their female warriors from some such person as Ghayle, who seems to have been to the full as great a virago, and as capable of sending a similar message to the Egyptian Paçha, as Bradamant does to the Lord of the Castle.

“ Rispose quel ch'era occupato il loco,
 “ Da donne e da guerrier che venner dianzi,
 “ E stavano aspettando intorno al fuoco.
 “ Che posta fosse lor la cena innanzi.
 “ Por lor non crèdo l'avrà fatta il cuoco
 “ S'ella v'e ancor, nè l' han mangiata innanzi
 “ Disse la donna: or va che gli attendo
 “ Che so l'usanza e di servarla intendo.”

“ The porter told her that the lodgings all
 “ Were filld by knights, that late before them tooke,
 “ Who now stood by the fire, amid the hall,
 “ And did ere long to have their supper looke:
 “ Well (answers she) then have they cause but small,
 “ If they be supperlesse, to thank the cooke;
 “ I know, quoth she, the custom, and will keepe it,
 “ And mean to win their lodging ere I sleepe it.”

NOTE XXII.

HEGIRA.

The Arabs, previously to the Hegirà, made use of two other epochs, in dating their différent transactions,—one, the Elefant—the other, the impious war. I have not at present by me a copy of the work of the learned Dr. Prideaux, and shall therefore make use of the French translation:—

“ C'est de cette Fuite de Mahomet, que commence l'Hégire, qui
 “ est l'Epoque des Mahometans. Elle fut établie par Omar (III^e.
 “ Empereur des Sarazins,) à l'occasion d'un differend survenu

“ entre deux Personnes touchant une Dette, et cela de la ma-
“ nière qui suit. Le Creancier avoit le Billet du Debiteur, où il
“ avoüoit la Dette, and où il marquoit le jour de mois auquel il
“ s’obligeoit de la payer. Le terme du jour and du mois étant
“ échu, le Creancier pour avoir son Argent, fut obligé de pour-
“ suivre en Justice son Debiteur devant Omar. Le Debiteur
“ avoüoit la Dette, mais il nioit que le jour du payement fût
“ encore venu, alleguant que le mois mentionné dans le Billet,
“ étoit de l’Année suivante : Le Creancier au contraire soûtenoit
“ que ce mois-là étoit de l’Année precedente. Et comme il étoit
“ impossible de décider ce differend, à cause de la date qui man-
“ quoit au Billet, Omar fit assembler son Conseil pour chercher
“ quelque expedient qui pût ensuite prevenir cette difficulté. Il y
“ fut resolu qu’on marqueroit à l’avenir dans tous les Billets, et
“ autres écrits la date du jour, du mois, et de l’an de la signature.
“ Et quant à l’Année, il consulta un savant Persan nommé Har-
“ muzan, qui étoit pour lors auprès de lui, et ordonna de son avis
“ qu’à l’avenir on eût à compter depuis que Mahomet avoit pris la
“ Fuite de la Meque, pour se retirer à Medine. C’est pour cette
“ raison qu’on apella cette epoque, Hegire, qui en Arabe, signifie
“ Fuite. Elle commença le 16. jour de Juillet, l’an de Nôtre
“ Seigneur 622. Et depuis cet ordre d’Omar, qui fut dans la 18.
“ année de cette Fuite, l’Hegire a été constamment observée
“ parmi les Mahometans, de la même manière que l’époque de
“ l’Incarnation de Nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, l’est parmi nous
“ autres Chrétiens. Le jour que Mahomet quitta la Mecque,
“ étoit le premier du Rabia premier, et il arriva à Medine le 12.
“ du même mois. Mais l’Hegire commence deux mois devant,
“ savoir, du premier de Moharram. Car comme c’étoit le premier
“ mois de l’année des Arabes, Omar ne voulut rien changer quant
“ à cela, il anticipa seulement le Calcul de 59. jours pour pouvoir
“ commencer son époque, dès le commencement de la même
“ année que la Fuite de l’Imposteur arriva. Jusques à l’établis-
“ sement de cette époque, les Arabes avoient accoûtumé de compter
“ depuis la dernière guerre considérable où ils s’étoient trouvez
“ engagez. Et comme l’époque de l’Elefant, et l’époque de la

“ Guerre Impie, étoient celles dont on se servoit à la Mecque
“ durant tout le tems de Mahomet, j'en parlerai ici.

