1885

*Reports on parts of the Ghilzi country ...*

James Sutherland Broadfoot

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ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL, AND EDITED BY
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY, 1, BAVILE ROW.

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LONDON:
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II. JOURNEY FROM SHIRAZ TO JASSAN, VIA DABAS, FORO, AND MINAY. By J. R. Parker.

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OF
PARTS OF THE GHHILZI COUNTRY,
AND OF THE
TRIBES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF GHAZNI;
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ROUTE FROM GHAZNI TO DERAH SMMAIL KHAN
BY THE GHWALAN PASS.

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

Map, p. 438.

Introduction to the Report.

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 points described in Report II, by Mr. G. T. Vigors, having been published.

As Lieut. Broadfoot's reports 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, or corrected or eliminated parts of the reports as printed in Colcutta in 1870.

With respect to the spelling of the names of people and places, I have generally followed the mode adopted in Sir Charles Massenery's compilation or Directory of Central Asia, except where I have had reason to think that the transliteration was incorrect, or not intelligible to ordinary English readers. I make no pretence 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 Peshawur, across the Indus at Sulltan, to Sandilaghr and Ghazni. He was engaged with the other Engineer officers in blowing in the gate, and took his part in the storm and capture. He was then left in Ghazni to repair and strengthen the place, and this he describes as six weeks' hard work.

From Ghazni he went to join Captain Outram's force against the Ghilzis and other errant Afghans in the neighborhood. He remained with the force whilst it was in the field, and marched 400 miles in a month, surveying the country, making all the occasional 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 shelved, I learnt at Kabul, by Outram, whom the Commander-in-chief would not allow to go. Outram assisted me by asking Sir
W. Monaghan’s permission; and Major Macfarlane allowed me to go in anticipation of success.” In a letter home, written just after the journey was accomplished, he says, “Eastern Afghanistan and Jellal traverse the great Salmoor range of mountains from O to K. Kurnel, whence the army started, is D: the army led round by the line D E F to Ghani at A, nearly 90 miles out of the straight line; it

returned by A B C D, 90 miles round about. The straight line A D from Ghani to Jallal Bach through an unexplored country, of which the mountains were stated 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 arrangements with natives, put on their dress, and went among a set of murderers armed, because a guest, along with 100 of the men of my party were killed one night.”

Lt. Broadfoot was travelling with a caravan of merchants, he goes on to say “the beard and dress quite led them to think me a good Muhammadan, 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 waited to surprise the caravan. At last I came into the plains of the Punjab, and crossed them as an Afghan flying before the English. The people of the Punjab, lately our firm allies, now hate little enemies; 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 Lahore, a magnificent looking town, and in these days was in Peshawar on the 29th November, exactly one year from the day when I entered it proceeding with the army, and whom I now see the interview with Ranjis
Singh, now dead. Then I was all occupation and hope, now I am but a wretched
wanderer, after seeing the most curious sight of robbers and missionaries, and
here I am in the wildest country in Asia. I went into the first house I found, and met an
old friend of William's, and had my hands cut off, and ate with a knife and fork,
and sat on a slate in an English dress."

Licut. Brunford then went to Kurni, where he wrote the report and drew out
the plan. They were submitted to Lord Auckland, who was pleased to express
great satisfaction with them, and was permitted Lieut. Brunford, at his special re-
qust, to return to Afghanistan. He was killed at Peshawar on the 2nd
November, 1869, when the Native Carabineers refused to charge, and allowed their
officers, accompanied by Dr. Leest and Lieut. Brunford, to charge the Afghan
carabineers. 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 Brunford, Major.

112, Grosvenor Terrace, Hyde Park, W.:
3rd May, 1884.

REPORT I.

On Parts of the Ghilzai Country, and of some of the Tribes in the
Neighbourhood of Ghazni.

This report was made under the following circumstances:—

Accompanying the army of the Indus from its formation at Kurni
to its march from Ghazni, I had seized every opportunity of examining
the people and country. In command of the pioneers, among whom
were men 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 procuring
data for the statistics of the district. In two months I was withdrawn
as far as my field duties allowed I surveyed the marches; on the breaking up
of the force I got permission to cross the Sulaiman 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.

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

* Half brother, Lieut. William Brunford of the Bengal European Regiment.—No.
I Or G11i1.—En.
to recognize them after going a sufficient distance to allow a different bearing. Even those, it is hoped, will afford much military information. Such a rapid survey must have some errors, and be vague in details; for this I can only apologise, that it was made at my own expense, without any assistance, endeavouring to supply by labour the place of instruments, funds, and surveying establishment. But the errors are not considerable, as is shown by the manner with which my surveyed place of Bura Kasauli Khan agrees with that determined astronomically. During the Ghilzai campaign, I lost by frost and pneumonia the whole of my charts, and with them my Ghilzai field-books, on which much labour had been bestowed. The remains of my papers are embodied in the plan and reports. I shall treat of:—1st. Janjans and Warhobas. 2nd. Tableland of Ghazni and the Ghilzais. 3rd. The Ghilzai Pass. The triangular space between Herat, Kandahar, and Ghazni is closely filled with mountains, inhabited on the west by Amans, and on the east by Hazaras. From Ghazni three distinct ranges are perceived, running north-east and one unbroken chain. The highest peak is Gulkot, in the crests of which snow lies the whole year. Within 10 miles of the city are six passes, all leading into the valley of the Rod-i-Ghanzi; their names are Balak, Turgan, Goburi, Bola, Barast, and Markul. Being alike in character and appearance, a description of Goburi 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 6 miles of gradual ascent, it narrows to 30 yards, water and cultivation come, and a steep steep slope leads to the top of the first range. The view now embraces huge barren rocks, with a few green specks in the narrow ravines, and the high mountain of Karamri* bends 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 Jarnai, a ravine between barren hills with a few yards of soil at the bottom; rivulets are frequent, and the scanty soil is cut into terraces like those of the Himalayan villages. Tuley and wheat, a little tobacco, clover, and turnips, are cultivated. The corn grow 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. The severe climate and barren country increase the harshness of their aspect. Their clothes, made by themselves, are of coarse haircloth; their boots rough pantaloons, and their girdle a rope. They live in little towers containing five or six families, supported by scanty cultivation and flocks of sheep. In autumn, at Ghazni, they exchange ears and hair-cloth for grain and flour; sometimes Shah mullahs teach the boys to

* Probably the construction of Karsa Yozat; see p. 253-150.
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 vapour, they stopped work till the pressure of hunger brought them back.

The women are not always veiled; they have often blue eyes; a few,auburn hair and red cheeks. They are generally ugly, but not very chmodt. However, the custom called "Koruhistan," by which the Hazara 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 said on good authority. Across Jamna is another valley of similar character, and then the precipitous barren ridge of Sokey Youaf (Joseph's rock), which runs from Sir-i-ab to the Warkab country, and is passable for horsesmen at each extremity. Beyond is the mountainous district of Abakah, and to the west the district of Niwar.* This is a plain inhabited by the Muhammad Kheljans, and said to be 20 miles in extent, without area, 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 gardens are so abundant, that it has always been a favourite place for the royal stud.

Still more to the north is Basid, or Bass, the capital of a Polytech 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 extol the country he alone has seen. They spoke of shawls, gold, and silver in Bassid, 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 Gulkoh to Niwar, and from thence to the Bunki-Dstrict. In Kambagh the Hazara and Afghans are mixed, in Niwar and Sir-i-ab is the tribe of Muhammad Kheljans, in Jolka and Jamna are tribes of Jaghoots. In the valleys of Sakaia they are mixed with the Wazkas. The cultivated passes of the first range are given to a few families of Persian Bukhtiyarins, known by the name of Kalzilbalans. Shaik Shiah settled them in Kabul, and the Afghans employ but distrusted them. The young chiefs treated me very hospitably, and seemed to be liked by their vato. The chief of the whole Hazara district is Gulkistan Khan of Kambagh, 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 Kalzilbalans and Hazara used to fight without inter-

* Be poet is meant hereafter Mr. Should possibly be Qavah, which means a plan, or draft.
ruption. A revenue of a few thousand acres and a little money is claimed by the Governor of Ghani, and generally paid by Bambagh, and the nearest valleys. The Hazara into the Afghans, who oppress them, and who are Station. Nearer and Sikhs, a few years ago, refused the tribute, and collected a formidable body of men.

