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Reports on parts of the Ghilzi country - - (1885)

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ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

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ISLANDS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMES; AND ON THE ROUTE FROM
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J. B. VERNANT.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1835.

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II. JOURNEY FROM SHIRAZ TO JARSH, VIA DABAS, FORO, AND MINAL. By J. R. Parsons.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1885.
REPORTS

ON

PARTS OF THE GHILZI COUNTRY,
AND ON SOME OF THE TRIBES IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD OF GHAZNI:

AND ON THE
ROUTE FROM GHAZNI TO DERA ISMAIL KHAN
BY THE GHWALARI PASS.

BY LIEUT. JAMES SUTHERLAND BROADFOOT,
BENGAL ENGINEER, 1829.

EDITED BY MAJOR WILLIAM BROADFOOT, E.H.
REPORTS
OF
PARTS OF THE GILZI COUNTRY,
AND OF THE
TRIBES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF GHAZNI;
AND OF THE
ROUTE FROM GHAZNI TO DERAI SMAIIL KHAN
BY THE GHWALAN PASS.

By Lieut. James Sutherland Broadfoot, Bengal Engineers, 1839.
Edited by Major William Broadfoot, B.E.

Introductory Note by the Editor.

These reports, having recently come into my possession, I was struck on reading them with their interest, geographical, no description of these parts of the country, except a somewhat short account of the parts described in Report II. by Mr. G. T. Vicary, having been published.

As Lieut. Broadfoot's report had always been considered confidential, I applied for sanction to present them to the Royal Geographical Society, which was accorded by the Secretary of State.

As I had Lieut. Broadfoot's original journal, I have in places added to, cut corrected, or eliminated parts of the reports as printed in Calcutta in 1870.

With respect to the spelling of the names of people and places, I have generally followed the style adopted in Sir Charles Murchison's compilation or Directory of Central Asia, except where I have had reason to think that the transcription was incorrect and not intelligible to ordinary English readers. I make no pretension to accuracy in the matter of spelling Afghan names, and will be more than satisfied if I can make them generally intelligible.

Lieut. Broadfoot accompanied the army from Peshawar across the Indus at Suki, to Gualur and Ghazni. He was engaged with the other Engineer officers in blowing in the gates, and took his part in the storms and capture. He was then left in Ghazni to repair and strengthen the gates, and this he describes as six weeks' hard work.

From Ghazni he was sent to join Captain Outram's force against the Gilzis and other sedentary Afghans in the neighbourhood. He remained with the force whilst it was in the field, and marched 440 miles in a month, surveying the country, taking at the occasionals fights, and collecting information regarding the tribes of that unknown country. This information is given in Report I.

When this expedition was over, Lieut. Broadfoot was allowed to explore the route described in Report II. From his journal I extract the following:—"The proposal to explore this pass had been started, I learnt at Kabul, by Outram, whom the Commander-in-chief would not allow to go. Outram assisted me by asking Sir..."
W. Monson's permission; and Major Maclean allowed me to go in anticipation of success. In a letter home, written just after the journey was accomplished, he says: "Eastern Afghanistan and Jellau was the great Salang range of mountains from C to E. Kurnool, where the army started, is D; the army had marched round by the line D E F to Ghazni at A, nearly 800 miles out of the straight line; in

...continued by A. B. C. D. 400 miles round about. The straight line A. D. from Ghazni to Jellau was through an unexplored country, of which the mountains were said to be so high, and the people so wild, that nothing was known of the route. It was much desired that the road should be surveyed, but the attempt was considered dangerous. I made agreements with natives, put on their dress and went among a set of murderers called, because a guest, among 100 of the men of my party were killed one night."

...Liout. Broadfoot was travelling with a caravan of merchants, he goes on to say "the head and dress quite led them to think me a good Mohammedan, and no Englishman. For twenty days I passed through a range of stupendous mountains without a house, a dog, a cow, or any sign of life, but the nightly plunderers who wished to surprise the caravan. At last I came into the plains of the Panjub, and crossed them as an Afghan flying before the English. The people of the Panjub, justly our firm allies, are not inferior to the English, and as an Englishman I should have been insulted, if not stripped and killed. Though there are no mountains, yet I passed five rivers, larger than the Thames six or sevenfold; and 100 miles of desert. At last I reached Lahor, a magnificent locking town, and in three days was in Peshawar on the Swat, exactly one year (20th November, 1840) from the day when I entered it proceeding with the army, and whom I saw the interview with Ranjis
Svil, now dead. Thus I was all occupation and hope, now I must look away with decided, after seeing the most curious era of robbers and murderers, and perhaps the wildest countries in Asia. I went into the first house I found, and not an old friend of William’s, and had my head cut off, and sit with a knife and bare, and set on a state in an English dress.”

Lient. Breadfoot then went to Kurnul, where he wrote the report and drew out the plans. They were submitted to Lord Auckland, who was pleased to express great satisfaction with them, and also permitted Lient. Breadfoot, at his special request, to return to Afghanistan. He was killed at Permanent on the 3rd November, 1869, when the Native Cavalry refused to charge, and allowed their officers, accompanied by Dr. Leck and Lient. Breadfoot, to charge the Afghan cavalry alone. Of the five officers who charged three were killed, and the other two desperately wounded.

With this introduction I beg to present Reports I. and II. to the President and Members of the Royal Geographical Society.

William Breadfoot, Major.

 REPORT I.


This report was made under the following circumstances:—

Accompanying the army of the Indies from its formation at Kurnul to its march from Ghazni, I had seized every opportunity of examining the people and country. In command of the pioneers, among whom were many of all tribes, I had many facilities for doing so; as Garrison Engineer of Ghazni, I employed every spare moment in surveying the surrounding country, in visiting the Hazara Passes, and in preparing data for the statistics of the district. In two months I was withdrawn to act as field engineer to the expedition against the Ghilzais; as far as my field duties allowed I surveyed the marches; as the breaking up of the force I got permission to cross the Salinan Mountains, and surveyed the country from Ghazni to the Indus.

My only instrument was a prismatic compass, with which I took the angles. Three steady men counted their paces, which, compared with the rates of horses and camels, gave the distances pretty accurately. While with Captain Outram I used his theodolite from Kuldang to Killa-i-Shahabedin. With the route thus laid down as a base, frequent bearings were taken to the peaks and extremities of hills, and by these the ranges were fixed. Forts near the road were determined in the usual manner, but when seen from a distance of several miles, by only one angle, and the distance estimated by the eye; it being impossible...
to recognize them after going a sufficient distance to allow a different bearing. Even then, it is hoped, will afford much satisfactory information. Such a rapid survey must have some errors, and be wanting in details; for this I can only apologize, that it was made at my own expense, without any assistance, endeavoring to supply by labor the place of instruments, funds, and surveying establishment. But the errors are not considerable, as is shown by the accordance with which my surveyed place of Bora Kasuli Khan agrees with that determined astronomically, during the Ghuzi campaign. I lost by frost and pneumonia the whole of my canva, and with them my Ghuzi field-books, on which much labour had been bestowed. The remains of my papers are embodied in the plans and reports. I shall treat of:—1st. Jammam and Warchuk. 2nd. Table-land of Ghazni and the Ghila. 3rd. The Ghulamri Pass. The triangular space between Herat, Kandahar, and Ghazni is closely filled with mountains, inhabited on the west by Amooks, and on the east by Hazaras. From Ghulamri three distinct ranges are perceived, running north-east in one unbroken chain. The highest peak is Gulkohl, in the clefts of which snow lies the whole year. Within 20 miles of the city are six passes, all leading into the valley of the Rohi-Ghazni; their names are Kukruk, Tungar, Gubbar, Bola, Barmat, and Markul. Being alike in character and appearance, a description of Gubbar will serve for all. It is a ravine, at first 800 yards wide, enclosed by rugged hills. The bottom of good soil scattered with fallen rocks; little rivulets run through its whole length and water the land of nine forts. After 2 miles of gradual ascent, it narrows to 20 yards, water and cultivation cease, and a short steep slope leads to the top of the first range. The view now embraces large barren rocks, with a few green specks in the narrow ravines, and the high mountain of Karmal* before the view. I never saw anything wilder or more desolate. A steep footpath now descends the face of the hill, and ends in the valley of Suramati, a ravine between barren hills with a few yards of soil at the bottom; rivulets are frequent, and the sandy soil is cut into terraces like those of the Himalayan valleys. Bucky and wheat, a little tobacco, clover, and turnips, are cultivated. The corn makes in autumn is reaped next August. The winter is most severe; frost continuing in the shade from September to April, and snow from December to the middle of March. The Hazaras are of middle size, but stoutly made; small grey eyes, high cheek-bones, and the want of a beard, show a Tartar origin. Their clothes, made by themselves, are of coarse hair-cloth; their boots rough goatskin, and their girdle a rope. They live in little towers containing five or six families, supported by scanty cultivation and herds of sheep. In autumn, at Ghazni, they exchange furs and hair-cloth for grain and flour; sometimes Shah mahalla sends the boys to

* Probably the continuation of Khwāz Vakil; see p. 322-323.
read the Koran, but their language is much corrupted from the Persian. Their ignorance corresponds with their poverty. My Hazara labourers were a light-hearted, careless set. They worked well, but were so fickle that, as soon as they got a rope, they stopped work till the pressure of hunger brought them back.

The women are not always veiled; they have often blue eyes, a few,eburn hair and red cheeks. They are generally ugly, but not very chaste. However, the custom called "Koruhistan," by which the Hazaras are said to lead their wives to a guest, in the parts I visited, is certainly a fabrication. They all denied it with indignation, as an invention of the Afghans; yet it is certainly true. The precipitous barren ridge of Nacay Yousuf (Joseph's rock), which runs from Sir-i-ab in the Wurakht country, and is passable for horsesmen at each extremity, beyond is the mountainous district of Abulak, and to the west the district of Nowar. This is a plain inhabited by the Muhammad Kheljans, and said to be 20 miles in extent, without a tree, but well cultivated. Water being found within a foot or two of the surface, it is perhaps the bed of an ancient mountain lake. The streams are so abundant, that it has always been a favourite place for the royal stud.

Still more to the north is Basil, or Basit, the capital of a Polishk Sultan; the chief is said to possess a town of a few hundred houses, and to keep up 300 horses, though he could raise many more. The want of artisans induces some to travel from Ghazni. They speak well of the Sultan, praising his justice and liberality. These wandering artisans might give valuable information, but it is rendered worthless by the desire, so natural in a traveller, to exalt the country he alone has seen. They spoke of shawls, gold, and silver in Basit, where I could find no traces of weights and measures.

The chief has retained his independence, though sometimes attacked by the Afghans, who possess the district extending from Gulkoll to Nowar, and from Basit to the Buni-k-Sultan. In Kumbagh, the Hazaras and Afghans are mixed, in Nowar and Sir-i-ab is the tribe of Muhammad Kheljan, in Jolja and Jalman are tribes of Jaghows. In the valleys of Sakha they are mixed with the Wazehs. The cultivated passes of the first range are given to a few families of Persian Bukhitaris, known by the name of Kanzilbalos. Nadir Shah settled them in Kabul, and the Afghans employ but distrust them. The young chiefs treated me very hospitably, and seemed to be liked by their ryots. The chief of the whole Hazara district is Geltam Khan, who is answerable for the tribute. He bears a good character, and joined the King near Ghazni. The rule of the Afghans is merely nominal. The Kanzilbalos and Hazaras used to fight without inter-

* The poet in front President's 318. Should possibly be Yavoh, which means a plain, or level.—En.
ruption. A revenue of a few thousand rupees and a little money is claimed by the Governor of Ghazni, and generally paid by Hamidkoh and the nearest valleys. The Hazara into the Afghan, who oppresses them, and who are Asaujars. Naxar and Siriaks, a few years ago, refused the tribute, and collected a formidable body of men.

A son of Dost Mohammed at the head of some horse, contrived to drag a light gun through the pass. The very sight of this dissolved the confederacy, and the tribute was paid. In spite of this example, I consider the country west of the first range to be quite impassable for artillery; and even were they dragged along by ropes, in such a country they would be inmoveable and useless. If a force is required, it should consist of infantry, and a few cavalry, with scaling ladders and bags of powder for the forts. All baggage must be left behind, and grain and ammunition carried on mules or pack animals. Providing with a month's supply, 3000 men could then penetrate where they pleased and find no serious opposition. In the valleys, grain, wood, and a few sheep could be obtained; in Naxar some grain might be got, nothing more could be furnished.

The Wardaks inhabit the valley of Sughis, that of the Ghazni river, and that west of the Logar. They are neither Ghalis nor Duransis, but warrier in descent to the latter. I have heard them called Shiraks. I found them quiet and hospitable; the country well cultivated; always melons, and sometimes grapes. Sughis, so called from its burning-blue loam, gives them several fine veins of lead, the ore being evidently very pure, from the ease with which it is worked. Small quantities of iron have been found; a rush on the hills in appearance like a fern, bears a medicinal gum smelling of tarantula; the specimen I had were lost with my canes. The Wardaks seldom travelers or intercourse with the Governor of Ghazni, unable to make them join them, extracted a considerable sum to pay his troops. From Ghazni, along the river to the Band-e-Sultan, and thence through the Wardak valleys, a road goes through the Garman to Kabul; it is sometimes travelled, as it avoids the Tang-i-Sharif defile, but would be difficult for guns.

In the maps the Ghazni river is represented as a branch of the Logar running to the north. This is not correct; the Logar rises somewhere near Buzsal, but the river of Ghazni was made by Mahomed, as follows:—

In a little valley 12 miles from the city, three rivulets meet; suddenly they formed through different channels, fortified a few fields, and were feet; Mahomed dammed up all but one outlet and drew made this present river. It issues from here a stream in the dry season 25 feet wide, 3 feet deep, with a velocity of 5 feet per second. In spring it is much larger; the Band-e-Sultan, by which this is effected, is a wall of masonry closing a rocky valley; the dam when complete must have been 300 yards long, its height varying from 30 feet to 8 feet, and its thickness

* This dam is described by Mr. Tupper, but not in so great detail as here. — Ru.
6 or 7 feet. In autumn, when the ploughing is over and water no longer wanted, the outlet is shut (and a lake fills the valley 500 yards wide with a greatest depth of about 20 feet). In spring when cultivation begins, the orifice (a mere hole in a rock, studded with brambles and earth) is opened, and the stream rushes out in several cascades, thus giving the whole water of the year in the season it is required. The lasting benefits of this work assure in part for Mahmud's religious cruelties. The principal of the rivulets which feed it rises on the northern slope of Sinabad, and running to the north for 20 miles through a narrow valley, turns to the right by Solhta in the direction of the dam. In its course to Ghazni, for the first four miles the river is confined by limestone rocks, opening occasionally enough for a fort and a patch of corn; after this it sends off numerous irrigation canals to a line of villages on each of its banks. On the west are the bare spurs of the Hazara Mountains, and to the east a still lower tract thinly sprinkled with casual shrubs, and sloping up to the defile of Tang-e-Sher.

GHAZNI AND THE GHILZAI COUNTRY.

The country from Mikhil to Ghazni may be considered a sort of table-land, bounded on the north-west by the Hazara Mountains and on the east by the Jelana range. Six miles north of Ghazni the plain attains its greatest elevation and descends towards Kabul. South of Mikhil it sinks rapidly into the valley of the Tarah. Between the two great ranges a low chain of hills conducts the drainage from both sides into the Ab-i-Mehab Lake. Elevated from 5000 to 8000 feet above the sea, the climate is severe. It freezes every evening in October, and the ice lasts till midnight; in November it never thaws; in December the country is covered with deep feet of snow, which melts in the middle of March. The people then issue from their long confinement, and find the fields green with corn, and the plain covered with flowers which last only a few days. The climate is then genial, but even in July the heat is not oppressive. Except the periodical snow, rain seldom falls. This has retarded the decomposition of the rocks and the formation of soil; but the time may confidently be predicted, when much of the limestone, slate, and trap, shall have crumbling to powder, and the barren plains turned into forest or meadows.

These ideas are confirmed by the fact that the Jelana range, whose height and situation intercept much of the moisture destined for the plains, thus contributing to the dryness of their climate, is well covered with soil and sprinkled with trees; while hills of the same formation, but placed to the sea, have scarcely soil enough for shrubs a foot high. The rocks here splinter by frost, not crumble by rain; their general appearance is a precipitous crest, with a base of angular debris, at first waving in hillocks, and then sinking in long gentle slopes to the plain.
These slopes are scattered with a thin, low, crenelated "Turquoise," and there may be numerous springs. By some strange method the Afghans discovered where the springs were situated, and digging down to them formed wells; but wells are emptied by mechanical labour, and the Afghans by great labour have dug subterranean galleries from the springs to the valley lower down; these galleries having a small slope, the water pours through them, and the wells thus emptying themselves are called Karez. Where the water issue from the ground is a fort with a few acres of corn and barley.

The general landscape is a brown stony plain bounded by distant hills, whose black, rocky tops and shelving sides I have already noticed; sometimes a diminutive fort and its patch of cultivation look like green spots in the large waste; sometimes forty or fifty are in view at once, but they never hide the level plain, and the general aspect is one of desolation.