“ L'époque de l'Elefant avoit commencé depuis une guerre que
“ les habitans de la Mecque eurent, à l'occasion suivante, avec les
“ Ethiopiens, dans la même année que Mahomet naquit. Environ
“ 70. ans avant Mahomet, il regnoit parmi les Homerites, qui
“ étoient une Nation Ancienne des Arabes vers le Midi de la
“ Mecque, un certain Roy nommé Du Nawas, qui ayant embrassé
“ la Religion des Juifs, persecutoit celle des Chrétiens, établie
“ dans ces quartiers-là depuis plus de 300. ans, et fit tout ce qu'il
“ pût pour la détruire entièrement dans tout son Royaume. Il fit
“ faire pour cet effet une Fournaise ardente d'une profondeur pro-
“ digieuse dans la terre, où il faisoit jeter tous les Chrétiens, qui
“ ne vouloient point renoncer à leur Foy pour embrasser le Ju-
“ daïsme. Les auteurs Arabes racontent un fait très mémorable
“ du tems de cette persecution. Ils disent qu'une femme étant
“ emmenée à la Fournaise avec un de ses fils fort jeune, qu'elle
“ portoit entre ses bras, fut si épouvantée à la vûe du feu, qu'elle
“ recula comme si elle avoit aimé mieux s'accommoder avec ses
“ persecuteurs, et renoncer à sa Foy, que de périr ainsi pour sa
“ religion. Mais que là-dessus, l'Enfant se mit à crier :—Ma
“ Mère, ne craignez point la mort pour vôtre religion ; car après
“ ce feu, vous n'en sentirez jamais aucun autre. Sur quoi cette
“ femme ayant repris courage, accomplit son martire. Cette perse-
“ cution obligea beaucoup de Chrétiens Homerites à fuir en Ethiopie
“ pour se mettre en sûreté. Ils s'y plaignirent au roy de cette
“ cruelle persecution, et ce Prince étant Chrétien voulut bien
“ envoyer pour les secourir une armée de 7000 hommes, com-
“ mandée par son Oncle Aryat, qui ayant défait Du Nawas dans
“ une Bataille, le poursuivit avec tant de vigueur, qu'il le força de
“ se jeter dans la Mer, où il perit. Là-dessus le Royaume des
“ Homerites tomba entre les mains des Ethiopiens, et Aryat le
“ gouverna 20 ans. Il eut pour successeur Abraham Al Ashram,
“ qui ayant bâti une fameuse Eglise à Saana, Capitale des Home-
“ rites, beaucoup d'Arabes s'y rendoient pour assister au Culte
“ Chrétien ; de manière que le Temple de la Meque commençoit
“ d'être négligé, et l'on voyoit tomber en décadence le Culte Payen,

“ qu’un si grand concours de peuple de toute l’Arabie y avoit
“ jusques-là observé. Ce changement affligeoit beaucoup ceux de
“ la Meque : car ils tenoient leur principal soutien du grand abord
“ qu’il y avoit tous les ans des Pélerins, qui suivant leur coûtume
“ y alloient pour adorer leurs Divinitez Payennes, et pour s’aquitter
“ des cérémonies, dont la solennité y faisoit venir beaucoup de
“ monde de tous les endroits d’Arabie. Ainsi pour témoigner
“ l’indignation qu’ils avoient conçûe contre cette Eglise, qui mena-
“ çoit leur bien public d’une entière ruine, il y en eut quelques-
“ uns qui étant allez à Sanaa entrèrent secrètement dans l’Eglise,
“ et eurent l’impudence de la souiller avec outrage de leurs excres-
“ mens. Abraham en fut si irrité que pour se venger de cet affront
“ il jura la ruine du Temple de la Meque : et pour effectuer ce
“ qu’il avoit juré, il s’achemina vers la place, qu’il assiegea avec une
“ armée nombreuse. Mais n’étant pas en état de venir à bout de
“ son dessein, aparemment faute de provisions qui étoient néces-
“ saires pour le grand nombre des troupes qu’il avoit dans un Pais
“ si desert et si sterile, il fut obligé de retourner sur ses pas avec
“ perte. Et parce qu’il avoit plusieurs Elefans dans son armée,
“ cette guerre fut appelée *la Guerre de l’Elefant* ; et l’on appela
“ l’*Epoque* dont ils se servoient pour compter depuis ce tems-là
“ époque de l’Elefant. C’est à cette guerre que l’Alcoran fait
“ allusion dans le Chapitre 105, qu’on appelle le Chapitre de
“ Elefant, où Mahomet dit, comment le Seigneur traita ceux qui
“ vinrent monter sur des Elefans pour ruiner le Temple de la
“ Meque, qu’il rompit leurs desseins perfides, et envoya contr’eux
“ de puissantes Armées d’Oiseaux, qui en leur jettant d’enhaut des
“ Pierres sur la Tête, les rendoient semblables au grain des
“ Champs, que les Bêtes détruisent et foulent aux piez. C’est-là,
“ où les Commentateurs de l’Alcoran, disent que pour préserver le
“ Temple de la Meque, de la destruction dont il étoit menacé,
“ Dieu envoya contre les Ethiopiens de grandes Armées d’Oiseaux,
“ qui portoient chacun trois Pierres, une au Bec et une à chaque
“ Pié ; qu’ils les jettoient en bas sur les Têtes des Ennemis ; que
“ ces Pierres, quoi qu’elles ne fussent pas beaucoup plus grosses
“ que des Pois, étoient pourtant d’une telle pesanteur que tombant
“ sur le Casque, elles le perçoient et l’Homme aussi de part en