A son of Dost Mohammad at the head of some home, contrived to drag a light gun through the passes. The very sight of this dissolved the conspiracy, and the tribute was paid. In spite of this example, I consider the country west of the first range to be quite impossibly for artillery; and even were they dragged along by ropes, in such a country they would be immovable 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 ponies. Provided with a month's supply, 2000 men could then penetrate where they pleased and find no serious opposition. In the valleys, grain, water, and a few sheep could be obtained: in Nawan some grain might be got, nothing more could be furnished.

The Waraks inhabit the valley of Sohbat, that of the Ghani river, and that west of the Logar. They are neither Galls nor Durans, but nearer to the latter. I have heard them called Khikas. I heard them often and hospitably; the country well cultivated; always melons, and sometimes grapes. Sohbat, so called from its turnips' look, 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 shrub on the hills in appearance like a fern, bears a medicinal gum smelling of turpentine; the specimen I had were lost with my camels. The Waraks seldom travel or interfere with the Government of Ghani, unless to make them join them, extracted a considerable sum to pay his troops. From Ghani, along the river to the Band-i-Sultan, and thence through the Wardak valleys, a road goes round the Garban to Kabul; it is sometimes travelled, as it avoids the Tang-e-Sharif ditch, but would be difficult for guns.

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

In a little valley 12 miles from the city, three rivulets meet; miraculously they formed through different channels, fertilized a few fields, and were lost; Mahmud dammed up all but one outlet and thus made the present river. It issues from here a stream in the dry season 20 feet wide, 2 feet deep, with a velocity of 5 feet per second. In spring it is much larger: the Band-i-Sultan, by which this is effects, is a wall of smarsity closing a rocky valley; the dam when complete must have been 800 yards long, its height varying from 20 feet to 8 feet, and its thickness

* This dam is described by Mr. Tupper, but not in so great detail. Indeed...
or feet. In autumn, when the ploughing is over and water is no longer wanted, the outlet is shut (and a lake fills the valley 50 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 broomwood and earth) is opened, and the stream rushes out in several cascades, thus giving the whole water of the year in the stream it is required. The last of the snows of this work streams in part for Mahomm's religious cruelties. The principal of the rivulets which flow it rises on the northern slope of sink-bah, and running to the north for 30 miles through a narrow valley, turns to the right by Saktia in the direction of the main. 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 Tangi-Sher.

GHAZNI AND THE GHURRA COUNTRY.

The country from Mikliir to Ghazni may be considered a sort of tableland, bounded on the north-west by the Hazara Mountains and on the east by the Jular range. Six miles north of Ghazni the plain attains its greatest elevation and descends towards Kabul. South of Mikliir it sinks rapidly into the valley of the Tarak. Between the two great ranges a low chain of hills conducts the drainage from both sides into the Aul-Istahab Lake. Elevated from 3000 to 4000 feet above the sea, the climate is severe. It freezes every evening in October, and the ice lasts till midday; in November it never thaws; in December the country is covered with three 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 blooms which last only a few days. The climate in July is 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 crumbled to powder, and the barren plains turned into forest or meadows.

These ideas are confirmed by the fact that the Jular 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 in its lee, 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 a long gentle slope to the plain.
Those slopes are scattered with a thin, low, Cristianoernal called "Tiriki," and have many subterranean springs. By some strange method the Afghans discovered where the springs were situated, and digging down to these 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 town down; these galleries having a small slope, the water pours through them, and the wells thus emptying themselves are called Kazus.* Where the water issues from the ground is a fort with a few acres of corn and barley.

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

* Kazus, a Persian word meaning canal or channel. —We.

At Ghalmi 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 accumulate at the equator all the air of the globe, an upper current towards the poles is absolutely necessary. The altitudes of Ghalmi may bring it into those currents. At Minessar there is a great preponderance of the north or Bura breezes; but the theory requires more confirmation.

The Jabrin range runs N.N.E. It is the chief of the Sulimán chain. I saw it in the distance overhanging Qobrad and joining the Muzhalga hills, the last spurs of the Sahol Koh. It is named after the wild Fadjrans, who occupy its western slopes. To the south it is penetrated by the difficult Pass of Dalit, and continued under various names to Yosak and Surge; from there passing the lake it goes south, striking the Yonaki and Hotaki country, and apparently ends on the Ghera. All the streams of its 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 at higher than the Twent-i-Sulimán; a rough method made it 4000 feet above the plain. It throws out branches which shelter the Turis, Jujis, and other hill tribes, and direct the streams of Kassen, Kansar, and Gomul, I am at present uncertain whether the Wusir hills are a range running between the Thrones of Shomat and the Jabrin Mountains, or are the spurs and offsets of the latter; another journey would settle the point. From Gobrad to where I passed it in Surja, this range is tolerably wooded; its peak and eastern face are covered with pines, and its lower parts with trees, whose Peshi names I can give, but not a botanical description. The "Shan" has an outside berry; the "Zuliz" an excellent gum, sometimes exported to Malaha; the "Khang" is much praised as a remedy for wounds; the "Khang" furnishes wood

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* Kisser, a Persian word meaning canal or channel. —We.

** "Di'onma" is Mt. Yurg, —Ed.
for grown; the "Adinah" gives out a pungent oil; but the "Hanah" plan, whose fruit is the chilgoza, is the most important, as whole tribes live on the cast, which is like an almost tinted with tea. The principal rock is clay slate, dipping 45° to the east. Parallel to this great mountain is the Hazarnow or Gharlik, a ridge about 500 feet above the plain, bare and rugged in its aspect.

Alb-koli is the peak of a mountain similar to the Hazarnow, on which it alights to the east, running westward to Ghazni and crossed by the Kabul road at the delit of Fangi-Shor. On a low spur of it, the Koh-i-Tadka, some thousand Chilgis were put to flight the day before we took Ghazni.

Between the last two ranges is Khavar, an elevated barren district, thinly inhabited by Amdels and Salsaks. To the north Kharewa opens on the fertile valley of Logar; to the east it commands the Kabul road; to the east it is entered from the Druad Pass from Zerul; and on the south, by the Rohat Pass from Shilgir. The Zaling Pass is between the two. Of these I understand the Druad is the best, being passable for camels. The central situation of Khavar 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 14 miles long, steep in the centre, but easily passable at either end. The range continues with intervals through Chakab and Jumk-hann, the hills being of precisely the same character, and then may be traced in the rocky isolated peaks of Nusai Ghomol, Zidaghi, Khwarja Hillal, and Joo Krei. On the western base of Jumk-hann is a lower ridge, evidently of contemporary origin; and on its eastern side a chain of remoulded hillocks formed of its debris, and called in the north Khardin, in the south Graham. This is continued on a larger scale in Zham, a rocky peak, surrounded by miles of hillocks and finally sinking into the Ab-i-Kishik Lake. Girandar is the last of a range running from near Khushkhar along the south-east bank of the Parmak; 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 continuation may be traced in the disjoined ridge of Xarghans, which has a few peaks of rock rising above a long moat of moorland.

The river of Ghazni has been traced in the city. It passes between Shilgar and Mani, sending off many irrigation cuts, till the water, after ten or twelve miles, becomes much loss, and its banks too steep. It next runs west of Dharzai and Khwaja Hillal between Joo Krei and Able-Band; in this desolate tract it is strongly impregnated with salt, and falls into the Ab-i-Kishik Lake. A curious circumstance occurs: the fish, brought by the stream from the upper parts, on entering the salt part slink and die; they may be taken by the hand in all stages of illness.