At Ghazni I observed that the wind during the day was constantly from the south. It may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the trade winds tending to ascend at the equator all the air of the globe, an upper current towards the poles is absolutely necessary. The altitude of Ghazni may bring it into these currents. At Minnawar there is a great preponderance of the south or Bura breeze; but the theory requires more confirmation.

The Jabrun range runs N.N.E. It is the chief of the Suliman chain. I saw it in the distance overlyinging Garden and joining the Mischlng hills, the last spurs of the Suliman. It is named after the wild Jabrians, who occupy its western slopes. To the south it is penetrated by the difficult pass of Dulat, and continued under various names to Konak and Suraj; from thence passing the lake it goes south, striking the Yohaki and Hotaki country, and apparently ends near Quetta. All the streams of the eastern slope form their way to the Indus, showing that no intermediate range is so high or continuous; indeed, standing on ground 3000 feet above the sea, it may fairly be presumed as higher than the Turquoise-Suliman; a rough method made it 4000 feet above the plain. It throws out branches which shelter the Turis, Jafis, and other hill tribes, and directs the streams of Kasim, Kunlar, and Gonnal. I am at present uncertain whether the Waziri hills are a range running between the Throne of Suliman and the Jabrun Mountains, or are the spurs and offsets of the latter; another journey would settle the point. From Garden to where I passed it in Suraj, this range is tolerably wooded; its peak and eastern face are covered with Pines, and its lower parts with trees, whose Pashas names I can give, but not a botanical description. The "Shine" has an outside berry; the "Zellig" an excellent gum, sometimes exported to Multan; the "Kargu" is much praised as a remedy for wounds; the "Khang" furnishes wood.
for burs; the "Adarva" gives out a pungent oil; but the "Hanash" plan, whose fruit is the chilgoa, is the most important, as whole tribes live on the roots, which is like an almond tinted with red. The principal rock is clay slate, dipping 45° to the east. Parallel to this great mountain is the Hazarroz or Ghavrilah, a ridge about 500 feet above the plain, bare and rugged in its aspect.

Alakuli is the peak of a mountain similar to the Hazarroz, on which it abuts to the east, running westward to Ghazni and crossed by the Kahl road at the delta of Tang-i-Sher. On a low spur of it, the Koh-i-Talhak, some thousand Ghilshis were put to flight the day before we took Ghazni.

Between the last two ranges is Khawarz, an elevated barren district, thinly inhabited by Andars and Solaks. To the north Kharwor opens on the fertile valley of Logar; to the west it commands the Kedil road; to the east it is entered from the Droog Pass from Zarma and on the north by the Rohat Pass from Shilig. The Nanga Pass is between the two. Of these I understand the Doyung is the best, being passable for camels. The central situation of Khawar makes it a favorite haunt of robbers, as they have on all sides a sure retreat.

The country is dry and poor, game could not easily cross it, and troops would find little forage. Takri is a rocky ridge about 1000 feet above the plain; it is 26 miles long, steep in the centre, but easily passed at either end. The range continues with intervals through Spinak and Jumsh-dah, the hills being of precisely the same character, and they may be traced in the rocky isolated peaks of Nasul Ghish, Zilghah, Khwaja Hill, and De Kei. On the western base of Jumsh-dah is a lower ridge, evidently of contemporary origin; and on its eastern side a chain of rounded hillocks formed of its debris, and culled in the north Khbarin, in the south Ghardun. This is continued on a larger scale in Zhem, a rocky peak, surrounded by miles of hillocks and finally sinking into the Aki-kash Lake. Ghardun is the last of a range running from near Dadkhar along the south-east bank of the Yarneh; it has, as usual, a rocky top and base of hillocks, with a pass every five or six miles. Before it is hid by the high land of Ghazni, its continuance may be traced in the disjoined ridge of Xarghahar, which has a few peaks of rock rising above a long ascent of moorland.

The river of Ghazni has been traced to the city. It passes between Shilig and Mani, passing off many irrigation cuts, till the water, ten or twelve miles, becomes much less, and its banks too steep. It next runs west of Psanah and Khwaja Hill between De Kei and Al-band; in this direction it is strongly impregnated with salt, and falls into the Aki-kash Lake. A curious circumstance occurs: the fish, brought by the stream from the upper parts, on entering the salt part slunk and die; they may be taken by the hand in all stages of illness.

The next barrier of the lake is the Ilgla or Surkhand, which, rising
in Gahni and Michlga, flows through the whole of Zirnii, and passing through Sardih joins the Ghiasi river opposite Mashki. At Sardih it has perpendicular banks 10 feet deep, cut into hard clay; the stream was 1 foot deep and 20 feet wide; in spring it is barely fordable. In the lower part of its course it is not used for irrigation. A third stream is the Tolbi, which rises in the pass of that name, and runs through Kattawa to the lake; in its course it becomes slightly brackish; its banks are never above four feet high, its dimensions those of the Jilga. A very small stream runs into the lake from the Turkani Mound, a few miles of which it drains.

The Afghans insisted that the water runs out of the lake through this stream; they must have been trying to deceive me, as the stream would run further to the south as it is from a new lake, and also such a stream would prevent the lake rising in its level during spring, the proofs of which are very evident in the newly dried banks of clay all round its channel. As we passed the greatest part of the Alki-tashah by night, I cannot answer for its exact figure, but am not for wrong in estimating it at 17 miles broad and 15 long; its depth, I understand, is very varying, probably not above 12 feet in the centre; it is bordered by a gently shelving margin of moorish clay; not a tree is in sight, or a bush of grass, and hardly a foot; the blue hills in the distance make it look more lonely still. There were several large flights of chiloor and rock pigeons, but we looked in vain for the myriads of water-fowl which the Emperor Russia declares give its blue water a red appearance; the only instance I have detected of oriental exaggeration in his book. Its waters are as salt as brine; I drink, with soda, but had no tests.

Shigaar is included between the Ab-hok and Takri ranges and the river of Ghansi. The population are Amouts, with the exception of the Tajik villages, Bakmaek and Rohat, each of about 150 houses. It contains about 240 square miles, and I estimate its population at 20,000. The western part, well cultivated with wheat, barley, lettuce, and clover, partly supplies Ghansi; the country is flat and easily passed in all directions; water is abundant, and troops would be well supplied. These estimates of population were made from lists of the number of the forts and water-mills as given by the Afghans, and are to be looked on as mere approximations. Zirnii is a valley 40 miles long and 20 broad; in its northern part is the Tajik village of Gahni, numbering perhaps 250 houses. Between that place and Kohulga the inhabitants are Ahamdals and Ali Khels. The mountains on each side furnish many lucern, and occasionally a line of forts parallel to their bases; a third line follows for some miles the course of the river, by which its fields are watered; Shalgit is a Tajik village of 300 houses. From there the western line of fort as far as Sardih belongs to the Anders, and the eastern, which is much sunnier, to the Belivan Khels. The roots or spyms of the Jatdia Mountains shelter a few haramd families of wandering
Shepherds and robbers; the population is about 40,000. From Khan a good and goes by Logar to Kukul and a more difficult one by Michele to Jalalabad; the valley is passable for artillery in all dimensions; water, forests, and grain abundant. The road from Khan to Kukul is very easy as for as Killa Durash Khan, from there it passes two low hills and winds among some small ravines caused by the water from the east of Shilgar falling into Zermai. These would give a little work to the pioneers, but I think they might be avoided by keeping to the north of my route. The wide space marked Dur is a plain inhabited by Schiks, and the entrance to the pass of the Kuran river and to the country of the Jowas. The Pass of the Pans is said to be difficult, and feeds among craggy mountains to the Kharoti country and the source of the Dwo.*

Gomal at Sharboka; the country is impregnated with salt. Smith is a narrow strip between the lower end of Takri and the hill Spisanik. It has seven or eight forts of Anders comprising about 1000 souls. The ground is covered with treeless brush, and cut up by ravines running into the Jilga. Here are the remains of a don wested by Mahamud, but now commonly ascribed to the prophet Ali; its object was to irrigate the land by means of the Jilga. Opposite Minail there is an easy pass into Shilgar over the low end of Takri; there are others lower down; a guide can show several easy passages through the ravines.

Mohani and Jowas are clusters of forts of Anders included in the Shilgar district. The roads from them to Pansail are over an easy plain. Pansail and Mahalgh are little districts of Anders, together containing about 1000 souls. The road here winds among hillocks, but has no serious difficulty. Supplies for a small force could be obtained at Pansail. Among the hillocks are camps of shepherds and Lohani merchants who emigrate in winter. Niulla Khe, Alibeg Khe, and Zhaghau, are inhabited by Anders and Tarakkhi mixed. The country is now even harsher than before, and is a series of low swells and hollows; water is found near the forts, but supplies are scarce. At Zhaghau, a spring of water issues from a hillock, and is the main seat of a pastoral herd; at Aslan there are two forts with twenty families. The ground is now completely void of brushwood and wood; supplies could be obtained; the road is easy, and parallel to the Ghani stream now flowing sluggishly between steep banks. Dibik is a fort of Khandinzia with a few families, a strip of cultivation, and a well of good water; another fort of the same tribe is nearer the lake. During the night march to Masur Kure, the shepherds' fires were all we saw. They insulted us greatly as for an 15 miles—they seemed always close in front. At that place we saw the last of the Tarakkhi five or six forts of the Shilbe Khe.

From these we marched among hillocks to Feron, the boundary

* The Khat Gomal of Mr. Vigne. The other branch is called Koxa; Shik meaning right, and Koxa left.—Fo.
of the Tolkhis; no supplies except water and cassil forage could be procured.

(From this place to Barik Khel I was constantly occupied by my field duties, and could only take occasional observations; this part must be taken with less confidence, but the Bombay army having passed leisurely along, can correct me where I am wrong.)

For nine miles the road lies among difficult hillocks as far as a spring of water, from thence we got into the Turhakai Nawli ("Nawli" is a plain), an open plain, well cultivated by the Tolkhis and Hukris in the south, and the Tulkhis in the north-east.

After passing five forts, we arrived at Killa Abdiralan, the fort of the Khan of the Tolkhis; this was a square of 329 yards with a mud wall 6 feet thick and 24 feet high, with large towers at each angle, and in the centre of each face a ditch had been dug and partially filled. Some years before, this fort had successfully resisted all the troops of the king.

After blowing up the place we marched 20 miles through a tolerably well-cultivated part of the nawali, or "plains," and passing near the fort of the Khan of the Turkhaks, and a village called Lekhri of the same tribe, we reached Barik Khel. The nawali has on its west, the Rozanai and Sarrini Sukhtas or "Sukhtas" hills, dividing it from Simaghah, inhabited by the Muhammadali Tolkhis, and from the plain of the Turhakais. These hills are about 100 feet high, but not very steep. In the last the prolongation of Shinkaai divides it from Wazilakhwa, a hilly district of the Seliman Khels, and from Allahag, a flat valley of the Shimalzai-Tolkhis. To the north is the Marat and the valley of the Argzamis.

From Barik Khel to Mir Ghaznav, the beginning of Warilakhwa, is about 20 miles, the road lying among barren hills, but, I believe, passable for guns. Mir Ghaznav has four families and a spring of water. The inhabitants are Nazir Sallan Khels. The chief was usually called the "Mean," because he was both father-in-law and uncle to Rohan Bil Khan. He had a fort with good thick walls, large towers, and a ditch, yet he would not stand an assault, but fled at our approach, taking with him two Musulmans of his tribe.

Returning from Manzar Khan, we passed an open plain to Killa Arzehi. The Arzehi was said to be good and kind, yet every one knew him to be a notorious robber. Gilan, Dokhur, and Oba are fertile districts, inhabited by Turkhis and a few Duranis. Water was everywhere abundant, and the road a level plain. Between Mahmud and Kusarn all the forts are ruined except Lakau Piyari Khel and Habibulla. These miles to the west were many forts, which I pass over, because they have been closely surveyed by Lieutenants Anderson and Durand of the Engineers. From Rozanai to Jumand are fifteen forts.

* Barik in Mult. Broadfoot's note: Barak Khel on one of the maps.
† "Nawli" in Bruggler's "Central Asia"; on ever, I presume, for Nawli, which means a town or district.—D.}

* Musul means elder, eldest.—D.
with excellent cultivation, the road good, and water and supplies abundant. Karabagh has been previously mentioned; Mushahi and Nani are like Bencani and Jemrud; Mushahi is inhabited by Armenians.

Ghazni has 900 inhabited houses, which, at five to each house, will give a population of 4500 persons. To this may be added 1000 for garrison and camp followers. There are generally about 200 Hazara, who come to get labour, or to sell their wool and hair cloths; also about 150 Hindu families, the money-lenders and bankers of the place. They are required to wear tight trousers, instead of loose ones, and a black cap for a turban, and to pay a small tax as indigents. For these concessions they receive protection and even consideration, and are allowed to practice their idolatries in secret; their strange dress and dirty habits are very unlike the Hindus of India, but they are still the same quiet, money-making people.

The rest of the inhabitants are Tajiks, as are also the people of the tract bounded on the north by the Wurakas and on the south by Nani, and included between the Ghazni river and Hossa Mountains. The origin of the Tajiks is doubtful, because they are derived from several sources. Those of Kundahar and Girkal, with flowing beards and large black eyes, are probably of Persian descent. At Ghazni, the small and sometimes grey eyes, and the beard generally flaxen, indicates a Tartar race, and when we reflect on the dynasty of Mahmud, and the Turks and Moguls established here by Baber, we must expect to find the remains of the powerful tribes which once ruled the country. To this day they are often called Moguls; and the proverb of "Turk and Tajik" is common in Asia. Exclusive of those near Ghazni, the villages of Kalman, Zebat, KohDoug, and Garden, numbering perhaps 1500 souls, have been already mentioned.

Between them and the Afghans exists an enmity, perhaps the effect of ancient wars, and tending much to diminish their numbers. Thirty years ago there were seven forts near Nani surrounded by cultivation and gardens, which were entirely destroyed by the Ghilzis during the troubles ending in the expulsion of Shah Shujah; Nani and Karabagh escaped with the total destruction of their vineyards and orchards which had been raised by the labour of generations, and have never been attempted to be replaced. The old men told me with regret of the days when every man sat under his own vine. This foul has materially influenced their character. Finding that they cannot oppose force to their enemies, they seldom carry arms, and are inhabitants of cities, because they dare not venture out into the country. Seeing also their land circumscribed by constant encroachment, they have made the most of the remainder by skilful cultivation, making irrigation canals and laborious gardens. In the manner they are active, energetic workmen in all the usual trades of the city. They obey by fraud or policy what an Afghan would attempt by open force, and having something of the
While I was at Ghazni there were several instances of men killed in their fields within view of their walls. This state of things makes the people of the town ignorant of the very hills they see from their citadels; they always spoke of their immediate neighbors, the Anderas, as a set of murderous villains instead of the quietest Ghilzis I ever saw. During spring they are constantly occupied in their fields and gardens, a succession of good crops and fine fruit is the result. In May and June the people almost live on mulberries; they even dry them and grind them into flour for winter. Then apricots, peaches, plums, grapes, melons, peaches and apples, of good quality, come in by tens. I think that a garden at Ghazni is more useful than a farm, so exceedingly cheap is the fruit; and for six months bread and fruit is their principal food. Towards autumn every one is busy salting long strips of mutton, and in making cheese and hallab, or drying fruit; large stacks of brushwood are collected for firewood, and of inoxoro hay for the cattle. Those preparations are hardly completed when now falls and confines every man to his house. They represent this state as miserable, their only amusement sitting in the sun on the top of the house, or crawling to the mosque to hear the news. It may be easily conceived that in a country without glass windows, and where the soil gives out much smoke and but little heat, the time of frost is unpleasant. To them a coal-mine would be more valuable than diamonds. In March the snow sends them back to their gardens and fields.

Dost Mohammad formerly protected the Tajiks well, till of late years pressed by the Sikhs he kept up an army larger than his revenues could bear; to effect this he exacted from the Tajiks, and the tribes who obeyed him, the usual tribute and forage for the country wherever they could be found, and of these unhappy crews had to carry them to the store-rooms on their backs; the tribute of three years was levied at once; and the fruit-trees too near the walls were cut down. Enlightened people repelling a national enemy would grumble at such measures; but the Tajiks saw nothing but Dost Mohammad's ambition to keep the throne at their expense; their constant prayer was, "Oh God! make Dost Mohammad poor, for he has ruined us." While the Ghilzis were arming to oppose us, the Tajiks from Nani to Ghazni wished us God speed. They are somewhat unfortunate, however, in their new friends, as about 200 of them were unavoidably killed in the storming, leaving a blank in many a family: at first they grieved bitterly, for their affection are strong; but in a few days they wiped their eyes, came out of their hiding places, thronged the bazaar, and were as merry as ever.
The Ghilzis.