“ part ; que sur chacune de ces Pierres étoit écrit le nom de celui
“ qui en devoit être tué ; et que l’Armée des Ethiopiens étant
“ ainsi détruite, le Temple de la Meque fut sauvé. Car Mahomet
“ ayant résolu de conserver l’ancienne réputation de ce Temple
“ pour en faire le lieu principal de son Nouveau Culte, comme il
“ avoit été auparavant celui du Culte Payen, et ayant dessein d’en
“ augmenter la vénération dans l’esprit de ses Sectateurs abusez,
“ inventa ce Miracle entre plusieurs autres, quoi qu’il auroit pû y
“ avoir alors des Gens en vie capables de lui donner un démenti
“ là-dessus ; puis que cette guerre arriva la même année que Ma-
“ homet naquit, c’est à dire 54 ans avant le commencement de
“ l’Hégire. Mais peut-être ce Chapitre ne fut-il mis au jour que
“ beaucoup d’années après dans l’Alcoran de l’Edition d’Othman,
“ dans un tems que tous ceux qui auroient pû se souvenir de cette
“ guerre, étoient morts, et qu’ainsi cette Fable étoit hors de dan-
“ ger d’être contredite par aucun de ceux qui en savoient la
“ fausseté.

“ L’époque de la Guerre Impie commença depuis la 20 année
“ de l’époque de l’Elefant, et tira son nom d’une guerre terrible
“ qu’il y eut dans ce tems-là, entre les Korashites et les Kaisaila-
“ nites ; ce fut alors que Mahomet âgé de 20 ans fit ses premières
“ Armes sous son Oncle Abu-Taleb. Cette guerre fut apellée
“ Impie, parce qu’on la fit avec tant d’emportement et de fureur
“ qu’elle fut continuée même durant les Mois où ils comptoient
“ parmi eux qu’on ne pouvoit faire la guerre sans impiété. Car
“ c’étoit une ancienne coûtume dans toute l’Arabie que de garder 4
“ mois de l’année comme sacrez, savoir les Mois de Moharram,
“ Rajeb, Dulkaada, et Dulhagha, qui sont le premier, le 7, le 11, et
“ le 12, de l’année pendant lesquels toute sorte de guerre devoit
“ cesser. Et ces Mois étoient observez si religieusement parmi
“ toutes leurs Tribus, que pour si grande que fût l’animosité d’une
“ Tribu contre l’autre, chose assez ordinaire parmi eux, le Mois
“ sacré n’avoit pas plutôt commencé, qu’ôtant les pointes de leurs
“ Lances, et mettant bas toutes sortes d’armes, ils ne commettoient
“ aucun acte d’hostilité, et même avoient commerce ensemble, se
“ mêlant les uns avec les autres, comme s’il y avoit eu entr’eux

“ une Paix solide et une amitié parfaite ; de manière qui si pen-
“ dant ces Mois-là un homme rencontroit l'Assassin de son Père
“ ou de son Frère, il n'osoit l'attaquer, malgré la violence de son
“ ressentiment, et quelque grand que fut le desir qu'il avoit d'assouvir
“ sa vengeance ; mais cette coûtume fut violée dans cette guerre,
“ qu'on apella pour cette raison Impie ; et commé dans cette con-
“ joncture Mahomet commença à prendre les armes, ce fut un
“ présage des desseins sacrileges auxquels il devoit employer le
“ reste de sa vie.”

THE END.

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