The next barker of the lake is the Sulga or Suskhand, which, rising
in Gurdar and Michol, flows through the whole of Zirmai, and passing through Sardih joins the Ghami river opposite Meshki. At Sardih it has perpendicular beds 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 Tolki, which rises in the pass of that name, and runs through Kattawar 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 Turkshi Nallah, 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 or else form 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 nearly dried banks of clay all round its channel. As we passed the greatest part of the Ab-i-Ikatlah 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 taking, probably not above 15 feet in the centre; it is bordered by a gently shelving margin of solid clay; not a tree is in sight, or a blade of grass, and hardly a foot; the blue hills in the distance make it look more lonely still. There were several large flights of chilior and rock pigeons, but we looked in vain for the myriads of water-fowl which the Emperor Bacher declares give its blue waters a red appearance; the only instance I have detected of oriental exaggeration in his book. Its waters are as salt as brine; I drank, with soda, but had no tests.

Sildgar is included between the Ali-koh and Takri ranges and the river of Ghami. The population are Amils, with the exception of the Tajik villages, Ruknul and Rabat, 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, linseed, and clover, partly supplies Ghazni; the country is flat and evenly traversed 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-wells as given by the Afghans, and are to be looked on as mere approximations. Zirmai is a valley 40 miles long and 20 broad; in its northern part is the Tajik village of Gurdar, numbering perhaps 250 houses. Between that place and Kohlug the inhabitants are Ambakuds and Ali Khols. The mountains on each side furnish many luxorns, and occasionally a line of forts parallel to their base; a third line follows for some miles the course of the river, by which its fields are watered; Shalag is a Tajik village of 200 houses. From thence the western line of forts as far as Sardih belongs to the Anders, and the eastern, which is much smaller, to the Sh蝴蝶 Khols. The roots or spurs of the Jazirah Mountains shelter a few nomadic families of wandering
shepherds and robbers; the population is about 40,000. From Kandahar a
road and goes by Logar to Kabul and a more difficult one by Mishra
to Jelalabad; the valley is passable for artillery in all directions; water,
forests, and grain abundant. The road from Kandahar to Kabul is very
careful as far as Billa Dagh Khan, from there it passes two low hills, and
winds among some small ravines caused by the water from the east of
Shigler falling into Zemul. 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 Deera is a plain inhabited by Schuks,
and the entrance to the pass of the Kuran river and to the country of
the Jang. The Pass of the Pasha is said to be difficult, and beasts among
craggy mountains to the Khurat country and the source of the Dero-
Gumal at Sherkhana; the country is impregnated with salt. Shmbl
is a narrow strip between the lower end of the Takri and the
hill Spisnak. It has seven or eight forts of Andurs comprising
about 1000 souls. The ground is covered with tombs and patches,
and cut up by ravines running into the Jilga. Here are the remains of a
dam created by Mahnum, but now commonly ascribed to the prophet
Ali; its object was to irrigate the land by means of the Jilga. Opposite
Minaul there is an easy pass into Shiglar over the low end of Takri;
there are others lower down; a guide can show several easy passages
through the ravines.

Mahanu and Jang are clusters of forts of Andurs included in the
Shiglar district. The roads from them to Panadi are over an easy plain.
Panadi and Marbehg are little districts of Andurs, together contain-
ing about 1000 souls. The road here winds among hillocks, but
has no serious difficulty. Supplies for a small force could be obtained
at Panadi. Among the hillocks are camps of shepherds and Lahani
merchants who emigrate in winter. Minas Khol, Isbey Khol, and
Ziahgai, are inhabited by Andurs and Taralkdi 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 Xbahana a
spring of water issues from a hillock, and is the main seat of a pastoral
khal; at Ashlan there are two forts with twenty families. The ground
is now completely void of brushwood, and cattle and provisions could be
obtained; the road is easy, and parallel to the Ghani river now flowing
sluggishly between steep banks. Elka is a fort of Xhalanawa with a few
families, a strip of cultivation, and a well of good water; another fort
of the same tribe is near the lake. During the night march to Maskur
Khana, the shepherds' fires were all we saw. They tantalized us greatly
as far as 15 miles—they seemed always close in front. At that place
we saw the last of the Taralkdi five or six forts of the Shike Khol.
From there we marched among hillocks to Fermani, the boundary

* The Kshum Gomun of Mr. Vergn. The other branch is called Kusa; Shik meaning
right, and Khana left.—Pa.
of the Tekhlis; no supplies except water and casual 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 Terkibil Nawilk ("Nawilk" is a plain), an open plain, well cultivated by the Tekhils and Hotaks in the north, and the Taralkils in the north-east.

After passing five forts, we arrived at Killa Abdinman, the fort of the Khan of the Tekhils; this was a square of 120 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 nawail, or "plain," and passing near the fort of the Khan of the Taralkils, and a village called Lehnal of the same tribe, we reached Barik Khel. The nawail has on the west, the Rozanai and Surinak Sohiks or "Sohiks" hills, dividing it from Sirsagl, inhabited by the Muhammadali Tekhils, and from the plain of the Taralkils. These hills are about 1000 feet high, but not very steep. In the last the prolongation of Shinkai divides it from Wazilkhwa, a hilly district of the Selimans Khels, and from Allingh, a low valley of the Shamalzai-Tolkils. To the south is the Marif and the valley of the Argheem.

From Barik Khel to Mir Ghazzab, the beginning of Wazilkhwa, is about 20 miles, the road lying among barren hills, but, I believe, passable for guns. Mir Ghazze has four families and a spring of water. The inhabitants are Nasir Selimans Khels. The chief was usually called the "Mean," because he was both father-in-law and uncle to Rohan Dih 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 Mushtaks of his tribe.

Returning from Nasur Rahr, we passed an open plain to Killa Arzbegi. The Arzbegi was said to be good and kind, yet every one knew him to be a notorious robber. Gilan, Attkur, and Oba are fertile districts, inhabited by Taralkils and a few Durans. Water was everywhere abundant, and the road a level plain. Between Mahmud and Koonan all the forts are ruined except Laham Pirzayi Khel and Hobilalla. Three 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 Roonal to Jassum are fifteen forts.

* Barik in Jand. Brockedent's notes: Barik Khel on one of the maps.
† "Kawar" in Rapoger's "Central Asia"; on ever, I presume, for Nawilk, which means a tract or district—Dr.
‡ Muslim speaking, corroboration—Dr.
with excellent cultivation, the road good, and water and supplies abundant, Karahagh has been previously mentioned; Meshaki and Nani are like Boonan and Jamrud; Meshaki is inhabited by Arabs.

Ghazni has 800 inhabited houses, which, at five to each house, will give a population of 4000 persons. To this may be added 1000 for garrison and camp followers. There are generally about 300 Hazaras, who come to get honey, or to sell their wool and hair cloths: also about 120 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 indfeda. 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 Warkalis and on the south by Nani, and included between the Ghawzi river and Munna Mountains. The origin of the Tajiks is doubtful, because they are derived from several sources. Those of Kandahar and Ghizil, with flowing beards and large black eyes, are probably of Persia descent; at Ghazni, the small and sometimes grey eyes, and the beard generally scanty, indicate a Tartar race, and when we reflect on the dynasty of Mahommed, 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 Mughals; and the proverb of "Turk and Tajik" is common in Asia. Exclusive of those near Ghazni, the villages of Balkhur, Bahad, Rohelga, and Gardez, numbering perhaps 4000 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 Shujal; Nani and Karahagh 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 feud 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 encroachments, they have made the most of the remainder by skilful cultivation, making irrigation canals and laborious avenues. In the houses they are active, energetic workmen in all the usual trades of the city. They affect 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 citadel;
they always spoke of their immediate neighbours, the Amberis, as a set
of murderous villains instead of the quietest Ghileis 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, pears and apples, of good quality, come in by turns.