The Ghilzis are divided into seven great tribes: the Hotakis and Tokhia living in the district from Murā to the north of Turkān-mah; the Tarakhīs from Gilān and Lāhūrc to Karaksh; the Andhrs, inhabiting Shilī, Dīhāz, part of Zīrmāl and Pannab, the Shahās, in Khurwar, Darra and Bāghān, the All Khel settled in the north-east of Zīrmāl and the surrounding pastures, and lastly the Sulaimān Khel possessing half of Zīrmāl, all Kattawā, Murnāz and Wānīkhwā, while their shepherds are found from Kattawā to near Ghovāh; this last tribe is not at present at more than 10,000 families, but the rest may be taken at Mr. Elphinstone's estimate bringing the whole Ghilzi race to about 100,000 males.

They are first heard of as inhabiting the Sulaimān range, living more by pasture than agriculture. The Domains are probably from the Hindu Mountains. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Ghilzis overran Persia and took the capital; but not enlightened and combined, they could not keep their conquests, and were driven by Nadir, first out of Persia, and then from Rāshāh to their present seats. Ahmed Shah completed what Nadir had begun, and escaping a tumultuous attempt to wrest the crown from Dost Muhammad, they have been pretty quiet though not obedient.

Shahshahān Khan of the Tokhīs established twenty-five years ago a kind of rule from Kolāt-i-Ghilzī to Kattawā; he levied taxes on travellers and merchants, and plundered the tribes who opposed him. He is represented as a tall, stout man, kind and hospitable at home, but harsh and oppressive abroad. After his death, his son Abūrulman, in connection with Gūl Muhammad Khan of the Hotāks, and lord of the Ghilzī monarch, carried on the same system. The Māns of Wānīkhwā timely joined them; the Khan of the Tarakhīs was the quickest and best of the Ghilzī chiefs. The Sulaimān Khel have no regular head, but Moḥān Mān Khan had influence enough to lead formidable parties in forays. The Andhrs and Tarakhīs generally submitted to Dost Muhammad and seldom plundered.

The Ghilzīs neither dwell in cities nor practice any handicraft trade, but procure their living by agriculture or as shepherds. Their country, without the heat and rains of India, requires more for a harvest than scratching the soil and scattering the seed. Noonday has forced them to make irrigation canals from the rivers, and karans from every spring. They are rewarded for their toil by good crops and neat farms; unlike the Tajiks, they cultivate no fruit, but occasionally melons; but the wheat for their own food, and barley, rice, and clover for the cattle, are of excellent quality. These are grown only for home con-

* Or Ghilzi.-Ex.
The fields belong to the head of the family, who, with seven or eight houses of relations, inhabits a little fort above this cultivation. The fort is an enclosure of 40 or 50 yards square; the wall is three feet thick below and one at top; at each angle is a round tower with loopholes. The houses are generally nine feet high and about 12 feet square, with mud walls, and the roofs of broomwood branches covered with clay. The doors are very small, as to make them secure. The houses being generally built round the fort, the roofs serve as a rampart from whence a loophole fire is brought to bear on the country; the space in the centre serves for cattle, and the towers for storehouses of forage and grain. These forts are intended to keep off enemies without cannon or making holes, and they answer the purpose simply and well. The chiefs already mentioned had thickened their walls to 8 or 10 feet and dug ditches, among Afghans a sure indication that they meant to rebel.

A large proportion of the Sulaiman Khel and some others are pastoral; they live in rude tents, made of two rough poles supported by hair ropes, on which they hang covers blankets of their own making. In these the Farsangs slowly migrate from near Jharkhel in the winter to Agra and Allahpur in spring and Zarand in summer, always enjoying a temperate climate; others go parallel to the course of the Gomal as far as Wana and the Pirwar. Each family possesses its own flock and a few camels, the lost already destroyed, and two or three cooking pots and wooden bowls, with a few sacks of flour. When several families move and live in concert, they form a "Khel." While the men watch the flocks with arrows by their sides, the women make "kurai" and cheese for winter, butter-milk and bread for the daily consumption. On the march they help to load the camels and pack the tents; they are decently dressed in a brown petticoat and veil, but seldom cover their face unless purposely stared at. Their features are regular but somewhat massive, and their figures tall and good; they marry late and keep their looks a long time. The father of a young man who wants a wife, proposes for his son to the bride's father, previously feeling his way carefully, as a refusal may cause a feud; then ensues a long scene of bargaining, at first ended by an agreement that the bridegroom shall give a feast, and certain presents of cloth, sheep, and cattle; this is not a bargain for the girl, but to satisfy the neighbours that her friends will not give her to a beggar; the expense of a marriage is about 100 rupees in the poorer classes; house men are often 25 or 30 and generally 30 or 35 years old before they can afford the money. The obstinacy of the custom prevents the price being lowered, though many fathers

* Kirat is a sort of dried milk or curd; described in Yule's "Huns Pakti" 2nd edit. 1896, vol. I, p. 325-58.
would be happy to give their daughters for nothing, were they not ashamed. The desire to get married makes the Afghan sometimes trade and often plunder. When all is arranged, he is admitted to see his fiancée once or twice (alone and at night) before the ceremony; if the young couple forget themselves, it is not inspired after by her friends, but the mother rates the girl soundly and calls her a "bajork"; but should the male relations fear of it, a bloody feud is the result. The fear of death, I believe, makes them chaste in general. This curious custom is not intended to prevent people marrying who did not like each other, as the bargain is fixed before the lower is admitted, but serves a childish experiment on the strength of virtue under temptation. The Afghan, once married, are very happy; the women are rarely beaten and often consulted; they are fond of their husbands, kind to their children, and excellent housewives. Their married life is the most sensible part of the Afghan character.

On the approach of danger, the men hastily gather their flocks, take post on the hills and behind stones, and fight well for their wives and children. The women bring them ammunition, food, and water, and frequently fight by their sides. In charging some Khwajicks up a hill, the women and children throw down incessant showers of stones, at least as formidable as the howling fire of the men; when broken into different parties they stick by their husbands under a close fire, handing them powder and ball with the greatest coolness; one or two were unfortunately hit. Even when made prisoners, the women exhorted the men to die like Afghans, and made a chief who had promised me to point out Colonel Herring's murderer, ashamed to keep his word.

These Khwajicks were chiefly Absonjikins, men of ruined fortunes and broken clans, without lands or flocks: want made them plunderers, and rendered them so active and enterprising, that they were the post of the country. If the first blow be followed up, they will never retreat.

The pastoral Ghiizis are all robbers when stimulated by ill-will or hunger. They sally out on foot and carry off the cattle of some weak tribes, or look out for a traveller on a road. There is no calculating on half barbarians; sometimes they spill his blood like water, at others they only rob him. If he is well dressed, they exchange his fine clothes for their filthy rags, and send him away in the dress of a beggar; this is thought nothing of. Occasionally they give him a blanket when they find him naked. Unless extoriated by despair or to defend their families, the pastoral Ghiizis seldom show much courage, but fight at long shots and against weaker parties. If they return laden with spoil, their wives receive them with new affection, and the children are decked with the plunder. In the Sullivan range I saw several Sullivan with their children and their horses decked out with necklaces of the new Company's rupees, which as well as the "Bhakti" of Bokhara are admired for the image:

* Brisk.—Ex.
there was no mistake in how they had got them. They seldom cultivate crops, but procure flour by bartering their surplus wool and glue; they have no weights or measures; or shepherd matches with another how many of his hands full equal a Kafir man, or how many of some peculiar wooden bowl.

If questioned as to the internal government of his tribe, a Ghilzi would perhaps state that each family should obey its own natural head. All the families of a Khel should obey a mulki, and all be subject to a khan, who leads the Ulaid troops and is answerable for the revenue, but should not act on important business without the sanction of a "jirga" or convention of the elders of a tribe. This has been generally considered the counterpart of our own feudal institutions, and Mr. Elphinstone has sketched a pleasing vision by which the Afghans might be civilised by a process like the formation of our own constitution. Looking on this opinion as erroneous and liable to produce bad effects if acted on, I will briefly state what seems the difference. The north of Europe was at an early period covered with forests, supporting a set of hunters who must have been thinly scattered and without civil institutions. Caesar and Thucydides describe them when the forests had been partially cleared and unruly societies established; but the interchange of lands every ten years and the frequent migration show how recently they had ceased to be hunters, and how they still cling to the roving life. While Rome remained strong, the barbarians were unable to extend southwards. At last, taught by many defeats, they overwhelmed the Empire as soon as it was internally convulsed, but not without many struggles, which obliged the hordes to submit to a king, and to inferior leaders armed with considerable power.

When success was complete, whole kingdoms were parted among the men who had conquered them, the ancient inhabitants became slaves attached to the soil, and gradually from these, and from the poorer barbarians, the classes of serfs and inferior vassals were formed. The rewards of lands were given with the condition of military service, and were frequently altered in their distribution, but they gradually became hereditary, and strong ties were naturally formed between the nobles and their vassals; but an enormous distance still separated them. The barons were looked on as superior beings, and sometimes as entitled to the power of life and death; the king had lost much power, but generally was able to control the state.

In Central Asia it has been different. The earliest accounts speak of shepherds, sometimes predatory, wandering over wide plains in search of pasture, and obeying no fixed government. The Arabs and Tartars are to this day scarcely altered, and the Afghans not much so. Like all nomade tribes, they have long genealogies. They say themselves that they were originally descended from one man; at all events there is little doubt that they were once two families, not very large, called
Turan and Bursa are. The increase of population obliged them to subdivide, the former into Hotakis and Torkis, the latter into Ali Khel, Andurs, Turaks, Schiks, and Sullins Khel. This latter tribe is now so large that it has split into several other tribes, of which the Ahansali is the principal. The names of Turan and Bursa are now nearly ho medicinal. The Hotakis are the oldest branch of the Ghilzis, and the chief of the oldest family of Hotakis is considered the king of the whole. His name is Gul Muhammad; he is exalted by the king and a price is set on his head. Each of the tribes is now divided into numerous Khels, and each Khel into a few familia; the natural head of each family is implicitly obeyed; the eldest by descent of those heads of families is usually, not always, the malik of the Khel, with a power but little obeyed. It is understood that the head of the senior "Khel" is chief of the tribe, and the king often grants him the title of khan. He does not collect any income from his tribe, but lives on the produce of his own lands; and by appropriating by fraud part of the duties on imports and merchandise, and in the efficient tribes, part of the royal taxes. Among the eastern tribes (who are always in rebellion or rather in a state of independence) he uses his influence to lead plundering expeditions and procure a good share in the spoil. His seniority in birth makes the Afghans pay him the respect of an elder brother, but nothing more. If his character is disliked, he has not even that; the lowest of his tribe eat, drink, and smoke with him. In urgent danger the khan is often set aside, and a "Teshwin" or leader is chosen, and while the danger lasts is pretty well obeyed. The senior family of the Andurs is the Garjan Khel; there are adults in it, yet there is no khan to the tribe. All this is very different from a feudal baron followed implicitly by his vassals, and with despotic powers. The institutions of the Afghans are in fact patriarchal. Under feudalism, legislation was only for the good of the gentry (Magis Charta, for instance to give the barons saluty); among Afghans the king and khan have little influence, and measures will be good or bad as they act on the people at large.

To the king an adherent of the court ascribes unlimited power over the life and property of his subjects. A country Afghan only approves of a king provided he never raises taxes or interferes with lands. The whole people look on resistance to taxes not as a crime but as a virtue, to be admired and imitated if possible. Like the sympathy the lower orders in England have with poachers and highwaymen. Indeed, I suspect that kings are an innovation among Afghans. The Sudden is the senior tribe of Pahalzai, and therefore of the Abillas, who themselves are the oldest branch of the offspring of Saul, and the eldest son of Saul Abdul Bakhid, descended from Bakh, Abillas, and Aslan. This genealogy, however absurd, has preserved the head of the Sudden great respect, which Ahmad Shah turned into a title to the throne. His fortunes and abilities brought him yellowows, his victories abroad en-
riched them, and enabled him to consolidate his influence at home by

riching many jugulars. The Durrani, thriving under the new system and

never feeling the weight of the taxes, because equal to it; the

Ghilzis and other Afghans never liked it.

Had he remained at home levying taxes, he would have failed. The

influence of his name and the habits formed by a long reign upheld the

system through the time of his son Taimur; the thirty years of anarchy

are well known which destroyed his institutions, foreign to the

patrimonial government of the Afghans and to the genius of the people.

They were also valient in themselves, because resting on foreign

plunder. At the first conquest of the Punjab and Kashmir, the Afghans,

like the Englishmen in India under Clive, acquired great wealth.

When the provinces were put under Afghan rulers, they might be

grouping themselves, but would not allow the people whom they

governed to be oppressed at the pleasure of their countrymen. They

seem often to lose the love of their soil and finally settle in their

provinces, refusing to pay the king tributes, defeating his troops, and

killing his tax-gatherers in the most approved Afghan method.

The Ghilzis had kings also when they were conquering Persia, and

were not taxed for their support. They say they had them before; if

so, I suspect they were merely nominal ones. The Afghans then appear

to be a nation of families or a little federation of men connected by

blood, more or less subject to their natural heads, and having the

patrimonial institutions nearly complete. The only bond of unions

among these societies is their common language, and descent from one

stock; they are in transition from pastoral to agricultural life, and low

in the scale of civilization. They have not yet assembled in cities, they

practice no trades, and the ties binding them to the soil are still slight.

Last year was a dry one, and the Sikhs of Khairpur, disgusted with

scanty crops, in great numbers quit their fields and returned to a

pastoral life: even a settled Afghan puts his whole idea of wealth in

flocks and herds. Those remarks apply chiefly to the Ghilzis, but

with slight alterations to all the Afghans. The Durrani, nearly one-

third of the whole, are a little more advanced; their constitution, as

given by Mr. Elphinstone, is what was established by Ahmad Shah,

and is called "Ahmad Shahi:" it never took root among the other tribes,

and not completely among the Durrani, who, even when they do not

practise it, are bent in its praise, looking on "Ahmad Shaki" as a panacea

for all evils. I may mention here that, though I have been sometimes

obliged to differ from Mr. Elphinston, the course of my inquiries

has led me to a thousand proofs of the great judgment in combining

evidence and ample statements, search for truth, which characterize

that writer.

The only genuine institution of the Afghans in Pushnavall, the

code of the traditional customs of their ancestors. The grand precepts
are hospitality to strangers, obedience to parents and elders, and revenge for the injuries of kinfolk. No attention is paid to paying taxes and following kings. Their injunctions clearly point back to a nomadic state of society, when a man depended on his immediate relations, not on laws, for protection, and when to refuse hospitality was equivalent to murder. These precepts are most closely followed by the more barbarous tribes.

Among the Dumnis I have heard of a khan destroying his guest at a feast; this was looked on with horror. Among the Waziris a little child would be sufficient escort through the lands of the tribe, and they are said to protect men who have killed their brothers, if they come as guests. The method of ensuring safety is to sit by a man’s fire-side and neither eat nor drink till he promises to convey you safely to any place you wish to reach; by the Afghan custom he must comply, and either go himself or send a near relation to prevent danger. If this ceremony be neglected, food and a pipe will be freely given, but it will depend on the character of the host whether he does not rob and murder his guest the moment he leaves the threshold. When they wish to rob a stranger, they either try to civilly hinder his entering the house, or make him eat and drink; if he asks for protection, The Achiknasi are said to consider themselves as released from all obligation to hospitality when a guest has eaten his fill, and to have a right to rob him or murder him when they please. I, however, only know one instance of that feeling; uncivilised men are very apt to obey the letter and evade the spirit of a precept, but the natural kindness of the Afghans generally makes their hospitality sincere, and this rule almost alone allows any travelling in the country; it is, however, a bad system, and should be replaced by laws and an armed force.

On a visit of importance a sheep is killed, made into “kababs” or a roasted, and served on cakes of leavened bread. The guest and his followers sit on the best carpets, and eat according to their station out of dishes—pots or wooden bowls. The host stands behind, pressing them respectfully to eat. After washing the hands and smoking the chillum, a horse or camel is brought for the guest’s reception. The horses of the stranger are all amply fed. In this manner I have been entertained several times (of course not taking any present, which is usually waived); the common people confine their attentions to a hearty welcome and a profusion of their own coarse food.

The revenging wrongs is the worst part of Panjshirwal, and encourages feuds more than it punishes aggression. Two men quarrel in a field, and one strikes or wounds the other; the relations take it up. They meet on some occasion, fight, and kill a man; from that moment the quarrel is deadly: if of different tribes and the quarrel important, the whole tribes go to feud. Semi-barbarians constantly quarrelling, have always funds on their hands.

At Panjshir there are two sorts of relations who are at loggerheads.
The distance between them is only 200 yards, and on that space no one ventures. They go out at opposite gates and walk straight from their own fort, in a line protected by its wall from the fire of the other, till getting out of musket-shot they turn round to their fields. In Zirauld I saw a fort shot by rolling a stone against the door instead of the usual heavy chain; on inquiry as to the cause of such carelessness, the mullah, a fine old man, with a plump, good-humoured face, stretched his arm out towards the line of distant forts and said, “I have not an enemy.” It was a pleasing exception to the rule: feuds are a system of petty warfare carried on by long shots, stealing cattle, and burning crops. Samson burning his neighbours’ corn acted just like an Afghan. When the harvest is nearly ripe, neither party dare sleep. When the enemies are distant, the feud often lasts for generations; but when they are neighbours it becomes an intolerable nuisance. Pashawalwai devises a remedy, which the Afghans call as the name of their civil code. This is to let both parties fight till the same number are killed on each side, then their neighbours stop in and effect a reconciliation called “Manawatt.”

The party who first draws blood is looked on as the aggressor: whatever may have been his provocation; he pays the expense of a feast and gives some sheep and cloth as an atonement to the others. But in case this means of equal justice cannot be procured by one party having more killed than the others, the price of the reconciliation is higher, but it never exceeds a feast and a few virgins. These girls are not given as concubines (which the country Afghans seldom or never have), but are married and well treated. The expense of marriage being so heavy, to get so many of their young men well married without expense is a great object, and a real money compensation. The other party do not like it however, as to give Afghan virgins without getting presents is thought to show want of spirit.

A fertile source of disputes is the right to water. In Kattawun is a spot called Khud Karez, or the bloody spring. It has been claimed and stoutly contested by two tribes. One party would occupy it and bring crops nearly to perfection. Then a constant skirmishing began, on one side to destroy the grain, on the other to preserve it; but the first is more easily done than the latter, and the cultivation was always laid waste. In three centuries the water was often stained with blood, hence its name.

It now has not a trace of cultivation, and the water runs to waste in the plain.

The respect for elders is easily accounted for. Among civilized people, young men have the advantages the experience of ages has given in books; and better still, they are early obliged to act for themselves and form their own character. Before the body fails with age, they acquire perhaps all they will ever learn. To young Afghans, on the contrary, are as ignorant as beasts, they know nothing but their genealogies and the confession of faith. Without any means of education
but their individual experience, they for many years plough the earth, and then combine the rains and successes I have described. By degrees their inexperience makes them rely on their own judgment, and gives them an acquaintance with human nature, at least in its Afghan form. As they get old they are constantly employed about reconciling feuds or arranging marriages, in which they have to reason with one, flatter others, and browbeat a third; their fine climate and temperate habits preserve their faculties for a long time. They are much superior to the young or middle-aged men, and are respected accordingly. In all half-wild savage countries the same respect for the old man is observed. Sports, which was about the Afghan standard, preserved the feeling much longer than Athens, where education, assemblies, and debates made the mental be quicker formed. Pashtunwali is quite good enough for wandering shepherds, when land and water were abundant for all, tending to foster the best virtues of the Cossacks, and probably produced a simple, hospitable, and animated race; it has not kept pace with the increase of population, and the change from a pastoral to a settled life: having conducted the Afghans to a certain pitch, it should now be thrown aside for a better system. Its present influence on the Afghan character is bad. These feuds cannot be carried on without falsehood, treachery, and meanness, and their scheming guerrilla warfare is not favorable to courage. The hospitality daily tends to a more worthless form. All this is very observable in the Ghilzai country.

Murail and Kattawaz, beyond the power of Dost Muhammad, pay taxes neither to him nor to any one else. They gave Dost Muhammad a few camels, but no taxes like the Andars. Sometimes they killed the people who came for the camels. The whole produce of their land was turned to their own support, and it was miraculous that, in the intervals of cultivation, they cleared the neighbouring country, living for nothing, and bringing back horses, camels, bullocks, and cloth, to increase their stock; their very implements of husbandry were a tribute in some cases from the Kharotis. The soil is fertile and water plentiful. According to the most approved Pashtunwali, every man defended himself and defied his neighbours. A country excepted from the taxes which impede the increase of capital, and getting so much new stock for nothing, might be expected to be flourishing. But I found forts in ruins, karezes drying up, land ceasing to be cultivated, and tribes returning to pastoral. Every man distrusted his neighbour, or was at open feud with him. It is the custom of the country to throw a heap of stones over a murdered traveller. In the ravine leading from Shiligar to Zirlaul the frequency of these heaps was sickening. In many cases they were at the closed end of the ravine, showing how the poor travellers had run as far as possible and then been thrown down. Such was Zirlaul and Kattawaz. The Andars and Turakhris have not so fine a country. They complained bitterly that Dost Muhammad had raised the
price from 10 to 22 repos on every khwarav of madz (26 lbs.) (rasad is supplies for troops often commuted for money), and that he took cloth at only 10 yards for a rupee, the market price. Yet their fields were more thriving, and themselves more comfortable, than the Sellman Khel. They accounted for this every way but the right one—that is return for this tribute they had been partly protected, and fouls much diminished; these complaints of theirs must be taken in part, as Afghans will cry out when they pay taxes. Nothing but the dread of an armed force ever makes them submit.

In Kattawan, Akhtar Muhammad, chief of the Jalalzais, told me he was afraid not to ride across the valley alone. His story illustrates the subject. His father Taj Khan headed the whole tribes, and partly by his own hand, partly by plunder, made himself a man of great importance. When he died, his son, who is a good-looking young man with rather a good character, attempted to carry on the system, but his younger brothers claimed their share in the patrimonial estate, and with the land took many of the Ulus. Akhtar Muhammad could not then withstand his enemies, and is in great poverty. Though respected by his tribe, he scarcely gets 300 rupees a year.

The people of Kattawan, with all their discord, have united more than once. Some years ago, a son of Dost Muhammad, Abdul Khan, tried to reduce Zerauld; his troops penetrated by Kolda along the western line of forts of the Assuras. Some he destroyed, others he passed; but at Nashkel he was met by nearly all Kattawan, and was defeated. Again, when our army approached Ghamzi the Sellman Khel, altered by reports of our wealth and effeminacy (they said we were Hindustani sheep coming for slaughter) and excited by Dost Muhammad speaking of the Yusuf-i-nas Fedchak (Afghan horsemen) and the militias promising heaven to those killed by inhocks, they came in a tempestuous rush from all quarters; but the head of the Ulus being promptly charged, the whole dispersed. Again, when the force with Captain Outram arrived at Nashkel, many of the tribes turned their guns and forces to prevent us entering Kattawan, and we had to go round by Pozishk and Ashian.

As an instance of a fury, I extract from my journal an account of Mihtar Nusa's chapaa.

Mihtar Nusa is the son of Yahia Khan and head of the Sultan Khel of Sellman Khel. He is a slow-witted, plausible man, and has acquired more influence than any other man of the tribe, and as he has an Ulus of his own, he is a formidable enemy. In want of some live stock, a few years ago, he despatched his family drummer to every Khel in Kattawan, to announce that on the third day he would lead a chapaa. The rendezvous was Surrak; several thousands assembled with every sort of weapon from a rifle to a club, and some horse, some foot, poured in a disorderly torrent over the pass of Sarpo and fell upon the lands of
the Waziris, surprising their flocks and camels in great numbers. The Waziris occupied the gorges and crests of their mountains, and saw their country ravaged. But at night signal fires were lighted on the hills, and the whole tribe came, tolerably armed and eager for vengeance.

The Suliman Khel had attained their object; soon carried their plunder home; and I believe part, under Khair Khan, passed into Duman to collect a little more. The Waziris formed a bold resolution. They crossed the hills by paths known only to themselves, and passed on Kistawas while their enemies were absent, guided by the tracks and leads by one of the Suliman Khel, and then returned home richer than before. The Suliman Khel was greatly vexed at being so outwitted, and had no resource but negotiation, as outstripping the Waziris twice was hopeless. After much swearing on Korans and giving to each other some undeterminate syads as pledges of their faith, all the cattle were restored on both sides, except those lost by caesar or over-driven on the march. The Suliman Khel made up for lost time by plundering a weaker tribe, and the Waziris by attacking the Lohanis. These anecdotes have been introduced to illustrate the subject; they are characteristic, and have been confirmed by more than one person, but I do not pledge myself to their exactness except where I personally saw the facts related.

In general, thefts are on a smaller scale, sometimes they are mere thefts. They seldom plunder near their own homes, and have no understanding with other predatory tribes, by which the cattle taken are passed along by secret paths. When Afghans are robbed and cannot help themselves by force, they negotiate. Ten or fifteen rupees will generally reduce a camel worth 40 or 50. I have been amused by seeing a thief, who had stolen some Lohani camels, come (with a safe conduct) quietly into the camp, and after a great many compliments, sit down to write the redemption of the camels; he wanted 12 rupees for each, saying they were fine animals (as the owner well knew), and when they offered 10, he asked indignantly if they meant to cheat him. Even the Waziri chief, Jangi Khan, between whom and the Lohanis a war of extermination had for a hundred years been going on, came into their camp about some camels he had stolen. Had the thief conducted himself infra, they would have spilled his blood like water.

The Afghans are generally praised among Asians for love of truth. This must be received with some limitations. They have no abstract love for the moral beauty of truth, but their scattered simple life, where everything about a man is known to all, and where there is little buying or selling, takes away many of the inducements to deceit, which inhabitants of towns possess, but to a stranger, or where anything may be put by to be true, I must confess the Afghans make no scruple at falsehood: I heard a similar account of some hill tribes in India whom first seen by Europeans. An Afghan swore by all that was holy he had never hired a young men
as his servant over him a year's wages: but no sooner did he find
that the case was fairly going against him, than he brought a mass of
evidence to prove he had paid him.

The courage of the Afghans must not be compared with our own, the
result of organisation in one of the finest people of the globe. Judging
them by a fair standard, that of their neighbours, they appear to
advantage. They beat off the Persians at Herat, and once conquered
their country; they kept a province across Yezd Kosh taken from the
Dahake; they frequently invaded India and there founded dynasties.
The Rohilla Afghans are notoriously the best soldiers in Hindustan, and
the general opinion of Assis is awrore bravery to the nation. I am afraid
the general opinion of our army in the contrary; and is contains
so many men of judgment and experience, that I cannot help stating
the grounds of my singular opinion. Our own success, always objected,
was, I think, the result of other causes; an army conquering a country
always thinks lightly of the people. We expected to find the feudalism
of Europe in an Asiatic dress, but in a vigorous state, and every one
anxiously longed for the day when the Afghans would once charging to
the bayonet's point. The fruit and climate had been always praised;
grain scarcely heard of. Unfortunately (for the day, i.e. for its chance
of fighting), we lost the king with us. The Durani, disgusted by thirty
years of success, and by seeing their frontier recede from Behawalpur
to the Khyber, and by no longer enjoying the best places in the country
conquered, were anxiously looking to the king's restoration as the first
step to regaining what they had lost. Mehreb Khan was busy in out-
writing himself, and Rohanall Khan was vainly trying to make the
Moolahs declare it a "Ghazi" or war against infidels. This he could
not effect, because his bad government had disgusted the people, and his
joining the Persians against Herat had raised the indignation of every
Sunni. Under these circumstances it was not likely that we should
seriously oppose. The opposition to this view of this case always
asked: If these brave Afghans are partial to us, why do they not join
us? The question is a difficult one, but people after long convulsions
soon to sink into apathy. Thus the simple proclamation of the Duke
of Brunswick roused all France to arms and made her mistress
of the Continent, till, worn out by her over-exactions, she scarcely
saw her capital twice entered by foreigners, and her bravest shot like a dog.
The Afghans just so, would not oppose us, although they would not join us.
Another good help was the strict discipline of the army. They were
with astonishment our cavalry horses die of hunger and the corn stand
untouched in rear of the column; this was often mentioned with wonder
by the Afghans.

The Ghilzis, on the contrary, detest Yezdis, and especially Yezdis
once. They see a prospect of paying taxes, and curse "Shujawal" for
* Ghazi is the war and Ghiz the warrior against infidels—Eh.
without agriculture, because the shepherds can easily procure grain cheap in Diam, and have no need to buy from the settled tribes, and thus be taxed indirectly. Again, there is scarcely any money in the country; the eastern tribes traffic entirely by barter. If payment were required in specie, the people would bring their produce all into the market at once, and sell them to Government when the market was glutted, and consequently to their own loss. I think it might be introduced gradually, at first twenty miles round each town, and the circle extending as money became more plentiful and the traffic of barter less. The rotten sheep and toothless camel system is hopeless, and taking it in grain, even were it advisable, is impracticable from many tribes.

A better taxation and a strong government would, I am convinced, alter the country in a generation. The land is not rich, but capable of good crops where water is procured, and the supply might be increased. The people, I think, have the seeds of many virtues, which are only obstructed by a wretched system. This is the great crisis in Afghan history. Brought for the first time into contact with a civilized nation, they already feel their inferiority in the sterling qualities. Their barbarous virtues of respect for elders, their rude hospitality, and their frank independent manner, will probably disappear; and should their barbarous vices of revenge, treachery, and murder be merely changed in form, but not really altered, then the consequences of our advance will be deplorable, indeed. But the course of events in placing our troops so suddenly in Kandahar, and our influence at Herat, have already made all prophesying the future absolutely useless; and I hope we have seen the first step to raising the Afghans high among the people of Asia.

These opinions are given with diffidence, as I am aware how hard it is to come to right conclusions about the feelings of a whole people, especially when those feelings were undergoing a constant change under astonishing events. But even if found to be erroneous, they may serve a useful purpose, by showing the impression produced by considerable intercourse with the people during a stormy period. My opinions were slowly and carefully formed, and have been candidly stated.

J. S. BROADHURST,

KANDAHAR, 26th January, 1840.

2nd Lieutenant, Engineer.
REPORT II.

On the Route from Ghazni to Born Kusamil Khan by the Ghundor Pass.

First, my own route. The country from Ghazni to Panjshir has been already described; the distances are (by the road)—

1. Ghazni to Nani ... ... 14 miles.
2. 19th October, 1829, Jungs ... ... 10½ ... 
3. Dur ... Panjshir ... ... 13½ ...

All this day, the 19th October, I was an object of curiosity; women came and lifted up the panels of the tent and looked at me, some smiling, others looking with horror, but none seeming to imagine the possibility of inebriety. Whilst dressing, it was all the same; the children sometimes stole in, calling me "Peshgah," with bits of bread for me to eat; there was a crowd the whole day.

20th.—To Durul, 12 miles. The road at first crosses a few easy hillocks, then a plain; at the eighth mile, turning round the end of Jaralanka, a road, saving a few hundred yards, goes over the ridge, which is here a few black rocks at the top of a gentle slope. From this point we went between some few hillocks. Near Durul a dry water-course is crossed, with banks four feet high; the whole road is very easy for guns. Near Panjshir the villages and firms shown in the plan would supply a brigade with grain and forage, and water is abundant at all of them.

At Durul there is no other water nearer than Dhanali or Nusami; the first a large village of Andors with perhaps 100 houses, the latter a group of four or five forts of Andors and Sullivan Khelis. Durul is a fort with thirty houses of Shukhl Sullivan Khelis, with about 150 acres of cultivation. Near Nusami is Schashtimus, two forts of a tribe of Sullivan Khelis. At Durul the only supplies are water and wooded forage.

The people have shown the most undistinguished hatred of the Ferengi, and of the Lomalis for introducing them. They give false answers to every question, and say that they will never consent to have their country written down.

For the first time in Khurasan, I judge it necessary never to leave camp alone, even if well armed; my life now being certainly in danger if not alone. At Durul the caravan halted for a day in order to allow the Man Khel Lomalis to join for safety's sake. The strength now was three camps of about 200 men, each with women and children in proportion, and cancel out of all proportion. A crowd of men and boys always me whenever I move out, which is but seldom. This and the white tent let out what the native dress would have concealed. The dress is...
a lungi turban, a lungi kameez, a chaplain or very loose, long, curly-hair gown, trousers stuffed into boots which come above the knee. When I ride, these are put into a pair of green shoes, which keep the boots and foot warm. A pistol and dagger in the belt and my sword by my side. In riding, over all a passatem.

21st, a halt.

22nd—Sixteen miles to Killu-Langan. The first four miles are over a plain, ascending easily to Katassang, and the next three through Gaharm. This is a pass evidently formed by water flowing into Katassang, through the hillocks formed by the spurs of Zoro and the end of Katassang. At first it is 30 feet wide, with a level bottom, bounded on either side by hills easily ascended. In the middle of the pass is a space of half a mile, where the width at bottom is only 20 feet, with the hills at the side, 200 feet high, and the windings frequent and sometimes sharp. After this it widens gradually into the plain. A few small springs issue from the crumbling rock, but are soon lost. Guns could be dragged through the pass in its present state, and a few hours' labour would make it a good road. There is another and similar pass a mile or two to the north, it is called the "Little Gaharm." (Gaharm Khel).

From here we emerge to the open plain of Katassang and pass Zorghun Shahr (green city), a fort, about fifty houses of Ballo Khel—a branch of the Suliman Khel, and about 500 acres of cultivation; of this, much is fallow. From thence we gradually descended to Langar in the centre of the valley, passing the stream near the fort. It was 20 feet wide, one foot deep, and the current two feet per second; the water is slightly brackish. The banks four feet high, but easily passable in many places. In spring this is heavily fordable. Langar has two forts containing about eighty houses. The larger fort is a square of 100 yards; the usual walls, 20 feet high, are flanked by eight towers. The walls are not above six feet thick, there is no ditch, and the gate is uncovered; yet this is one of the strongest forts in Kattanwaz.