I think that a garden at Ghazni is more useful than a farm, so exceed-
ingly 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 meat, and in making cheese and kuris, or drying fruit; large
stacks of brushwood are collected for firewood, and of inurose hay for
the cattle. These preparations are hardly completed when snow 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 food
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 caused to the utmost the Tajiks, and the
tribes who obeyed him. On the news of the approach of our army the
men of Ghazni had to work at the fortifications, and without pay; grain
and forage for the cavalry were taken wherever they could be found,
and the unhappy owners 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
national enemy would grumble at such measures; but the Tajiks saw
nothing but Dost Mohammad's ambition to keep the throne at their
expence; their constant prayer was, "Oh God! make Dost Mohammad
poor, for he has ruined us." While the Ghileis 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's
family; at first they grieved bitterly, for their affections 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 Hotakias and Talbris living in the district from Miri to the north end of Turquin-namah; the Taralkhis from Gilan and Lacidan to Katshghe; the Arden, inhabiting Shiligne, Dhan, part of Zirend and Pashch, the Schabs, in Khrurwar, Darra and Paghman, the Ali Khel settled in the north-east of Zirend and the surrounding pastures, and lastly the Suliman Khel possessing half of Zirend, all Tattaown, Moorwai and Wazikhwah, while their shepherds are found from Kattawaz to near Ghishani; this last tribe is not exceeded at even 40,000 families, but the rest may be taken at Mr. Elphinston's estimate bringing the whole Ghilzi race to about 150,000 houses.

They are first heard of as inhabiting the Suliman range, living more by pasture than agriculture. The Durani are probably from the Hunza 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 Kandahar to near their present seats. Ahmad Shah completed what Nadir had begun, and exempting a tumultuous attempt to wrest the crown from Dost Muhammad, they have been pretty quiet though not obedient.

Shahabode Khan of the Talhass established twenty-five years ago a kind of rule from Rotiri-Ghilzi to Kattawaz; 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 Abdurahman, in connection with Gul Muhammad Khan of the Hotakia, and leader of the Ghilzis monarch, carried on the same system. The Munir of Wazikhwah feuriously joined them; the Khan of the Taralkhi was the quietest and best of the Ghilzi chiefs. The Suliman Khel have no regular head, but Mohin Mursh Khan had influence enough to lead formidable parties in a foray. The Arden and Talebs generally submitted to Dost Muhammad and seldom plundered.

The Ghilzis neither dwell in cities nor practice any handcraft 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. Neecessity has forced them to make irrigation canals from the rivers, and karezis from every spring. They are rewarded for their toil by good crops and neat farms; unlike the Tajikhs, they cultivate no fruit, but occasionally melons; but the wheat for their own food, and barley, inroos, and chives for the cattle, are of excellent quality. These are grown only for home con-

* Or Ghilje.—Ed.

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simplism; neither is much produced to better for cloth, to the trading tribes.

The fields belong to the head of the family, who, with seven or eight houses of relations inhabiting a little fort above this cultivation. The fort is an enclosure of 40 or 50 yards square; the walls are three feet thick below and one at top; at each angle is a round tower with loop-holes. The houses are generally nine feet high and about 12 feet square, the walls of mud, and the roofs of broken wood shingles covered with clay. The doors are very small, as wood to make them is scarce. The houses being generally built round the fort, the roof serves as a rampart from whence a loop-hole 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 scaling ladders, 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 Sulimian Khel and some others are pastoral; they live in rude tents, made of two rough poles supported by hair ropes, on which they hang canvas blankets of their own making. In these the Ahmeds slowly migrate from near Jelalabad in the winter toippo and Allahwar in spring and Zarnaul in summer, always enjoying a temperate climate; others go parallel to the course of the Gomal as far as Wana and the Frirak. Each family possesses its own flock and a few camels, the tents already described, 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 arms by their sides, the women make pastry 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 uncover their faces unless purposely stared at. Their features are regular but somewhat masculine, 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 clothes, sheep, and cattle; this is not a bargain for the girl, but to satisfy the neighbourhood 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 can often 50 or 60 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

* Kleet a sort of dried milk or curd; described in Yate's "Maras Pola" 2nd edition, vol. 1. p. 233—89.
would be happy to give their daughters for nothing, were they not ashamed. The desire to get married makes the Afghan sometimes trait 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 “balek,” but should the male relations hear 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 lover is admitted, but seems 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 amiable 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 Khowajicks up a hill, the women and children throw down incessant showers of stones, at least as formidable as the drooping 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 Ahmadzies, 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 pests of the country. If the first blow be followed up, they will never retreat.

The pastoral Gliizus are all robbers when stimulated by hunger or rage. 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 stimulated by despair or to defend their families, the pastoral Gliizus 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 houses decked out with necklaces of the new Company’s rupies, which as well as the “Burkis” of Bothara are admired for the image.

* Brand.—Ed.
there was no suspicious how they had got them. They seldom cultivate crops, but procure flour by barkling their surplus wool and glue; they have no weights or measures; or shepherd cattle with another how many of his hands full equal a Kabul seer, 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 malik, and all be subject to a khan, who leads the Ulid troops and is answerable for the revenues, 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 anciently covered with forests, supporting a set of hunters who must have been thinly scattered and without civil institutions. Osier and Trolitus describe them when the forests had been partially cleared and savagely 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 northwards. At last, taught to be soldiers by mighty 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 powers.

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 Amirs and Tartars are to this day scarcely altered, and the Afghans not much so. Like all nomadic 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 Bursah. The increase of population obliged them to subdivides, the former into Hotakis and Toobis, the latter into Ali Khel, Anduras, Yarkas, Solhans, and Sullusan Khel. This latter tribe is now so large that it has split into several other tribes, of which the Ahansal is the principal. The names of Turan and Bursah are now scarcely heard. The Hotakis are the oldest branch of the Gillits, and the chief of the oldest family of Hotakis is considered the king of the whole. His name is Gal Muhammad; he is outlawed 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 families; the natural head of each family is implicitly obeyed; the eldest by descent of these 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 "Khet" 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 inlands and merchandize, and in the excellent 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 "Toelwastoon" or leader is chosen, and while the danger lasts is pretty well obeyed. The senior family of the Anduras is the Marjan 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 (Magna Charta, for instance to give the barons safety); 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 funds. 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 Saldwhi is the senior tribe of Popalzai, and therefore of the Abillas, who themselves are the elder branch of the offspring of Simon, the eldest son of Saul, Abdul Bashid, descended from Saul, Abharsan, and Adam. This genealogy, however absurd, has preserved the head of the Saldwans great respect, which Ahmad Shah turned into a title to the throne. His fortunes and abilities brought him felowships; his victories abroad en-
riched them, and enabled him to consolidate his influence at home by
giving many jaghirs. The Durrans, thriving under the new system and
never feeling the weight of the taxes, because negro converts to it; the
Ghils 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
patrician government of the Afghans and to the genius of the people.
They were also vicious 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
grasping themselves, but would not allow the people whom they
governed to be oppressed at the pleasure of their countrymen.
They seemed often to lose the love of their soil and finally settle in their
province, refusing to pay the king tributes, defeating his troops, and
killing his tax-gatherers in the most approved Afghan method.

The Ghilis 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
patristic institutions nearly complete. The only bond of union
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 Khawar, disgusted with
scanty crops, in great numbers quitted their fields and returned to a
pastoral life; even a settled Afghan puts his whole idea of wealth in
flocks and herds. These remarks apply chiefly to the Ghils, but
with slight alterations to all the Afghans. The Durrans, 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 Durrans, who, even when they do not
practise it, are bent in its praise, looking on "Ahmad Shahi" as a panacea
for all evils. I may mention here that, though I have been sometimes
obliged to differ from Mr. Elphinstone, the course of my inquiries
has led me to a thousand proofs of the great judgment in combining
evidence and simple statements search for truth, which characterizes
that writer.

The only genuine institution of the Afghans is Pashtunwali, the
code of the traditional customs of their ancestors. The grand precepts
arc 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 Bannús I have heard of a khan destroying his guests at a feast; this was looked on with horror. Among the Wazirus 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 sit near the fire-side and ask for protection. The Achikshai are said to consider themselves as relieved 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 virtuously 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 “kebabs” on a ramrod, and served on wood or wooden bowls. The host and his followers sit on the best carpets, and eat according to their station out of “shahes”—pots or wooden bowls. The host stands behind, prising them respectfully to eat. After washing the hands and snuffing the chillum, a horse or camel is brought for the guest’s accommodation. 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 badly 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 Pashtunwali, and encourages feuds more than it punishes aggressions. 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-barbarism constantly quarrelling, have always feuds on their hands.