At the bottom of the Katassang hills are Most and Shigana, a few forts of the Suliman Khel, and the only watering-places between Hund and Moh Khel. Kattanwaz, as viewed from near Hund, appears a mass of undulating hills and in bare as a desert; it is a resort in summer for some pastoral families of Suliman Khels.

On entering Kattanwaz, from every man there was a burst of abuse against me, though the dress prevented them from recognizing me till told by the Lobdis which was the Ferungli they had come to see. At the halt they crowded round the tent and threw stones. I struck the biggest and foremost a blow under the ear. He grasped his sword. I did the same to mine, and they went away. Nothing but the presence of the Kabla prevented my wrath. I could not go out all day, but was stowing in a close tent with the door tied up.
Several chiefs came at last, afraid to venture to Kohat and afraid of the consequences of not going. Among others, the brother of Mullah Muna Khan. I made out a plot to catch Sarwar Khan and me as a hostage or perhaps from revenge. The chiefs I could in a few days bring in. The people are different. Except the Musulim who trade a little, they are all thieves and good cultivators. The people have never paid tribute, and hate us for making them do so. They hate the Shiah as a Damin.

23rd.—Shintma, pronounced Shintma, 133 miles. The first 23 miles are through the cultivation and fallow of Langar, and the deserted fields of Khamar Karse, which give a good supply of water; then the ground gently rises towards the hills, which are seen near the pass in several parallel ridges sprinkled with trees. At 11 miles are two ruined forts, whose waters have now dried up, one of these was called the “Ghila Kalle” (thieves’ fort): their feuds destroyed each other. From this point we enter the Sardo Pass. It is a ravine cut by water through the Kohak range, and winds in easy curves. Its width, never less than 30 yards, is often 100. The ascent is scarcely visible, and the hills on either side easily seconded; the bottom is sometimes rough and heavy, but two hours’ work could make it an excellent road. At 13 miles is the cultivation of Shintma; there are no houses, the cultivators being migratory; but a little watch-tower commands the field, and shows by its multiplied defence and its gate, scarcely to be reached, how little certain the owner was of reaping what he sowed. This seems an example of the method by which the Afghans change from pasture to agriculture. The small Kial had eked out the livelihood gained by their flocks by a little cultivation, irrigated by the water of the spring which runs along the valley. The necessity of levelling the ground for irrigation, and of erecting the watch-tower, have given them some ties and a claim to the soil; but they still leave it at the approach of snow, to come back in spring, and have not yet re-established their tents for homes. The coldness of the climate obliged the settled Ghilzis to live in houses; the Daminis, whose country is warmer, live mostly in tents, of which Afghans are passionately fond. Under a government, these families, with increased means of support, might increase in numbers, dig barracks, and extend into the plains, becoming firmly attached to the soil; the chance at present is, that some feud will drive them from their little fields and make them again return to their wandering life; I have seen instances of this retrogression. The hills are sprinkled with thorny bushes and low trees, giving fuel in abundance; the spring is plentiful, but grass scanty. High up the mountains of Kohak is the fort of Omm, in which robbers, when pursued, constantly find refuge.

On the road, having little to survey, I entered into conversation with a Sikh, whom the Musalmans were tormenting about the everlasting subject of religion. I asked him why he did not change; at which he got out vol. 1.
into a rage and said, "Feringis change their religion for a pretty girl, the Mussalmans were no better, while he was of a perfect religion that he would die sooner than give up." This he uttered with much violence, and as to surmise the Mussalmans only laughed, especially when he accused them of filling their bodies with earth by burying their dead, while his people burned them in a clean fire. On being appealed to, I said I hoped good men of all religions would go to heaven. At this there was a general "Shahbakh," or expression of approval.

The Hindis said we had get the gate of Ghazni opened by money, but that if we find the Punjab we should be beaten, I smiled, and said it was written in the heavens that from China to Damascus must be ours. He was silent, this being the general belief in all these countries.

24th.—Surghupi, Red rocks, 13 miles. The Kotha started at daybreak, the cold being less and delay expected on the road. The road for three miles ascended gradually; multiplying in slopes, possible for guns. There was an ascent of 20 yards, the angle about 11 degrees, with a few stones requiring breaking; next, for two miles, a level incline 30 or 40 yards wide, winding among hills, steep on the north side and rounded on the south. From this point we descended at a slope of about 3 degrees. The hills covered with bushes, and a little rivulet accompanying us to the halt, where the space is wide enough to encamp in; the road required a few hours' labor. Pool, water, and casual forage are abundant. From the Kotal-i-Surwandi commences a descent continuing without interruption to the Indus. This, and the fact that from Kohak the Atrak is often visible, first decided my opinion that the Jadriu was the principal range of the Salimpur Mountains. I estimate the height of the Kotal-i-Surwandi (4° 17' means a pass over a ridge, as "Darya" implies a passage between mountains) at 7500 feet, by referring it to that of Mirkar as determined by Lieutenant Durand and Dr. Griffith.

25th.—13 miles to near Othman. The first six miles are down the pass, now a slight incline, reach 400 yards wide, and very straight. The rocks bounding it gradually slant to the Killi-i-Rahak. This is inhabited by Khuratis, who have shown great skill and perseverance in conducting water to every little spot of soil within miles of their fort. The fort has a little garden and is in good repair. Being the only place of supply for caravans within several marches, there is always a quantity of chopped straw for sale. A tower of refuge has been built on a rock commanding the fort; to this they fly on any danger, and prevent by their fire any injury being done to the crops or garden below them. The main stream of the Gomal rises here several springs join near the fort, and flow over a few small spurs, the streams rapidly increasing till the halt, where it was 12 feet wide, six inches deep, and running four feet per second. The banks, three feet high, and the bed 200 yards
wide show that the river is considerable in March. This channel winds in tortuous curves all down the valley. Near the fort is a place called "Kwan Eats" ("Eats" or "Each" in Punjabi means a place, and especially a wider space, in a narrow pass, where the rocks are 1000 yards apart, and where caravans frequently halt). We trespassed in a spot of similar character. The road presents no difficulty; water and camel forage plentiful.

26th.—Simanglo, 13 miles. The valley at first was formed as before, of the level winding channel cut by the Gomal through high cliffs. After a few miles the bases of the Wazir and Kahunn ranges approach each other, and confine the river into a narrower space and higher rocks; the curves are also much more frequent. At right milés the Dhoa Gomal ("second Gomal") makes its appearance, from a ravine similar to that just described. This stream rises near Sradam, and flows through the Khardi country, draining the Wazir and Eshkast range; the Koh-i-Waziri, cut into a thinned channel by rain, looks very different from the smooth hills of Khoosan, from which they partly intercept the monsoon. They are about 2500 feet above the Gomal, and sprinkled with trees. Wherever I asked their name, the answer was "Wazir da Ghanda." They are the hills of the Waziris; but at different points they have different names, as Sanaaski, Warakal, Chini, and Kohangr Margho. Othman is a widening of the valley to a space large enough for a camp. The Dhoa Gomal is of the same size as the other. From this point a really grass in frequent patches would give a supply of bad forage for horses. In the valleys, at some distance, is a supply of a better grass, called "Washa." Water and camel forage of course abundant.

27th.—Abmskhi Kala, 14 miles. At one mile we passed Simanglo, a boiling place 500 yards wide and a few feet above the river. At 3½ miles, the salt rivulet AB-i-talkh enters the stream; from thence the channel is narrow, and winds so very point of the compass in bends at every 300 yards, yet I never saw it less than 20 yards wide. At seven miles is Mallowal, "Mustafa's tomb," a great white rock in the centre of the pass, where it again widens and curves straighter. The little stream winds so frequently, that it is crossed sometimes seven times in a mile. This is so annoying to the men on foot, that they often climb the hills the whole march rather than be constantly pulling off their shoes. The shingle here is composed of larger stones, some of them a foot in diameter; but there is no serious obstacle to guns.

28th.—Stighai, 10½ miles. For the first five miles the Gomal wound so much that the horsemen and khow went across the hills, rejoicing it three miles lower down. The crossing of course, continued by the river. The crossing was very frequent. The breadth of water here is 20 feet. Lieutenant Brooke in his journal remarks, "Today I was very careful, there being a report current that the chiefs had hired men to take or kill me."
and the depth one foot. At 7½ miles we left the river, and proceeded up a level ravine 40 yards wide, and bounded by low rocks or hillocks, often passable for cavalry. Our camp was in a dry plain 300 yards wide. Water was brought from the spring nearly a mile distant up a ravine on the north. The villagers would have some work in clearing away the stones of the Gomal, but there is no real difficulty for guns. The Washa grass was now abundant.

The Sultan Khela of Privuk plundered many servants to-day, taking good clothes for old ones, and sometimes giving none at all in exchange. They say openly I shall be shot one of these days, and that only my disguise has saved me hitherto; I believed this to be humbug for some days, but now so many people of all tribes have told me, that I mean to be very careful. In this country generally, and on this road particularly, all emotions are absorbed in a constant dread of murder.

Many men have refused the most tempting offer to come a march with me, saying that whatever I may give them will be taken away by robbers in 10 miles going back. They never leave their houses without putting on rags, in hopes no Afghans who meet them may have worse. It is a singular state of society.

29th.—Betisal, 14½ miles. The first mile and a half was over the same easy ravine to the hotel of Stighai. This is a low ridge crossed by three paths, all equally good. The ascent is about 150 yards of a broad level road not at all steep. From this an easy ravine leads gently down to Toula Chian ("warm spring"), a fine spring eight miles from the halt. At the sixth mile is a smaller spring with scarcely water for a regiment; at 11 miles the road runs along the side of a hill, and crosses it in a place called Gatkai, where there are some troublesome large stones. From this we descend the bed of a rivulet which drains part of the Waziri country, and must be large in the rains, as it has cut a wide bed, 30 feet deep, into hard slate. The ravine is crossed by cầud tracks, but I saw none fit for guns. Afterwards a stone plain continued to Betisal, which is a collection of graves of Isbahrins who had died in the pass. Alia Khan Miyan had procured from Kabul some fine marble slabs for the tomb of a favourite son. The rest are heaps of stones; water, grass, and forage are abundant. This march is one of the most difficult; and a road could not be made under a day's hard work, the last three miles about Gatkai being so difficult. If necessary, this obstacle could be avoided by keeping down the bed of the Gomal. A woman was robbed, on the roadside, of a gun and some clothes, and the thief escaped.

30th.—(Hill of Treasures) Khazina Ghulm, 11½ miles. At first we crossed the desolate plain of Sambabur Lahge ("we have reached the black plain"), the boundary, as it is called, of Khurasan and India. At 4½ miles we turned the hill of Stighai and entered the channel of the river by a descent (not difficult) of about 80 feet. The bottom is stony as usual; a wretched bed gives the name of Khair-o-dangar to this place.
At eight miles is Jankeata; this place is named from a great Vaziri robber, who at last fell into the hands of the Lohani merchants and was then hewn to pieces. At Jankeata are three acres of cultivation and the entrance to the stream Zawrawan, said to come from near Himwal. At 10 miles is the isolated rock with a flat top called Khatai (Gunah), which the Lohani believe to be full of the treasures of Nasir Shah. The channel of the river was wider, and not so stony this much. Grass and forage as before.

1st.—Gulabote, 14 miles. The camel followed the whole way the stony bed of the river. At four miles is an encamping ground called Toppi One; from thence I mounted on the high bench by a steep, rocky passage, and entered a small plain under the hill of Usak; this is a steep, congy ridge, about 800 feet high. Advancing further, we entered the wide, stony plain of Zarsolast, and saw the Thalhet-Sulaiman towering in a mist above the inferior mountains, its base extending to the south past Wohwa, and the north beyond Ghukali. At the tenth mile we descended into the valley of the river, here three miles wide, and being covered with rocky grass and low shrubs, it looks at a distance like a field of corn, and is so pleasing to the eye that it has been called the "place of flowers." The marsh as usual is stony; water, forage, and grass abundant. We are now rid of the wandering Bhitian Khids, and I am not pastureed with people opening the tent and storing at me like a wild beast. Six camels were carried off in the evening.

1st November.—35 miles near Kassarwalli. After six miles of easy plain is Khafet-Shinge-see, a large mound of clay which splits only in vertical or horizontal directions, and takes something of an architectural look; a very lively fancy might see a distance Egyptian temple and five columns, but no European imagination could conceive it anything but clay on a nearer approach; nevertheless, the Afghans maintain stoutly that there was once an ancient flourishing city, but a man committet incest with his sister, and the Deity turned the whole city upside down to punish the guilty pair. From thence the main eastern plain continues to the salt. There was no water at the place, but every man and beast drank before leaving the Gomal. A supply was carried in skins, and the horses were hidden in the evening to be watered at the river. There was no necessity for this. The road by the Gomal is even easier than before, but it is a march longer, and the Afghans were tired of the bed of the river.

2nd.—Tor Dahbar, "Blackstone." The hills of Zarmolain send out a spur to the east, which reaches the Gomal; we crossed this in the Totoat of Kassarwalli. The first mile is an easy ascent, the next half mile is steep, and the path either at the bottom of the ravine or along the south slope of rocks; the rock was a hard, splinterly slate in vertical strata. There was then a longer descent, but of the same character. Guns could not go by this road without a day's hard labour from the
pioneers; but of nearly 1000 camels who passed with me, I did not see one throw his load. After passing a plain nearly a mile broad, we again entered the valley of the river; this ran in wide, straight reaches of easy songling. At eight miles is a wooded bank, with two trees and beautiful red grass. This place is "Kotani," and a little to the north are Spin and Toe of the Damascus, and Wina about two marches distant; this marsh has abundance of water, grass, and small forage.

3rd. - 12 miles to Gathi.* After two miles we reached Shahidan, a number of groups of merchants slaughtered by the Waziris, and called by the Lohimis the "martyrs," to throw odium on their enemies. After this the hills on each side branch off, leaving an undulating plain, in which the road is met by the Zihob. This stream, 30 yards wide and one foot deep, is larger than the Gomai; its valley could be seen for at least 40 miles in a straight line parallel to the Zihobi-Gomal; its waters are esteemed peevishly sweet; I thought them just like those of the Gomai. At 11 miles is a small date-tree standing in a spot called Eastakats, where large caravans usually halt, that they may drink the Zuth water before crossing Ghulami. Thus we enter the pass, an easy ravine bounded by a few windings to Gathi; it is sometimes only 25 yards wide with a level bottom, the sides being high perpendicular cliffs of pudding-stone. The rain has cut these into deep vertical clefts which have a somewhat architectural appearance; when the conglomerate ends, clay white begins, and Gathi* is a place where the ravine is only 20 feet wide with a fine level bottom, but yearly blocked up by two rocks about eight feet cube, which have fallen from above. At present it is only possible by one camel at a time. Water is procured here in plenty, but it is brackish.

4th. - Wishkini, 12 miles. The road for 150 yards gradually ascending in sharp bends, is only 10 feet wide, and shows by its level bottom that it had been cut by water. A few loose boulders were scattered about. The slope was disposed in parallel strata. The right-hand side of the ravine, being the surface of a natural layer, was smooth and hard; while the other side, being the ends cut out by water, had crumbled into soft clay; for a few hundred yards this ravine is sometimes wide, sometimes only four feet at bottom, but always like that just described. The ravine at last ends in a rough channel only two or three feet wide, and cut deep into soft earth. This might be easily made into a road, but it is not necessary, as a path, much better, gradually ascends to the space marked A; just above it, this is called the little Ghulami, and is just beneath the real pass. The slope, which had been very gentle, now becomes so steep that laden camel went up with some difficulty (yet they never throw their loads). The road was a zigzag, going up a spur of the hill and gaining an elevation of about 300 feet; the top for 400 yards is a rough plateau, descending slightly to the east, then we go

* Gathi in Eng.-Etr.  † See next page.
down a steep ravine for 600 yards, the slope from 10 to 20 degrees, but always wide enough for a road. Some large stones would have to be removed, and then the guns might go down by drag-rope. Below this the pudding-stone cliffs and fine wide road begin again and continue with increasing width to Mishkinai. At Benam a spring of water is usually found, it is always brackish and sometimes dry. Near the halt there is a little stony plain, the eastern entrance to Ghwalari. The water at Mishkinai is brackish; plenty of forage is found at a little distance.

5th.—Chingankram, 9 miles. The first two miles led along the north side of the Tsirai rock; this ridge is laid in parallel strata of limestone mixed with clay; the ends of the strata are broken and decomposed, but the west side is the surface of a natural layer of rock, and extends for miles as smooth as brown stone. As the ridge is 700 or 800 feet high, this has a most strange appearance. We then turn to the right, round the end of one hill, and enter a narrow but smooth ravine, which after a few hundred yards, is entirely blocked up by a large perpendicular rock 60 feet high; this place would be of course utterly impracticable had not a road been cut, gradually ascending the slope of the ravine till it
reached the top of this rock; a little labour would make it a good gun
road. As the Afghan who cut this has shown more public spirit than I
have seen in any other man of his nation, I am sorry his name has
c Escaped my memory. This pass of Takrai may be avoided by a longer
route which goes direct from Maihklai to the Gomal.

The Afghans having no regular artisans, must help each other on
many occasions. A person who wishes to build a fort, sends to his own
tribe, and others friendly to him, a notice that he will entertain any one
who will help him in his design; a great many people attend; they eat
mutton and kari\, and drink buttermilk, at the host's expense. In
return, some work with spirit, but others are active only at the feast.
In the evening they return to eat more mutton, and sing songs, and
dance the Atta; this is called Ulusi building, and, though pleasant
enough, is rather expensive. In this way a Takrai was rendered
passable. From this the main-stay route runs with a few scattered Palusa
trees or tufts of cane "Sirmaqah" gives leads on to Chingnakran, a
pebble valley three-quarters of a mile wide. Forage is plentiful, but
the water still brackish. This march would require a few hours' labour
on the road.

90.—Zirth, 12 miles. The first mile and a half brought me to
lunazi, where the water is said to be sweet. The everlasting stony
route widened after turning a ridge, its hills sank into mere hillocks,
the boulders turned to pebbles, and it came fairly to an end. Mounting
a small knoll, we saw Yamasn stretched out before us; to a person fresh
from more fertile scenes it would seem a dot plain of clay and sand
covered with a monotonous jungle of thin tamarisk; but to us, who had
passed 180 miles of brown rocks, it seemed a picture of beauty. The
charms brought from the hills covers the plain for four miles past the
hills, but we soon entered the woody grass jungle on the back of the
Gomal, where it penetrates the hillocks of Zizhi, under which we
encamped. Manjipana, of 100 houses, could afford a little supply of
grain. Wood, water, and casual forage are abundant.

91.—Dana Ismail Khan, 49 miles. This march occupied 23 hours.
During the day I kept up my route survey, but soon after passing
Kulachi darkness and fatigue rendered it impossible. The distance,
however, I still continued to note, and the directions are judged from the
stars. In four miles we passed the hillocks of Zizhi and re-entered the
thin tamarisk jungle. We saw several villages in the distance on either
hand, as, skirting the old bed of the Gomal, we reached Luni; this is a
large village of 400 houses, with a well in the bazaar; but most of the
water seemed to be got by digging holes five or six feet in the bed of the
river. At 17 miles was Koleshi, with about 700 houses and an
excellent bazaar. It is surrounded by a weak mud wall of three or four
miles in extent. Supplies to a large extent might be got here and
from the surrounding country. The road lay through an open plain.
Proceeding from this in the dark I could only see that we passed much scrub and several villages, and that the trees jutted lower as we approached them. One mile west of the town the Sikhs are building a fort with double gates and a good ditch; but the walls are exposed from without, the ditches imperfectly flanked by small towers, and the ramparts narrow except in the bastions. It would have finished without anything but a regular siege. Dara Ismail Khan is well known, so I do not describe it.

To clear these passes, 500 pioneers would be sufficient, a proportion of these (50) should be armed with crowbars and sledge-hammers, a few (4) sets of blasting tools should be always at hand. The rest might be armed as usual with pick-axes, shovels, and a few hatchets. With these means and a little energy the army might march by this route with only the usual halts. The Pass of Sanhad, four miles beyond Daul towards Kildanger, is no obstacle. That of Ghalley through the Kohiak range near Shilas, would not oblige the troops to halt, and the bed of the Gorul as far as Ahmadkot Kala requires little clearing; from thence to Galtak the stones are large and troublesome, but they could be cleared away by 300 pioneers at the rate of 10 miles a day—this would be severe work; or if the road of Suggal is followed, the army might arrange one of its halts so as to allow a day for making a road in Galt. The Kamsarwall Pass, between Galtak and Tangaan, would require two days work, and as it involves a march of 16 miles to get water, it should never be travelled by guns, for which the Gorul road is the only good one.

The first pudding-stone rocks of Ghalali would resist any instrument, but luckily they always have a fine road between them. The clay slate which succeeds is very rotten on the outside, but such rocks are sometimes hard beneath. The "Kotri" itself is of slate crushed into earth and apparently easy to cut. To blast the two fallen rocks of Ghalal, four parties of three men each would be necessary; by heavy jumars and large charges these rocks would be shattered in a day. While this was going on, a party of the line, directed by pioneers, could gather every one of the loose stones above in a heap at Galtak, and when a passage was cleared, roll them down the wide pass out of the way of the road; at the same time also, 200 men could either prepare the cing area for guns, or make a steeper and straighter path. The remaining pioneers and parties from the line, could form the descent and clear the first mile on the eastern slope. With every allowance for delays, I think the road should be passable for guns on the second day. A track a few yards to the north could be easily widened to a fine sand road; and, if necessary, a different column with all its baggage could go over the Manzi Kotri, which is within three miles of Ghalali to the south.

The Ghalali Pass I conceived to be easier to make practicable than
the Kohjak, and not nearly as difficult for guns when completed, as the horses here may be kept in nearly to the bottom of the steep slope, and there they had to be replaced by drag-ropes the whole way. The luggage also may pass in three columns, instead of being, as at the Kohjak, jammed for days on one narrow camel track. The water of Ishvarali, though fresh, is abundant on both sides; that of the Kohjak was sweet, but on the west nearly deficient, even in the month when there is usually most.

As the caravans are large bodies of men, horses, and camels, their method of supplies is like that of an army; grain or flour, from Kattawaz to Lumni, should not be expected. The Dastanis of Wana and the people of Zhob bring rice and flour, and the Kharratis bring goats for sale, but in an army these small supplies would be merely felt. A month's supplies would enable troops to reach Kattawaz, or, if in small bodies, Ghazal; but it would be most advisable that supplies for two months should start from Kukachi along with the army.

Forage for camels is always abundant. In Khurasan the usual "Tirkia" covers the ground. In the pass it is mixed with tamarisk and other shrubs; in Darnan it is entirely tamarisk, which requires to be noticed. Camels coming from Khurasan immediately eat the tamarisk of Darnan; hotels of the bowels, and they are usually crowded over the Indus quickly to obliterate this. While I saw the people, however, constantly declared that the camels coming from India find no ill effects from the food.

The camels was able to buy chopped straw for the horses every day till we arrived at Shinot; but for a large army supplies would have to be brought and laid in beforehand. In this country, however, the grass-cutter could procure some grass in the usual manner. From Langay to Killa Kharioti the Kekis carried chopped straw for the horses, and again from Killa Kharioti to Stighal. This tract might have a very little wild grass in it, but it is absolutely necessary that for these marches forage be previously collected. I speak of what I saw in the end of October. After the rain of spring, I believe that the country as far west as Killa Kharioti is covered with the "Saba" or "Washa," similar to the long-bladed grass which is given to horses at Shimla and Mussooree, but I think rather sweeter and better. Below Ahmadsh Kats in all seasons this is abundant. The constant march in spring of large packs of sheep, camels, and cattle, destroy all that is near the road, and leave naked brown rocks as far as is seen; but even in autumn, by proceeding up the ravines abundance will be found. To assure myself of this fact, I sometimes went among the hills alone, and would have gone every day had any one agreed to accompany me. Every brigade should have five or six Dastani or Lohari guides, who would show the grass-cutters where to find it; and of course an escort of fifty or sixty soldiers should accompany the foragers of each regiment. Those
guides could easily be procured either in Hissar or Khornsan, were
they well paid and neither struck nor abused.
In spring I am convinced that (after April begins) there would be
no scarcity of grass on any part of the route.
Water at the dryest season is always abundant, and sweet in every
place but Ghwalari, where for two marches the springs are brackish.
Out of all the Katta, I could only hear of one man on whose stomach
it had any bad effect.
Fuel in Khornsan is the usual brushwood which covers the ground;
in the pass there is a slight addition of stumps and stratum trees; in
Hissar there is jungle. An army going from Derawar to Khan to
Ghazni might form the magazines at Madjgara or Lash, and have
Ghwalari prepared by well-escorted pioneers sent in advance; from that
point they may choose their own marches.

COMPARISON OF THE GHWALARI WITH THE BOLEAN ROUTE.

As I have not seen the Khyber Pass, I will compare this route with
that of the Bolan, and it will serve to allow others to form their own
judgment on points where my opinion may have biased me.
The route from Shikarpur to Kandhar is very difficult. After two
marches of jungle the Malek-i-Kachi is entered. This is a plain of hard
clay, as level as a billiard table, with scarcely a blade of grass or a shrub
as far as the eye can reach. The water is also most precarious; one
march of 26 miles is a total desert, and generally there are only a few
hamlets at wide intervals, the mud huts of which are scarcely to be
distinguished from the plain. The poor inhabitants dig holes in the
earth, and watch for hours till a little moisture collects, and the scanty
supply is eagerly hauled out and stored for use. Sometimes they send a
mile for a little water, and I saw men in camp for a rope a gallon.
The camels, in poor country the life of an army, began to fail through
starvation, and laid the foundation of our subsequent losses. Bhang and
Dadar, of 500 and 300 hogs respectively, allowed us to halt and gave
us water. The Bolen Pass was a level shingly ravine, bounded by
hills, and very similar to the channel of the Gomal, but is totally
deficient in canal forage and fuel, and water at every is scarce. Except
when rain fills a pot hole in the Doshi-i-Rohindah ("hopeless or poverty-
stricken plain."), a march of 26 miles is necessary for water; even then
canal forage and water are the only supplies. Quetta, and the fertile
valley of Pishin, can support a small body of troops; but in advance in
the same dry, stony plain, which is also cut up by ravines. The hills
then have to be crossed. There are three passes,—the Kohjeh, which
was crossed by us; the Koghanai, 10 miles to the north, is difficult for
camels; and the Ghirrigh, easy in itself, is rendered useless by there
being those long marches with scarcely water for a regiment. After forcing the guns over the made road, and the camels over one narrow path, we found on the western slope a scarcity of water, and those long marches had to be made under the pain of thirst. At last, when we reached the cultivation of Kandahar, our horses were starved, our camels were failing, the men had dysentery, and the road behind us was strewed with the bodies of camels and horses, and of men who had been murdered when they lagged from exhaustion. Much of this might, no doubt, have been avoided by better information; but yet which we consider that in Kach Gahsava filling up about 100 wells would have 98 miles of march without water, and that the Bolan (easy as its road is) is exposed to floods in winter, and to the fatal diseases in summer, I think it will be allowed that that route is impracticable against well-directed opposition.

The Ghooland ridge is nearly as bad as that of the Kohi-jah, and the constant drag over loose shingles would batter the feet of the artillery horses. Wellington camels soon get sore-footed in any styany pass; they sometimes plait themselves on the hills by fricibility eating the green shrubs, which no Khomasan camel will eat; and the horses generally, unless tied in the Afghan fashion by gluts covering all the frog, would go lame in great numbers. Yet in spite of these disadvantages, I look on this route as superior in all essential qualities—in those of climate, water, fuel, and forage. It opens also in the best part of the country, and threatens alike Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul. Out of the thousands of camels who pass this road twice a year, I only saw two without, while the rest of our army was covered by these; and during my whole journey I never saw a camel throw a load; these facts show that the difficulties are more apparent than real. This pass has the advantage of many roads leaving and again rejoicing it, allowing columns to be divided, or opposition to be turned.

**Different Routes on this Route.**

From Purnell to Killa Khosrati are three routes; one has been described; the second has six marches.

1. From Purnell to Nasiri Ghund. Near a fort of Shabek Kohd, water and camel forge can be had.

2. Shalahak, a ruined fort of Shahak Shilman Khoz. There is a lake. The road crosses Zhetra, but is easy.

3. Shabek of the Shahed Khelani. Water and a little supplies (for a small force) can be procured. Road an easy plain.


5. Sangshaka (crosses road). A spring.

The third is the route of Adin Khel, and is held to be the best of them all. The marches are easy, but long.

1. Patala to Doki or fort of Sannakai. Already mentioned.
2. Adin Khel in Kantaw. The road turns the southern end of Sheru; small supplies to be had. The Adin Khaks who are Kaisers fight the Jalalzais who are Shamiuals.
3. Masso Khel, a migratory Khel with only one fort. Road easy.

Besides these three easy roads, another, fit only for infantry, goes under Elshax to the north of my route. From Killa Kharkot a camel road goes to Wazikhowah and then to Kambar. Caravans of Nassirs travel this way.

The next road to be noticed is that of Mannana. It leaves the river by a ravine half-way between the Deen Gomal and Othman, gradually ascends over the crest of the Koh Kalagai by a road, camels easily pass; from thence it descends among ravines, crosses the Ab-t-talikh, and passing Ghammanda rejoins the Gomal opposite to the place where the Stighai road leaves it.

The Stighai road, turning west of the Gomal, I have described. A path goes from Stighai to Khai and thence by Spet and Shartkam, to Killa Mann in Wazikhowah. A similar path also goes from Khair-o-dangar to Wana. In spring these roads are rendered of more importance than they would otherwise possess, by the Gomal, swollen with rain and melted snow, frequently filling its whole channel and rendering the great road useless. The tribes who come up in March or early in April do not follow the Gomal, but proceed from Ghwakari to Kahan, where there is a spring; thence to Spet, which is a mile or two north of Khai. This march is long, but easy, to be pretty level. Then to Suggara and Khat-t-kharagan. From thence they again diverge from the river to Karmakel and to Betal, or they go from Kharg-um across the lower end of Urmah, and so by Zarawana to Stighai, where the Mannana road is followed to join the source of the Gomal. These roads are rocky and long; they would never be taken by caravans but for fear of the river.

As an instance of these sudden floods, I relate what happened to the Engineer camp in the Bolma Dem. We were pitched in the dry channel of the rivulet at Abgram; the camps had been gathering sound the peaks to the west; at three o'clock in the morning a loud roaring noise in the glens was followed by a rush of water through the tents, washing away everything loose and washing us in our beds; every one started out, and the tents were struck by the torrent in a few minutes; the camp was isolated on all sides by much deeper water rushing past with great noise. It was pitch dark, and there was no escape; marks ploughed in the flood showed the waters sometimes rising, sometimes falling; at last
they subsided, and the day broke; but had they risen a little more, the whole valley would have been destroyed.

In the Gomal Pass, after the beginning of April, there is no danger of such accidents as these. The river getting low and less in summer is a mere rivulet till December, after which it fills with melted snow and rain.

The eastern part of Afghanistan is a plateau from 5000 to 7000 feet above the plains of the Indus, and separated by the rude barriers—the Sulaiman range. The drainage of large mountains and wide plains flowing down from such a height to the Indus, has in the course of ages cut deep channels in the hills, all evidently made by water, with the barriers and bounded by high rocks, but differing in size and convenience for travelling, according to the quantity of water which formed them and the nature of their rocks.

North of the Khyber and Manaul passes, the first of importance is Kunar. The road commences near Charsor, and generally follows the channel of the river to the Indus; at first it passes through the valleys of the barronous Jopis and Toris, and then through the lands of the Bangish and Bhurukhis. I have no good information about the marches, but the general impression of all travellers is, that the Kunar river is the best entrance to Kunaristan, whether for supplies or main route of road. The troops are very wild, and buying the protection of one will not serve caravans in the lands of the others. This is perhaps the reason (otherwise unaccountable) that this pass, if the best, is so little travelled.

The next pass is that of Tank; one road goes from that place direct to Shingurnum, and another road reaches Kotkai on the Gomal in five marches; they are—

1. From Tank to Sir-i-ab, entering the hills.
2. Shuhur Nari; Nuri means a "kotal," or pass over a mountain; an easy kotal near Shuhur.
3. Dergel Nari, another ascent.
4. Spin, already mentioned.
5. Kotkai on the Gomal.

The next pass is that of the Gomal at Ghinalai. This has more than one exit. The river has forced its way through the end of the Takht-i-Sulaiman range, dividing Ghinalai from the Karakum hill. Its channel, called Adamliak, is said to be narrow, with the Gomal falling over large rocks, and to be scarcely passable for camels and baggage; three miles south of Ghinalai is the village of Mustaq; across the same ridge in a higher place, this road diverges from the great one at Postakats:—

1st. Postakats to China, a brackish spring sometimes called "Mustaq-Quenna;" the road a tolerably easy traverse.

* As I do not recognize this word, I have it as spelt by Lieutenant Brodfoot.—Ed.
2nd. Gati, a spring of brackish water; the road crosses the ridge by an ascent, said to be a little steeper than that of Ghwalari.

3rd. Easy ravine to Minbhival. Caravans frequently go this way, but Ghwalari is the favourite and of course the best route.