At Peshawar there are two sorts of relations who are at loggerheads.
The distance between them is only 200 yards, and in that space no one ventures. They go out at opposite gates and walk straight from their own fort, in a line protected by its walls from the fire of the other, till getting out of musket-shot they turn round to their fields. In Zurnil 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 mast, 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. Pashawalwi 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 step in and effect a reconciliation called "Namawatt." 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 ideal of equal justice cannot be procured by one party having more killed than the others, the price of the reconciliation issued 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 presents is thought to show want of spirit.

A fertile source of disputes is the right to water. In Kattanw is a spot called Khun Karch, 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 falls with age, they acquire perhaps all they will ever learn. In young Afghans, on the contrary, as they are 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 conclude affairs or arrange marriages, in which they have to reason with some, flattering others, and browbeating a third; their fine climate and temperate habits preserve their faculties for a long time. They are much inferior to the young or middle-aged men, and are respected accordingly. In all half-barbarous countries the same respect for the old is observed. 

Sparta, which was about the Afghan standard, preserved the feeling much longer than Athens, where education, assemblies, and debates made the youth quicker formed. Pashtunwali is only good enough for wandering shepherds, whom land and water were abundant for all, tending to foster the best virtues of barbarians, and probably produced a simple, hospitable, and spirited 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 skulking guerrilla warfare is not favorable to courage. The hospitality daily tends to a more worthless form. All this is very observable in the Ghilzi country.

Surnail and Katunwaz, 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 ANDERS. Sometimes they killed the people who came for the census. The whole produce of their land was turned to their own support, and it was rigorous that, in the intervals of cultivation, they quartered the neighbouring country, living for nothing, and bringing back horses, camels, bales, 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 neighbors. A country exempted 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 pastures. 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 Shiligur to Surnail the frequency of these heaps was sickening. In many cases they were at the closed end of the ravine, showing how the four travellers had run as far as possible and then been hewn down. Such was Surnail and Katunwaz. The ANDERS and TURKISHS have not so fine a country. They complained bitterly that Dost Muhammad had raised the
price from 10 to 22 rupees on every kherwar of rasad (300 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 Selmans 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 Kattawar, Abbtar Muhammad, chief of the Jaldazis, told me he was afraid 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 Uluss. Abbtar Muhammad could not then withstand his enmities, and is in great poverty. Though respected by his tribe, he scarcely gets 300 rupees a year.

The people of Kattawar, with all their discord, have united more than once. Some years ago, a son of Dost Muhammad, Mir Khan, tried to reduce Zawad; his troops penetrated by Kokdugs along the western line of forts of the Audas. Some he destroyed, others he passed, but at Nashkel he was met by nearly all Kattawars, and was defeated. Again, when our army approached Ghazni the Selmans Khel, altered by reports of our wealth and effeminacy (they said we were Hindus and short coming for slaughter) and excited by Dost Muhammad speaking of the Xung-da-Peshdath (Afghan honor) and the matcha promising heaven to those killed by ticks, they came in a tremendous rush from all quarters; but the head of the Xung being promptly charged, the whole dispersed. Again, when the force with Captain Ortzn arrived at Nashkel, many of the tribes burned their grain and fowage to prevent us entering Kattawar, and we had to go round by Pozniak and Ashan.

As an instance of a foray, I extract from my journal an account of Militar Musa's chapter.

Militar Musa is the son of Tuba Khan and head of the Sultan Khel (of Selmans 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 droncam to every Khoil in Kattawar, to announce that on the third day he would lead a chapam. The rendezvous was Surka; 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, tenaciously armed and eager for vengeance.

The Suliman Khel had attained their object; when carried their plunder home, and I believe part, under Miftar Muns, passed into Baluchistan to collect a little more. The Waziris formed a bold resolution. They crossed the hills by paths known only to themselves, and posted on Kustava, while their enemies were absent, guided by the flanks and led 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 negociation, as entrapping the Waziris twice was hopeless. After much swearing on Koran and giving to each other some unfortunate syads as pledges of their faith, all the cattle were restored on both sides, except those lost by carelessness 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, feuds are on a smaller scale, sometimes they are mere thefts. They seldom plunder near their own homes, and have an 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 roupes will generally redeem 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 settle the redemption of the camels; he wanted 12 roupes 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. And the safe conduct being informal, they would have spilled his blood like water.

The Afghans are generally praised among Asiatics 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, taken away many of the inducements to deceit, which inhabitants of towns possess; but to a stranger, or where anything may be got by it, 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 and owed 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 ours own, the result of organisation in one of the finest people of the globe: judging them by a fairer 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 Winnie Kush taken from the Uzbeks; they frequently invaded India and there founded dynasties. The Rohilla Afghans are notoriously the best soldiers in Hindustan, and the general opinion of Ancient allows bravery to the nation. I am afraid the general opinion of our army in the contrary; and it contains so many men of judgment and experience, that I cannot help stating the grounds of my singular opinion. Our army never, 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 looked for the day when the Afghans would come 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 Durrans, disgusted by thirty years of narrow, and by seeing their frontier moved from Bahawalpur to the Khyber, and by no longer enjoying the best places in the province conquered, were anxiously looking to the king's restoration as the first step to regaining what they had lost. Mehrab Khan was busy in out-witting himself, and Kuhfsh Khan was vainly trying to make the Multahs 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 be seriously opposed. The opponents 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 seem to slide 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 tamely saw her capital twice entered by foreigners, and her bravest shot like a dog: The Afghans just as, would not oppose us, although they would not join us. Another point helps one 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, detect wrongs, and especially Persian ones. They see a prospect of paying taxes, and curse "Shujawal" for *Ghazis i.e. the war and Ghiz the war against infidels... Etc.
without agriculture, because the shepherds can easily procure grain cheap in Bannu, 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 vice 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 Kabul, and our influence at Bala, have already made all prophecies the future absolutely hopeless; 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 where 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,
KODIN, 25th January, 1840.
2nd Lieutenant, Engineers.
REPORT II.

On the Route from Ghazni to Hern Ismail 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 Naini... 14 miles.
2. 18th October, 1839, Jangs... 10½.
3. Univ. to Panjshir... 16½.

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 with a look of horror and others with a smile, feeling the impossibility of believability. Whilst dressing, it was all the same: the children sometimes stole in, calling me "Pallegi" with bits of bread for me to eat; there was a crowd the whole day.

20th.—To Dand, 12 miles. The road at first crosses a few low hillocks, then a plain; at the eighth mile, turning round the end of Jaralikana, a road, saving a few hundreds yards, goes over the ridge, which here are a few black rocks at the top of a gentle slope. From this point we went between some low hillocks. Near Dand a dry water-course is crossed, with banks four feet high; the whole road is very easy for arms.

At Dand there is no other water nearer than Dhanai or Nunnai; the first a large village of Andors with perhaps 160 houses, the latter a group of four or five forts of Andors and Suliman Khels. Dand is a fort with thirty houses of Shanki Suliman Khels, with about 150 acres of cultivation. Near Nunnai is Shabman, a fort of a tribe of Suliman Khels. At Dand the only supplies are water and salted forage.

The people have shown the most undeserving hatred of the Feringis, and of the Loharis for introducing them. They give false answers to every question, and say that they will never consent to have their countys written down.

For the first time in Khorassan, I judge it necessary never to leave camp alone, even if well armed; my life now being certainly in danger if not alone. At Dand the caravan halted for a day in order to allow the Miss Khel Loharis to join for safety's sake. The strength now was three camps of about 300 men, each with women and children in proportion, and a small escort. A crowd of men and boys visited 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 kamdani, a chapura or very loose, long, cambric
hair gown, trowsers 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 feet warm. A plaid and dagger in the belt and my sword by
my side. In riding, over all a pashtun.

21st, a halt.