Next, the road of the Waziris goes from Ghansari to Kibana, opening by one route upon Garden, by another at Bilta. It avoids the Ghams entirely, and is described by many people of different tribes who had seen it, as much superior to the Ghams road; so grass is very abundant, the hills covered with wood, and supplies for a caravan (of 1000 people) to be had from the villages on this way, all this I believe; but when they declared (even independently of each other) that there was no ascent worse than the trifling one at Ghamsi, from what I had seen of those mountains, and from the careless way travellers without wheel carriages speak of difficulties in the road, I could not help feeling great doubt. Probably this road would be found a good one for cavalry or infantry, but a very bad one for guns; caravans would always choose it were they not afraid of passing the heart of the Waziri country. The following marches must be very short, probably not averaging seven miles:

1. Ghamsi to Kibana, a small plain of good soil irrigated by the water of Spin. When Surnar Khan of Tank attacked the Lohanis, part of them fled to this valley and cultivated it with success; when the danger was over, they returned to their wandering life.

2. Spin, a few miles north of Toi-a-Dabbar; the road an easy ravine.

3. Minbhival, a small hill over which carts could go; the man who said this had seen hackeries in India. The water is still the Abi Spin. The road seems to go to the north.

4. Wana. This valley is cultivated by the Dostamis; supplies and water to be procured.

5. Zawal Ghwaini. A space in the bed of a stream, said to flow to the Janghan country. On leaving Wana is the hotel of Mebal, said to be very easy.

6. Washkala, a wide space in the same valley; there three wells are said to have been made by Nadir Shah; Nadir, I believe, was never in this pass.

7. Mebal, a pass over the Khewenda Ghar range, which seems to be parallel to the Koh-i-Wazir.


9. Tazara Khet. Three forts seen to be in a narrow valley between the Khewenda Ghur and Peshawar ranges.

10. Khazim Khet. This is a fort, and an evidence of cultivation and water.


14. Spedar Nurn, a pass over the Dandia range which seems to rise from the Jadra range, and is partly inhabited by the Jadriin tribe.

15. Sandai of the Khwatis.

16. Urghu of the Perani Tajiks.


19. Pulamal in Harnai, inhabited by Miinas (who lately were notorious robbers).


This road is sometimes varied by going through Spin, Too, Wana, Hirral, and Saran.

Opposite Darnban is the pass of Zawa which leads to Kandahar. As Lieutenant Marsh of the cavalry has visited this route, I shall merely mention these connecting it with my own route of Ghwaili. It passes the Tahki-i-Sulman, the Zohb 30 miles above Postak, and is connected with the Gomal by the road of Kandahar.

From the place where the Kandahar joins the Gomal to—

1. Hosainika, a water in the ravine of the Kandahar; from this place a camel road goes to Zawa.

2. Khishti, the tomb of a murdered man of that name.

3. *Wakhi stons*; Nama Konai, a stone thought to relieve hernia of the novel; the road is still by the stream of Kandahar, which flows through an easy ravine.

4. Konail, the source of the stream. There is usually here a little cultivation of the Zhiminiq, a small tribe said to be Syris; and in summer there are some Nasir sheep.

5. Orak, a spring in the mountains which seems a continuation of the Jadri range. Generally there are few tents of the Lili Khel.

6. Mashkee, a fort in the valley of Wazikhan. The road crosses the hills by the pass of Indai.

7. Killa Mausa in Wazikhan, and from there to Kandahar.

This road has water and forage for camels; the road is said to be passable for guns, but I doubt it much.

The road going from Kandahar to Zawa is—

1. Hosainika, mentioned above.

2. Gwahal, a small spring.

3. Sibba, a fine spring. The road then descends to—

4. Mandu Khele bok, a fort in the valley of the Zohb, after crossing the river.

5. Darbal, mouth of Darbal Khwarra, from whence the water of the Darbalas flows.

6. Zawa, the pass.

These marches are camel marches, varying from 10 to 14 miles. The last road especially is dry and rough; the other is probably passable for an army, but with difficulty.
A few miles south is the Zawra Pass, which has a larger stream than that of Zawra flowing from it, and being much blocked up with stones, it is a resort of robbers with stolen camels. It joins the Zawra route by a different pass.

Still further to the south and beyond the Takll-i-Sulimau is the road of Wihora, passing through the Kabar country to the Afghanan river, and thence to Kandahar. The road is said to be easy, but I know nothing about it.

In the event of the invasion of India, so much talked of, our natural frontier is not the Indus, but the Sulimau range. History, which shows that even great rivers have never obstructed the passage of an army superior in the field, gives very few instances of the storming of mountain passes.

This long chain of hills is only passable in five places—Khyber, Kurnu, Ghwalari, Zawra, and Wihora or Wihora. I put the Bohn out of the question, as the water is easily cut off 60 miles at the Kish Ganchona. Of these the Khyber, Kurnu, and Ghwalari are the most important. They lead equally to Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar; without the possession of all which places the attempt could not be made. A fort near Ghwalari would secure the entire command of the three roads leading from it, and forts might be probably equally well situated in the other passes. The whole length of the passes affords numerous positions where field works and a body of determined men, would delay the most powerful army for days; and among mountains, where the supplies laboriously collected cannot be replaced, and where every hour's delay is fraught with danger.

Were an army of 60,000 men distributed in three divisions opposite Kasrm, Khyber, and Ghwalari, their magazines and means of crossing the Indus well secured, they would receive decisive information of the march of the enemy in time to concentrate at the threatened pass long before arrived; and were the 60,000 men already stretching it driven to the plain, the scattered columns of the enemy, slowly emerging from the mountains, would be opposed one by one to a powerful army well supplied and fresh with the whole resources of India at its back; all this is independent of the opposition which might be so easily afforded in Khorenin. Supplies for an army can be only permanently procured at Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul. Were these places occupied, and the little surplus grain and grasses in the country round bought up and stored in the cities, which had been put into a state of defence, the hostile army would be without means for extended siege operations. It would be nearly starving, and if it plundered it would be lost.

The Afghans, eminently a movable people, would all go to the hills. In no country has the people at first joined even a popular invader; it waits to see his success; and the first serious check is the signal of

* This is the Wihora of the map of Afghanistan dated Smith, 1872.—Ed.

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his ruin. Indeed, the more I saw of the country and reflected on the subject, the sooner grew my conviction that, while the British in India continue true to themselves and just to the people, their position and resources may defy all attempts from without. The country from Ghazni to Dand has been described in the first report. Kathavuz merits a separate notice.

Its length is about 48 and its breadth 24 miles. The plain is level and open, bounded on the east by the Kohak Mountains and on the west by the lower hills of Kathawaz and Zera.

To the north it reaches Zermaul, and to the north is ended by Lahshu and the Wuh-Laksh Lake; the valley is entered on the east by the three passes which meet at Hillsburch, and on the west by the pannes of Gudars and Kharbin. This last road goes from Misk Kahl between Spinak and Karkhama. It is a winding pass, generally 30 yards wide, between low hills, which cavalry might cross, and lands by a gentle ascent through the lower range, and then with a gentle a descent to Mohani. Guns could pass it in its present state, and a very little work would make it a beautiful road; a small circuit called Kharbin shows down part of its length, and some three or four miles before it reaches Kathavuz.

This district entirely belongs to the Selimau Kahl; the settled tribes living in the course of the valley, and the pastoral ones wondering about the lower spots of the mountains. The tribe has two great divisions, the Shamrans (or Yasvanim) and the Kaimirs; these often fight with each other. The Khels are generally groups of five or six forts, each containing from ten to sixty houses. I mention the Khels as they occupy the valley from north to south. Kiah Kahl, Sulian Kahl (a large one), Tutal Kahl, Mitta Kahl (who sometimes trader), Mahonvak Shadk Kahl, Shakh Kahl, Kallashar Kahl, and the Addin and Nauz Kahl. Beyond these is Lahshu of the Tarbaliks; the funds have been described before; sometimes the Mullahs effect a truce to last a stated time, when this is ended the funds begin again. This rule of barbarism

* Lieutenant Brench has proposed two ways of halting an invasion from the north-west. The first, namely, to make the Selimau range our frontier and to hold the passes in that which commands itself to our judgment. Holding that frontier, we are in a position to deal with enemies any attempt at invasion. Every day that we delayed the invaders forces would meet heart heavily against them. Pool for the army could hold the Indians would not arrest, and that would, in all probability, lead to collisions with the Aghams. With this frontier held in force, we have little to fear from our enemy on the other side of the hills, as long as the Selimau range and people may be held on. I would therefore expect our enemy's forces to be, in every respect, at his disposal, to stir up and instigate discord, and to delay active measures till well assured of encroachment in India.

The second mode of meeting invaders, namely, to occupy Kandahar, Ghazni, and Akber, is not, I think, wise to be recommended. We should be surrounded by a hostile people, and have long and uncertain lines of communication. This position, I venture to think, would be a loss out from a military point of view.
existed till lately in Europe. When the caravans passing through Kattawaz are too strong to be overpowered without loss, they are only required to pay a small tribute to the tribe whose lands they pass. When they are weaker, the impost is a little higher, and if only a few individuals, they are usually plundered. The general tax is one rupee, or rather 12 yards of coarse cloth for every eight loaded camels.

Indians pay more. The traders always choose their road through Kattawaz with reference to their friendly relations with the tribe. I may mention here that from Kattawaz to Daman money has no fixed value, being nearly unknown. The method of exchange is more barter, or by valuing everything in yards of "kurba," a coarse cotton cloth made at Multan. This represents small sums of money; large ones are only known as so many sheep or camels.

The Dawn Gomul rises at a hill called Dargali, very near Faiza. Its course is then between the Kahunak and the Waruir ranges; this last I believe, from the shortness of the Dawn Gomul and other circumstances, to originate in the peaks of Faiza. It diminishes and ends near Urek.

The Prutok and Mianwa, ranging from the Killa Khareh goes, I believe, to the Shimshai hill. It is the recess of a set of wandering shepherds, the Khuwai Kriel, Khashal of the Sulaiman Kriel. It suddenly breaks up and ends at the Kimar river.

The hills to the west of the Zhob appear little less than the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The Zhob rises in the Kikar country, and then flows through a long straight valley inhabited by the Mandra Kriel; this is a large tribe extending from the ghulam in near the Kikar country. They live generally in tents, but have also a few houses, probably built from fear of the Waziris, who occasionally come from their own hills, and sweep the valley of the Zhob. A year or two ago they surprised a fort when there were only two or three people in it; these were put to death, and the cattle, grain, flour, and clothes carried off. The Manda Krels cultivate rice in considerable quantities, as well as jowar, wheat, and Indus corn. They all have sheep and camels, and some tribes are entirely pastoral. The women are fond of ornaments, but can afford no better than a brass pin in the nose, and large earrings or necklaces of musical shells. The men wear, when it is cold, the "kubah," a cloak made of white felt, and in the hot weather have nothing but a pair of trousers and shoes. This exposure of the naked breast, and the costume of the women, which is petticoats without trousers, is thought very indecent by the other Afghans. The reason perhaps is, that their climate is hot in summer, and snow rarely falls in winter. They are a quiet people, who carry arms only in their own defence; they have no order of course. Being allied to the Kikars, and having the same habits and customs, I have described them at this length; as of the large tribe of Kikars I know little. Here at their northern limit they are said to be a quiet people, repelling attacks.
Indeed, but nothing more; never carrying arms, and looked on as inferior. Perhaps their best character is from comparison with the Waziris, on their boundary the Syeds of Balkh represented the Khorotis as inscrutable demons.

**Hill Tribes.**

The hill tribes are so much alike in every respect, that a description of the Khorotis and noting a few minor differences in the others may serve for all.

The Khorotis inhabit the valley of Dwoa Gomal, the peaks east of Balkh; the sketch below will illustrate the positions of their forts; of course there is no pretension to a scale in the sketch. Sirafam, a few miles from the source of the Dwoa Gomal, is a fort containing twenty houses, and affording protection to the families around. Sarubya is a ruined fort with a few huts. Chanakhrakh has been the constant source of quarrel with the Waziris, who have destroyed it twice, but have never been able to hold it. Their method of attack was to come suddenly in great numbers, and before the Khorotis could gather, bring heaps of wood to the gate and burn it down; once in, they murdered and plundered. The Khorotis have now built a large fort, and filled the

![Diagram](image-url)
that the hill, if cut into terraces as in the Himalayas, might be much better cultivated. But the hill tribes, less civilized even than the other Afghans, seemed to prefer their wandering life. They have some sheep, cows, asses, and goats, but horses are unknown. Their whole wealth consists of large flocks of goats, which feed on bare peaks or in ravines covered with pines. They live in tents of a few blankets, mats, or sticks, or in rude huts cut out of the hill. In spring the people live entirely on milk, which is abundant, as the kids are then born. Goats, kurut, and cheese are made in large quantities, and sold in Kattawaz or Zirmai for flour. In the winter they eat out their milk diet by a small portion of bread; their clothes are a shirt made of black blacked, made by their wives, and sandals (called shappil) (chappal) of goat-skins nearly raw; sometimes they have a bit of blanket for a cap, or if lucky, exchange some wool for a coarse turban. Their houses have nothing in them but a rug and an iron pot, yet with all this poverty they have fine matchlocks and good swords. Their greatest delight is stalking the deer. The pines on the hills furnish a dead-dried chilgozi, which is a principal part of their winter food, and to cheese, kurut, and occasionally some bread. Yet with all these hardships and their severe climate, they are a healthy, robust race. Even for Afghans they are very dirty. They have no weights, measures, nor means of estimating time and distance. Right to soil is only thought of in cultivated spots; a piece of grazing land, however long occupied by a family, is intruded on by any man of a different tribe without ceremony; this shows how thin the population is. The pine seeds, however, are considered to be property, and a stranger would not gather them. The Kharotis are divided into two tribes; the Zoka Khel, of which the Mulik of Sirafz, son of Gul Khan, son of Shendi Khan, is the principal person; and the Ali Khel, whose head is Saimal, an old man. These chief have not the slightest power, but a certain respect is paid to their birth; when two men have a dispute, they sometimes fight it out, but the neighbours and Mullahs generally interfere and attempt reconciliation; should one party refuse to abide by the decision, the neighbours give up speaking to him; and feeding goats on a hill, without any one to talk to, or a pipe to smoke, is an unpleasant, that he soon given in. This rude kind of jury is called a "marrika." When they are threatened with attack, a jirga or marrika is called, and all the armed men obey its orders. The Kharotis sometimes buy, but generally make their own powder. The Yia Khel is that which trades with Indus; they soon acquire some wealth, and with it a taste for fine clothes and good food; when they go to see their hill friends, they cannot help showing dainty to a milk diet and pine seeds, after eating bread and grapes; indeed, they complain that in a few days it gives them epigiges in the stomach; this makes them be thought exaggerate coxcomb. The Kharotis are hospitable and kind, they seldom attack tribes unexpected, and have
fought more successfully with the Waziris than any of their neighbours.
A traveller is safe in their country, and as far as milk diet will go he
ever need never want food.

The Jadriils inhabit the east slope of the Jadran range; their
country is small, and they are seldom heard of, so that they must be few
in numbers; their dress, food, and livelihood are those of the Kharotis,
except that they are great robbers, and protect all thieves. The
Khvejjas, a tribe of robbers, talked of a certain Killa Nokk of the
Jadriils, where they would have defied us. The Jadriils sell their wood
and chase at Gardez; though I entered their country once, I never saw
them.

The Waziris possess the whole hill country (with a few exceptions,
noted hereafter) bounded by Gomul on the north, by the Jadriils and
Kharotis on the east, and the Khoras on the north. A branch of the
tribe extends along the Koh-i-Sefed; they are more peaceable and settled
than the rest; their numbers are less than so extensive a country would
seem to indicate, as many of them emigrate every cold season to the
hills overlooking Daman, and in the hot weather return near the
Kharotis. This country is stated to have wood, water, and grass in
plenty; some valleys are partially cultivated with rice, millet, wheat,
and barley. The rice crops prove there is plenty of water in some
parts. Their successful forays have given them a great stock of camels,
dogs, and cows, which enables them to eat meat and bread to their
food. In spring they live principally on milk. Their dress is that of
the Kharotis. The Waziris are at war with all their neighbours, and
on every side they have made conquests. From the Kharotis they have
taken Birmal. The Jadriils are confined to one ridge; and the whole
country of Zhadi, and the Ghwalari Pans (table) at their very name.
The secret of this is, that without internal government of any
sort, they agree well with each other. They are declared by their
enemies, the Luharis, to be Shias—that is a calumny; as also that
they are descendants from some (a few) Hindus who fled before
Nadir Shah, and have increased in these mountains. This is unoffen-
sively believed, but they speak Pashto, and I have seen so many tribes
retain their language for generations, that I cannot imagine them
have lost theirs in one hundred years. The Tajiks still speak Persian,
even when living in Afghan villages. The Firunulis, who live between
the Waziris and Kharotis, are still unable to speak Pashto. The
Waziris go on foot, and are most active in the mountains; a few
great men of the tribe have horses, but of course are bad riders.
They generally attack caravans by night, but sometimes by day.
While fighting from rocks, they eat sometimes a little raw flour,
and from this also a story is raised that they never cool their meals.

To get wonderful stories about them is very easy, but real informa-
tion very difficult, as no sooner is one of them caught by another tribe
than he is slaughtered. The Waziris are much under the influence of the Syads of “Urmur” (*) and one of the stories is, that a Waziri, tired of going several miles on a pilgrimage to a place where a Syad had been murdered, invited a Syad to his house, and killed him a few yards off, that he might have a “Urmur” or place of pilgrimage, without going so far for it. Their ordinary warfare is by long shots, but if really provoked they sometimes make desperate attacks. While passing their country in a caravan, some of the merchants rode to a village of Waziris from which they heard the men were absent; they returned with a few camels, and boasted they had speared some little boys in their mothers’ arms. The Waziri village sent some Duttanis to redeem the camels; the Loharnis proposed some camels they had formerly lost were given up; no sooner was this done by the Waziris, than the merchants told them “their wives were had, and they should get no camels.” On this the Waziris armed and fell on part of the caravan, and totally destroyed the males of every age, carried away the camels and property, leaving the women untouched but disseminating in the pass. I was in Daman then with the head of the caravan, but heard it from some men from the rear; the breach of faith about the camels was only because the Loharnis and Waziris have so many blood feuds that no fresh injury can increase their ill-will, and no good faith could reconcile them. The Waziris never injure females nor take their jewels, but all males they invariably kill. This is not a rule common to all Afghans, but made by the Waziris; and their enemies are so fearful of driving them to extremities, that this rule is observed on both sides. Even by their enemies, the Waziris are allowed to be very hospitable; a man who has killed the brother of another, need only go to his house to be treated as an honored guest, and a little girl would serve for escort through their whole country. They stick closely to each other, and their neighbors constantly allow that they are famous for speaking truth and for their courage; with all this they are habitually robbers and murderers. The daily observation that the Afghan virtues flourished chiefly in the most barbarous tribes, and are compatible with atrocious crimes, first convinced me that Urmurmal was mediocrity bad, and that the Afghans are in a very low state of civilization. This is difficult at first to conceive; so many instances constantly occur of individual intelligence and good feeling. These give hopes of their condition for the future, but do not prevent a candid statement of what they are now.

The Waziris are divided into three tribes—the Alini, whose head is Jungli Khan; the Baldahis of Nusr Khan; and the Alurahis (those must not be confounded with the Ahmadzais, Sultana Khan, who are also pastoral robbers) of Khan Muhammad; the principal are the Baldahis, who cultivate the valley north-west of Kangirun. Jungli Khan and

(*) “Urmur” or “Umare.” The name is written thus in two MS. copies of the report I cannot find the name in Sir C. Montague’s book on Central Asia.—Ed.
his tribe are sometimes praised for their moderation; the Akhmadis are the great robbers, and all migratory. An idea of their boldness may be formed by the fact that last year they plundered the fields of Tank within view of the Sikh prisons.

The Damtanis, pronounced "Daotani," are a tribe of about 600 families, who inhabit the valley of Wina (a branch north of Zarandini), and grow rice, wheat, and barley. They are a quiet tribe; their small numbers oblige them to court both the Waziris and their enemies; they are a useful means of communication between both parties. The Waziris gave them peace and Spies, because the Lehannis were always plundering them. Their agriculture makes them a little richer than the Khorots, but their habits are similar. The Primullas are a Tajik tribe, who live in a village at Urgum, cultivate their land, and have animals. They speak both Persian. Their employment is chiefly smuggling the iron of their hills, and sometimes carrying it to Kabul or Kandahar; but the Akhmadis are the principal carriers of this iron by Wazidwak to Kandahar, and to Ghani and Kabul. They do not buy the iron, but simply lend their camels for him.

Walking Tribes,

All the trading tribes are generally called Lehannis, but more properly those of Damari only. The Lehannis are in fourteen camps or "kiils"; they average 100 men each, with women, children, and camels in proportion. In summer they live in fine large "ghaleh" tents of felt, near Daman and Karabagh; the men are partly away in Bokhar and Samarqand trading, or buying and selling at Kabul; the women and children, with a sufficient guard, live in the tents. In autumn the tents are moved away in a friendly port, and men, women and children, and animals go down the Gomal pass to Damari, bringing all the way; they then pitch their second set of tents, kept always in Damari. The men go to Lebore and Banavas by long marches, hoping to be back before April; some men stay of course to guard the families and the camels. In April they go up through the same pass to their old places in Panish and Karabagh.

The Nassirs are a much larger body, probably 5000 families. They trade little, but possess large flocks and herds, the produce of which gives them grain and clothing. They very seldom plunder; they leave Daman in March when the Gomal is flooded; their reason is that their sheep are with young, and lambs born in Daman are smaller and weaker than those born in Khomasan; the flocks go by the Zava pass, and join the Gomal at Sambar; the herds go by the Gomal, either waiting till floods run off, or avoiding them by taking the routes I have mentioned.

The six camps of Khorots follow the Nassirs in April, but before the
Lulianis; their time of marching is the best of all, the river is not in flood, and the heat is less.

The Lulianis make part of their march, in very hot weather; the river is then low. Grass is found as high as the hills Khuran, green and sweet; when I saw it, it was dry but still good. The Lulianis are wealthy, and constantly attacked by the Waziris; these skirmishes are generally at long shots, by which one or two men are killed, but sometimes the attacks are more serious, though in a small society of relations, the loss of even one or two is serious.

In the evening camels are often carried off from the hills where they are grazing. The drummer (an important person, and called a "sawharc") hoops a peculiar sharp roll, and all young men are expected to go. The thieves drive the camels up the valleys, pricking the beasts on with their swords; the men shout after. The robber is seldom caught even if the body is reconnoitted. If caught, and a Waziri, he would be slaughtered. If a Lulian Khel, they would not kill him for fear of another bloody feud with a powerful tribe; but his heart is anointed with ghee and set fire to in the middle of the camp, its crackling and blazing call forth shouts of laughter (hair burnt off in this manner is said never to grow); his eyebrows are then shaved off, and he is let go; sometimes a rough elixir is administered by setting the robber on his head and pouring water into his body till his stomach is enormously distended. This punishment is held so disgraceful, that a man seldom goes home to be laughed at by the women, but banishes himself for life to Khorasan or India.

The Lulianis, who boasted of killing Waziris when at a distance, no sooner entered the dangerous country than they showed a most bullous terror. Watchmen were shouting out the whole night that they were very determined, and were not to be trifled with, exhorting enemies to keep away, and every man fired his gun (loaded with ball) in any direction, to show he was awake. We saw little of the Waziris, however, as they had already moved to the lower valleys, and had they not been foolishly provoked, no part of the caravan would have suffered.

The camels of the caravans are not in strings, but each is separately driven; good camels (even with heavy loads) go three miles an hour by this method. The men run after the camels with heavy sticks, driving them by blows, and giving deep howls of "ha! ha! ha!" The women and children join their shrill voices in the cry.

The Lulianis show their wealth by braiding the hair of their children with gold coins, and ornamenting their women with expensive ear-rings, and covering their horses with expensive trappings. Young brides are carried on cushions of silk on the backs of camels most gorgeously hung with tassels, coins, and bells. The older married women (though frequently greater favourites) were balanced against each other in kajzmins; on arriving at the ground they helped to unload the camels;
the girls drew water, and the men ground the meal; the women seldom washed, and the men never, though they sometimes quarrelled and fought. The horses (or rather mares) are peculiarly fine, generally 15 hands high or upwards. Their arched crest, deep chest, and broad quarters were like those of English horses. Their heads are small and well set on, but the legs looked slight for the weight, though by all accounts they seldom fall; the mares are kept for breeding, but the horses are sold for high prices to Hindu Rajas. Order in these camps there is none. Sometimes we intended to make a long march, when half the number changed their minds and halted half way, but when near the Waziris they all agreed very well; the baggage kept in a tolerably close box, some hussars were in front and some in rear; the young men, well armed, assured the hills in search of horses and deer, answering also for flanking parties, yet a few robberies happened most unaccountably.

The trade of Khorassan is but little, about 4000 camel loads of the curried or esquim Multan cloth and Lahauri chintz or Bahawalpore lengths, with a little sugar and spices, are all that come through the Gomal Pass, and I suspect this is about half the trade of the whole country. These imports are not all used in Khorassan, part is carried to Bokhara, the return being principally coin; and as the exports to India are merely fruit and a few horses, which do not equal the imports in value, the coin from Bokhara enables the balance to be paid in money. This is what I heard from the merchants, but I must confess they had a wish to deceive me if possible, as they suspected that inquiries would be followed by a tax. The productions of the country are few. The pastoral tribes merely make ghee, and sell wool, to procure grain for their own eating; and the settled Afghans only grow a surplus quantity of grain to barter for ghee, &c. The Tajiks are the most enlightened and civilized.

In Herat and Kandahar, iron is worked very well. The ore is broken to pieces and burned in a charcoal furnace which is kept heated by bellows made of whole goatskins. The iron at last runs out in rough pigs. These are heated again and slowly cooled, when they are worked into horse-shoes, gun-barrels, and swords, with which all the eastern part of the country is supplied. Iron is abundant enough, but without coal, or much more wood than they have even in the Saffran range, they can never export it. Lead is found in the Bannan hills near Band-i-Bulut. Antimony in small quantities is procured at Timri near Ghvalari. On a plant, called by the Afghans 'red turkle,' something very like the cochineal insect is found, and saltpetre, not so good as the Persian, is spread all over the hills near Khil-i-Bahahi. This small list includes, I think, all the principal produce of the country.

The late political changes are, I believe, favourable to Afghan trade. The country will perhaps be quieter, and the passes improved. The large
China and Tibet trade, which goes through Tartary to the Volga and Nijig Norwood (if the passes were rendered easier and safe, and a good understanding kept up at Bokhara and Kandahar, might easily be diverted to Kabul. The route being shorter, and our character for justice at least as high on that of the Russians, Kabul would then become the centre of the inland trade of Asia, for Indian goods could be easily sent through the passes.

Then the Afghan, possessed of a fine breed of camels and themselves fond of a wandering life, might become the chief carriers of this large trade. But of any extensive traffic with the Afghans themselves I see no prospect for a long period. People to buy must have something to sell, and the Afghans have almost nothing. It will require many years of order and good government, and a total relinquishment of their pastoral habits, before they can enter this field. In a report made by me to the military board in April 1838, on a road in the Himalayas near Mussorie, I was led to remark the possibility of our securing this trade with Central Asia, by a good road, like that of the S injunction made over one of the passes to Tibet: at that time there seemed no prospect of our commanding so finely situated a mart as Kabul, and I hope the opportunity to renew the subject, when our circumstances are so much more favourable.

Daman.

Daman is inhabited by Afghans and Jats; the latter are generally called Deoboliks, tradition stating that they fled from Deoboli a few hundred years ago; but their language, manner, and appearance are those of the Jats. I see no reason to give them a different name. Compared with the Afghans, they struck me as a lighter race, with limbs more rounded and voices not so deep. They cultivate the land belonging to the Afghans, who often furnish the seed and everything but the labour. They seldom carry arms, and if not positively oppressed are treated as an inferior race. Unlike the Afghans, however, the climate of Daman is very hot in summer, even more so than Hindustan, but it is colder in winter; snow indeed never falls, but in is sometimes seen in the morning. Both the rains of India and the winter monsoon of Khorassan fall in Daman, and there are occasional showers during the year; yet the total rainfall is less than that of India, and very precarious. The rain cultivation, therefore, sometimes makes a man rich, at other times poor. Consequently the Afghans keep large flocks and herds, making themselves independent of the rains. Like Kutch Gandavara, the hill streams overflow in spring and lower the country with a thin sheet of water, which slowly running
off; leaves a flat surface of clay; this is soon covered with a thin tufted jungle, and scant shrubs. The soil, a few feet under the surface, has generally anit structure, by digging in which, a small quantity of water comes out; but if this is dug through, dry clay mixed with sand extends to a great depth. In some parts of India it seems probable that water in horizontal sheets extended a long way beneath the surface.

In Daman the few wells are of different depths, as if the water was not continuous, but in caverns; but whatever the cause be, wells are not used for irrigation, and are seldom dug.

The Dowlah Khel are a large tribe, of which the chief place is Tank; they and the Ganjehpurs use the whole Jongial in irrigation. The smaller family is the Katta Khel, the head of which, Suresh Khan, established the power related by Mr. Elphinstone; but it was not without many skirmishes and many serious attacks, that he succeeded in levying a tax on the caravans passing Glowahar. He died about six years ago, and his son Allahdad ruled in his stead; but the son seems to have had neither abilities nor courage. In two years the Sikhs opposed the walls of Tank, and though he had troops and even guns, he died without a blow. The tribute had made him the enemy of the trading tribes, and his only resource was the "Waziris." He lives, I think, at Urgunam, and possesses some influence in the hills, while Tank is garrisoned by a few thousand Sikhs.

The Ganjehpurs are a large tribe settled from near Manigaha to 10 miles east of Kanachi. The chief places are Kanachi and Lance; the first contains about 700 houses, with a good bazar, and is surrounded by a low mud wall nearly a mile each way; the houses are very scattered, they are made with timber roofs covered with clay; the walls of mud. Lance is also a struggling place of about 400 houses and a good bazar. The Ganjehpurs have never made a figure in Daman, though always strong enough to defend themselves. Their chief, Ali Khan, is an uncommonly fat man, and very ignorant; his tribe represent him as harsh and oppressive.

The Miyan Khel inhabit the country for about 10 miles round Durban; they use the Zirhni stream, which flows from Zawan, and is considerable in spring; this tribe has many Hanniya,* among others, the Miyanias and the Bethbhatias, the richest merchant of the country. The Miyan Khel is about equally divided into settled and migratory families.

The Starianias to the south of the Miyan Khel, formerly went by the route of Wohwa (Yilawa), but from some quarrel with the Kihara of the road, they now go round by Ghwalari and Kandar or by Zawan. They are similar to the Miyan Khel.

Exclusive of these tribes, partly migratory, the Nasars are wholly so; and the Sarprakara Salimas Khel, a trading tribe, spread the

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* Hanniya means neighbour. - Ed.
winter in Daman. Near the hills there are always numbers of camps of the tribes driven by the snow to seek a warmer climate. Indeed, when it is recollected that the settled Ghilzis have every year to lay in four months' supplies for their cattle, or in some instances to send their sheep to the care of a friendly tribe in a warmer district, for which they pay a tax on their flocks, it may be easily conceived that many cannot afford to spend so much of the year in idleness, or have too many flocks to trust their sheep out of their sight. This shifting population has a prejudicial effect on Daman, as they are not reached by the law, and contribute nothing to the general support. When it was so easy under the Durrani kings to evade the demands made on them in one country, till the clauses allowed them to go to another, it is much easier still to do so, when they are subjects of Lahore and Kuchal alternately every six months, and the difference of faith excludes all concert between the Governors of Daman and Khurasan.

The rule of the Sikhs is firm at Dera Ismail Khan; and around Tank, where there are garrisons; at a distance from the Indus it is nominal, and near the hills openly defied. The Sikhs have allowed idolatry, have forbidden the call to prayers, and have endeavoured to prevent the Afghans eating their own beef. The Subsidiary Nawab of Dera is almost a prisoner. These measures, and the difference in religion, have rendered the Sikh rule odious to the tribes. When our army marched to Kuddasar and Kuchal, the Afghans held the Punjab to be virtually subduecl, and refused to pay the taxes demanded. Now their eyes are opened to the consequences of their error, and they eagerly long for our rule. Every man whom I met acceded eagerly when the province would be occupied. Several Miynam chiefs and the head of the Gandelphars assented so they wished for it; and so general was the impression, that even Lali Mall, Governor of Dera Ismail Khan, gave more than hints that he was our friend. To all this I steadily replied that I knew of no wish to take the country from the Sikhs, who were our firm allies. Yet these declaimers only made them give no credit for caution,without changing their opinion. Old prophecies (probably very lately made) declared that the British shall rule from China to Dammass, and the strange events of last year might easily mislead them. The Hindus are the shop-keepers and money-lenders of Daman, and among Musalmans have always one characteristic—quiet, respectable, and a money-making race.

In my account of the hill tribes I see no mention is made of taxes. The reason is they never paid any.
collect specimens; but I may simply state that the principal rock I saw in the Hazara hills was carbonate of lime and other limestones. In the hills near Pessab, clay slate shading into quartz sandstone. In the Jutrin range, clay slate seemed dipping 45° to the east. Down the (tinal pass clay slate predominated at the bottom of Gilwahed; on each side was conglomerate and clay slate at the top. From thence to the plains was an impure limestone with many specimens of nummulite, and of a bivalve whose name I do not know.

J. S. Bumareng,
Kandah, 25th January, 1849.
2nd Lieutenant, Engineers.
Map of the South Eastern Part of Afghanistan
Illustrating Lieut. Broadfoot's Journey from Chazni to Dera Ismail Khan
Compiled from his Original Survey and adapted to the fixed positions of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India

Scale - 1 Inch = 14 Miles.
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