22nd—Sixteen miles to Killa Langar. The first four miles are
over a plain, sloping easily to Kattawas, and the next three through
Gandarm. This is a pass evidently formed by water flowing into
Kattawas, though the hillsides formed by the spurs of Zoro and the end
of Kattawas. At first it is 50 feet wide, with a level bottom, bounded
on either side by hills usually 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 some-
times 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 Gandarm." (Ganduzza
Khan).

From here we emerge to the open plain of Kattawas and pass Zorghan
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
wasteful. 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
blandish. 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 106 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 unsecured; yet
this is one of the strongest forts in Kattawas.

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

On entering Kattawas, from every man there was a burst of abuse
against me, though the dress prevented them from recognising me till
halted by the Lohuns which was the Perung 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 Kalla prevented my murder. 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 Kokoal and afraid of the consequences of not going. Among others, the brother of Master Mun Khan. I found out a plot to catch Sarwar Khan and me as hostages or perhaps from revenge. The chiefs I could in a few days bring in. The people are different. Except the Miss Kholi 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 Shah as a Durani.

22d.—Shimsha, pronounced Shitsha, 131 miles.—The first 25 miles are through the cultivation and fallow of Langar, and the deserted fields of Khimi Rass, 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 "Ghola kulla" (thieves' fort); their forts destroyed each other. From this point we enter the Sarghe 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 ascended; the bottom is sometimes rough and heavy, but two hours' work could make it an excellent road. At 13 miles is the cultivation of Shintsa; there are no houses, the cultivators being allになって; but a little watch-tower commands the field, and shows by its melancholy defence and its gate, scarcely to be reached, how little certain the owner was of keeping what he saved. This seems an example of the method by which the Afghans change from pasture to agriculture. The small Khol 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 Ghizis to live in houses; the Duranis, 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 houses, and extend into the plain, 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 never-dying subject of religion. I asked him why he did not change; at which he got

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into a rage and said, "Feringis change their religion for a pretty girl, the Musalmans were no better, while he was a perfect religion that he would lose none of them." This he uttered with much violence, and so my supposition the Musalmans 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 "Shahbash," or expression of approval.

The Hindis said we had got the gate of Gharni opened by money, but that if we tried 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.—Surghuppi, red rocks, 13 miles. The Kohls started at daybreak, the cold being less and delay expected on the road. The road for three miles ascended gradually; meandering in slopes possible for grown. There was an ascent of 20 yards, the angle about 11 degrees, with a few stones requiring breaking; next, for two miles, a level running 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 requiring a few hours' labor. Pool, water, and casse forage are abundant. From the Kotal-i-Sawandi commences a descent continuing without interruption to the Indus. This, and the fact that from Kohak the Attak is often visible, first decided my opinion that the Jadriu was the principal range of the Salince Mountains. I estimate the height of the Kotal-i-Sawandi ("Kotal" means a pass over a ridge, as "Durna" implies a passage between mountains) at 7500 feet, by referring it to that of Mirkirk 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 rise reach 400 yards wide, and very straight. The rocks bounding it gradually slant to the Killa-i-Rahkar. This is inhabited by Kharaou, 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 caravan 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 from several springs join near the fort, and flow over a few small stones, the stream 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 "Kohna Kats" or "Kats" in Pashto means a place, and especially a wider space, in a narrow pass, where the rocks are 500 yards apart, and where caravans frequently halt. We bivouacked in a spot of similar character. The road presents no difficulty; water and camel forage plentiful.

26th.—Sirumgheh, 43 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 Waziri and Hazara ranges approach each other, and confine the river into a narrower space and higher rocks, the curves are also much more frequent. At eight miles the Dwoa Gomal ("second Gomal") makes its appearance, from a ravine similar to that just described. This stream rises near Shiraz, and flows through the Kharoti country, draining the Waziri and Cholak ranges; the Koh-i-Waziri, cut into a channel by rain, looks very different from the smooth hills of Kohistan, from which they partly intercept the monsoon. They are about 2500 feet above the Gomal, and sprinkled with trees. Whenever I asked their name, the answer was "Wazir de Ghurana." They are the hills of the Waziris; but at different points they have different names, as Samakzi, Wanaki, Chini, and Kohangi Marghe. Ostrich is a widening of the valley to a space large enough for a camp. The Dwoa 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 ravines, at some distance, is a supply of a better grass, called "Washa." Water and camel forage of course abundant.

27th.—Abmsghen, 114 miles. At one mile we passed Sirumgheh, a level plain 200 yards wide and a few feet above the river. At 23 miles, the salt rivulet of Ab-i-talik enters the stream; from thence the channel is narrow, and winds so every point of the compass in bends at every 300 yards, yet I never saw it less than 50 yards wide. At seven miles is Mumtaza, "Mumta's tomb," a great white rock in the centre of the pass, where it again widens and grows 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 an excellent channel to guns.

28th.—Stighai, 103 miles. For the first five miles the Gomal wound so much that the horsemen and knackers went across the hills, rejoining it three miles lower down. The cansel, of course, continued by the river. The crossing was very frequent. The breadth of water here is 20 feet.

* Lieutenant Brodfoot in his journal remarks: "Today I was very careful, there being a report current that the chiefs had hired men to take or kill men".—Ex.
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 jinners 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 Khels of Pûnak 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 believe 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 offers to come a march with me, saying that whatever I may give them will be taken away by robbers in the 10 miles going back. They never have their horses without putting on rags, in hopes no Afghans who meet these may have worse. It is a singular state of society.

29th.—Betash, 1½ 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 100 yards of a level road not at all steep. From this an easy ravine leads gently down to Toudha Chian (a 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 Gathai, where there are some troublesome large stones. From this we descended 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 narrow tracks, but I saw none fit for guns. Afterwards a stony plain continued to Betash, which is a collection of graves of Lakharm who had died in the past. Ali Khan Miyani had procured from Kabul some fine marble slabs for the tomb of a favourite son. The road has 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 Gathai 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 Ghuland, 1½ miles. At first we crossed the desolate plain of Sublahar Ignâch (we have reached the black plain), the boundary, as it is called, of Khoresman 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 60 feet. The bottom is stony as usual; a wretched but gives the name of Khair-o-dangar to this place.
At eight miles is Janakata; this place is named from a great Nasiri robber, who at last fell into the hands of the Lobha merchants and was then hewn to pieces. At Janakata are three acres of cultivation and the entrance to the stream Zawrawan, said to come from near Hirmul. At 10 miles is the isolated rock with a flat top called Khlassa (Ghulam), which the Lobhas believe to be full of the treasures of Nizai Shah. The channel of the river was wider, and not so stone this much. Grass and fensige as before.

31st.—Gollahat, 14 miles. The canals followed the whole way the stony bed of the river. At four miles is an encamping ground called Toppe Una; from hence I mounted on the high bank by a steep, rocky passage, and entered a small plain under the hill of Umak; this is a steep, caggy ridge, about 800 feet high. Advancing further, we entered the wide, stony plain of Zerramulla, and saw the Tarhah-Sultan towering in a mist above the interior mountains, its base extending to the south past Wohra, and the north beyond Ghwalahi. At the tenth mile we descended into the valley of the river, here three miles wide, and being covered with reedy 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 march as usual is stony; water, fensige, and grass abundant. We are now out of the wandering Nisian Hills, and I am not troubled with people opening the tent and sitting at me like a wild beast. Six canals were carried off in the evening.

1st November.—36 miles near Kaswarwali. After six miles of easy plain is Khadri-Shagga-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 fine 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 committed incest with his sister, and the Deity turned the whole city upside down to punish the guilty pair. From thence the main easy plain continues to the halt. 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 Habbah, "Blackstone." The hills of Zerramulla send out a spur to the east, which reaches the Gomal; we crossed this in the Tortal of Kanarwali. The first mile is an easy ascent, the next half mile is steeper, and the path either at the bottom of the ravine or along the south slope of rocks; the rock was a hard, spiny-like 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 shallows. At eight miles is an insalubrious rock, with two trees and beautiful red grass. This place is "Kothi," and a little to the north are Spin and Toe of the Duchess, and Wazis about two marches distant; this marsh has abundance of water, grass, and palm grove.

Sev.—12 miles to Gathi.* After two miles we reached Shahidan, a number of tents of merchants slaughtered by the Waziris, and called by the Zebanis the "martyrs," to throw olibum on their enemies. After this the hills on each side branch off, leaving an undulating plain, in which the Zebib is met by the Zebib. This stream, 30 yards wide and one foot deep, is larger than the Zebib; its valley could be seen for at least 40 miles in a straight line parallel to the Zebib-Gomal; its waters are reckoned particularly sweet; I thought them just like those of the Gomal. At 11 miles is a small date-tree standing in a spot called Datukata, where large caravans usually halt, that they may drink the Zebib water before crossing Ghwalari. From this we enter the Zebib, 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-slate. The rain has cut these into deep, vertical cliffs which have a somewhat architectural appearance; when the conglomerate ends, clay 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 procurable here in plenty, but it is brackish.

4th.—Buskini, 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 surface 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 through 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 Ghwalari, and is just beneath the real pass. The slope, which had been very gentle, now became so steep that loaded camels went up with some difficulty (yet they never threw 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.

* GIS in 299—En.  † See next page.
down a steep ravine for 600 yards, the slope from 15 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-ropes. Below this the pudding-stone cliffs and fine wide road begin again and continue with increasing width to Mishkinai. At Diamon 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.—Chingsankram, 9 miles. The first two miles led along the north side of the Tatars 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 side 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
escaped my memory. This pass of Taizai may be avoided by a longer
route which goes direct from Makkliani 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 cut
mutton and kurta, 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 Attas; this is called Ulus building, and, though pleasant
even when time is at hand, is rather expensive. In this way “Taizai” was rendered
passable. From this the main-stay route passes through a few scattered Pehla
trees or tufts of coarse “Sirmadgha” grass leads on to Chingnaraq, a
pebbly 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.

69.—Zirth, 12 miles. The first mile and a half brought me to
Zamari, 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 Humni stretched out before us; to a person fresh
from more fertile scenes it would seem a flat plain of clay and sand
covered with a monstrous jungle of this tamarisk; but to us, who had
passed 180 miles of brown rocks, it seemed a picture of beauty. The
delight brought from the hills covers the plain for four miles past the
half, but we soon entered the weary grass jungle on the banks of the
Gomal, where it penetrates the hillocks of Zizki, under which we
emerged. Manjipes, of 100 houses, could afford a little supply of
grain. Wood, water, and usual forage are abundant.

70.—Dana Ismail Khan, 49 miles. This march occupied 23 hours
During the day I kept up my route survey, but soon after passing
Kolodi 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 Zizki 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 Lanti; 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 Kolasht, 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 confusion and several villages, and that the tree jungle grew less as we approached here. 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 sound towers, and the ramparts narrow except in the bastions. It would when finished withstand anything but a regular siege. Dur Marshal 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 (5) sets of blasting tools should be always at hand. The rest might be armed as usual with pickaxes, 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 Lasham, four miles beyond Dalal towards Shilabanger, is no obstacle. That of Bango, through the Kohmak range near Shilbega, would not oblige the troops to halt, and the bed of the Gomal as far as Ahmadkot Kala requires little clearing; from thence to Gulkate the stones are large and troublesome, but they could be cleared away by 500 pioneers at the rate of 10 miles a day—this would be severe work; or if the road of Sirgat is followed, the army might arrange one of its halts so as to allow a day for making a road in Gafi. The Kamarwall Pass, between Gulkate and Tarabular, would require two days' work, and as it involves a march of 18 miles to get water, it should never be travelled by guns, for which the Gomal road is the only good one.

The first pudding-stone rocks of Ghwalsai 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 "Kotis" itself is of hard gravel mixed into earth and apparently easy to cut. To blast the two fallen rocks of Ghatli, four parties of three men each would be necessary; by heavy jumpros 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 Gatkali, 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 zigzag ascent 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 Kotal, which is within three miles of Ghwalsai to the south.

The Ghwalsai Pass I conceive to be easier to make practicable than
the Koljak, 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 baggage also may pass in three columns, instead of being, as at the Koljak, jammed for days on one narrow camel track. The waters of Ishvalari, though bewitch, is abundant on both sides; that of the Koljak was sweet, but not nearly so 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 that of an army; grain or flour, from Kattawaz to Luni, should not be expected. The Qusantins of Wann and the people of Zhum bring rice and flour, and the Kharratis bring goats for sale, but in an army these small supplies would be necessarily felt. A month's supplies would enable troops to reach Kattawaz, or, if in small bodies, Ghazoli; but it would be most advisable that supplies for two months should start from Kulachi along with the army.

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

The caravan was able to buy chopped straw for the horses every day till we arrived at Shintsa; 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 Languz to Killa Kharrati the Kells carried chopped straw for the horses, and again from Killa Kharrati to Stighli. 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 Kharrati is covered with the "Saka" or "Washa," similar to the long-bladed grass which is given to horses at Simla and Mussoorie, but I think rather sweeter and better. Below Ahmandi Kats in all seasons this is abundant. The constant march in spring of large flocks of sheep, camels, and cattle, destroy all that is near the road, and leave naked brown rocks as far as the eye can see; but even in autumn, by proceeding up the ravine 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 Qusantins or Kohimm giddins, who would show the grass-cutter where to find it; and of course an escort of fifty or sixty soldiers should accompany the foragers of each regiment. These
guides could easily be procured either in Daman or Khurassan, 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 Kaffa, I could only hear of one man on whose stomach
it had any bad effect.
Fuel in Khurassan is the usual brushwood which covers the ground;
in the pass there is a slight addition of bushes and stunted trees; in
Daman there is jungle. An army going from Dera Imral Khan to
Ghazni might form the magazines at Nagjiran or Loral, 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 BolAN 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 been biased.
The route from Shikarpur to Kandahar is very difficult. After two
marches of jungle the Meik-i-Dachi 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 28 miles is a total desert, and generally there are only a few
hamlets at wide intervals, the mud huts of which are easily to be
distinguished from the plain. The poor inhabitants dig holes in the
clay, and watch for hours till a little moisture collects, and the scanty
supply is eagerly baled out and stored for use. Sometimes they send a
mile for a little water, and I saw it sold in camp for a rupee a gallon.
The camels, in poor countries the life of an army, began to fail through
starvation, and laid the foundation of our subsequent losses. Bhang and
Dukar, of 500 and 300 houses respectively, allowed us to halt and gave
us water. The Bolyan Pass was a level shingly ravine, bounded by
hills, and very similar to the channel of the Ghazal, but is totally
deficient in usual forage and fuel, and water at times is scarce. Except
when rain fills a pool it is a desert in the Dastak-i-Dashtak ("hopeless or poverty-
stricken plain"); a march of 28 miles is necessary for water; even then
usual forage and water are the only supplies. Quma, and the fertile
valley of Pishin, can support a small body of troops; but in advance in
this dry, stony plain, which is also cut up by ravines. The hills
then have to be crossed. There are three passes,—the Kohjil, which
was crossed by us; the Koghanai, 10 miles to the north, is difficult for
camels; and the Girrigh, easy in itself, is rendered useless by there
being three 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 three long marches had to be made under the pains of thirst. At last, when we reached the cultivation of Kandahar, our horses were starved, our camels were falling, the men had dysentery, and the road behind us was strewn with the bodies of camels and horses, and of men who had been wounded when they lagged from exhaustion. Much of this might, no doubt, have been avoided by better information; but yet which we consider that in Katch Ghansaa filling up about 100 wells would have left 98 miles of road without water, and that the Bellen (easy as its road is) is exposed to floods in winter, and to the fatal暹River in summer. I think it will be allowed that that route is impracticable against well-directed opposition.

The Ghoshtian ridge is nearly as bad at that of the Khabah, and the constant drag over loose stones would harass the feet of the artillery horses. Windlass camels soon get sore-footed in any rocky pass; they sometimes place themselves on the hills by audaciously crossing the wrong shingle, which no Khorasan camel will ever do; and the horses generally, when asked in the Afghan fashion by glancing over all but 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 choice of climate, water, fuel, and forage. It opens also into the best part of the country, and threatens alike Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kafir. Out of the thousands of camels who pass this road twice a year, I only saw two sick; while the rest of our army was covered by those; 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 rejoining it, allowing columns to be divided, or opposition to be turned.

DIFFERENT ROUTES ON THIS ROUTE.

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

1. From Purand to Varuni Ghund. Near a fort of Shakhel Kand, water and camel forage can be had.

2. Khabah, a raised fort of Shakhel Bihismir Khale. There is a lane. The road crosses Shere, but is easy.

3. Yeshah of the Shakhel Jazlakari. Water and a little supplies (for a small force) can be procured. Road an easy plain.


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

1. Passik to Dokli or fort of Schanckai. Already mentioned.

2. Adin Kish in Kattawa. The road turns the southern end of Sheru; small supplies to be had. The Adin Kishis who are Kaisers fight the Jalalzais who are Shamiusals.

3. Masso Khel, a migratory Khel with only one fort. Road easy.


Besides these three easy roads, another, fit only for infantry, goes under Kelmuk to the north of my route. From Killa Kharoti a camels road goes to Usukhywal and then to Kashkhan. Caravans of Nassen travel this way.

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

The Stighai road, turning part of the Gomal, I have described.

A path goes from Stighai to Khai and thence by Spes and Short-lean, to Killa Mana in Wardkhyaul. A similar path also goes from Kain-o-dangar to Wana. In spring these routes 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 unsafe. The tribes who come up in March or very early in April do not follow the Gomal, but proceed from Ghawatari to Kahan, where there is a spring; thence to Spis, which is a mile or two north of Kishai. This march is long, but easy; to be pretty level. Then to Sagarwalli and Khad-khargamun. From thence they again diverge from the river to Zarumkhan and to Rezali, or they go from Khargamun to the lower end of Uram, and so by Zarowen to Stighai, where the Marrana road is followed to join the source of the Gomal. These roads are story and long; they would never be taken by caravans but for fear of a rise in the river.

As an instance of these sudden floods, I relate what happened to the Engineer camp in the Bolna Dera. We were pitched in the dry channel of the rivulet at Abgrum; the channels had been gathering sound the peaks to the west; at three o'clock in the morning a loud roaring noise in the Glenn 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 included on all sides by much deeper water rushing past with great noise. It was pitch dark, and there was no escape; marks plainly 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 camp would have been drowned.

In the Gomal Pass, after the beginning of April, there is no danger of such accidents as these. The river getting less 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 3000 to 7000 feet above the plains of the Indus, and supported by its vast buttresses—the Suliman 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 Junum passes, the first of importance is Kurram. The road commences near Gadar, and generally follows the channel of the river to the Indus; at first it passes through the valleys of the barrancous Jafs and Turis, and then through the hills of the Kangah and Bannolithic. I have no good information about the marches, but the general impression of all travellers is, that the Kurram river is the best entrance to Kashmir, whether for supplies or comfort of road. The tribes 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 Bannhor, and another road marches Kotkai on the Gomal in five marches; they are—

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

The next pass is that of the Gomal at Ghulkiar. This has more than one exit. The river has forced its way through the end of the Tulch-i-Suliman range, dividing Ghulkiar from the Kaghan hill. Its channel, called Aamaluda, 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 Ghulkiar is the castle of Manzi; crossing 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 "Mustenanqumna"; the road tolerably easy.

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

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

Next, the road of the Vaziris goes from Ghansoli to Kirthawa, opening by one route upon Gidran, by another at Bilal. It avoids the Ghansoli entirely, and is described by many people of different tribes who had seen it, as much superior to the Ghansoli road; as grass is very abundant, the hills covered with wood, and supplies for a caravan (of 1000 people) to be had from the villages on the 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 Stigliai, from what I had seen of those mountains, and from the careless way travellers without wheel carriages speak of difficulties in a 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 Wazir country. The following marches must be very short, probably not averaging seven miles:

1. Ghawalari to Kirthawa, a small plain of good soil irrigated by the water of Spin. When Sarmar Khan of Tank attacked the Lahonis, 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 Tom Dhabar; the road an easy ravine.

3. Minbhimal Ghansoli, 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. Wama. This valley is cultivated by the Dostans; supplies and water to be procured.

5. Iena Gwajal. A space in the bed of a stream, said to flow to the Bungash country. On leaving Wama is the hotel of Mejdaal, said to be very easy.

6. Washkhera, 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. Entela, a pass over the Khwenda Ghar ranges, which seems to be parallel to the Koh-i-Vaziris.


9. Tumal Kot. Three forts seem to be in a narrow valley between the Khwenda Ghar and Pashwal ranges.

10. Kasim Kot. This is a fort, and an evidence of cultivation and water.


14. Spedar Narin, a pass over the Pushtu range which seems to rise from the Jadriin range, and is partly inhabited by the Jadriin tribe.
15. Sarrobi of the Khwats.
18. Sultanai, entrance to Zermai and Kattawan.
19. Paltoani in Harand, inhabited by Miwids (who lately were notorious robbers).

This road is sometimes varied by going through Spin, Too, Wana, Diram, and Sarfar.

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 Ghwadari. It passes the Tahhit-i-Sulieman, the Zhob 30 miles above Postakota, and is connected with the Gomai by the road of Kandahar.

From the place where the Kandahar joins the Gomai to—

1. hosainika, a spring in the ravine of the Kandah; from this place a camel road goes to Zawa.
2. Khandel, the tomb of a murdered man of that name.
3. "Xavd storm," Nama Konai, a stone thought to reduce hernia of the novel; the road is still by the stream of Kandur, which flows through an easy ravine.
4. Khadri, the source of the stream. There is usually here a little cultivation of the Zhumriq, a small tribe said to be Syads; and in summer there are some Nasir shepherds.
5. Orak, a spring in the mountains which seems a continuation of the Jadriin range. Generally there are few tents of the Lili Kind.
6. Mashberi, a fort in the valley of Warishkwar. The road crosses the hills by the pass of Indai.
7. Killa Mass in Warishkwar, and from thence 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. Gwardab, a small spring.
3. Sira, a fine spring. The road then descends to—
4. Mandu Khel de kot, a fort in the valley of the Zhob, after crossing the river.
5. Darabkhan, mouth of Darabkhan Khwarra, from whence the water of the Darabkhan 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 Dukna Pass, which has a larger stream than that of Zawa flowing from it, and being much blocked up with stones, it is a resort of robbers with stolen camels. It joins the Zawa route by a different pass.

Still further to the south and beyond the Takli-i-Selimain is the road of Wolwa, passing through the Kabul country to the Afghan 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 Sulaiman 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, Kunar, Ghwalari, Zawa, and Wolwa or Vihora. I put the Dukna out of the question, as the way is easily cut off 60 miles at the Bush Gandawa. Of these the Khyber, Kunor, 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 Kunar, 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 20,000 men alreadyLeon sending it down to the plain, the scattered column 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 by Khionsum. 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 Yihora of the map of Afghanistan dated Simla, 1871.—Ed.
his ruin. Indeed, the more I saw of the country and reflected on the subject, the fonder 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. Katharoz merits a separate notice.

Its length is about 45 and its breadth 34 miles.

The plain is level and open, bounded on the east by the Kohak Mountains and on the west by the lower hills of Kattawaz and Zhera. To the north it reaches Zeraul, and to the north is ended by Lanhari and the Sh-Kalatlah Lake; the valley is entered on the east by the three passes which meet at hills Kharoti, and on the west by the passes of Dahnara and Kharbin. This last road goes from Mash Khol between Spinask and Janakhan. 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 Kohuli. 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 Katharoz.

This district entirely belongs to the Soliman Khol; the settled tribes living in the course of the valley, and the pastoral ones wandering about the lower slope of the mountains. The tribe has two great divisions, the Shammar (or Yacallaum) and the Kaimar; these often fight with each other. The Khols are generally groups of five or six forts, each containing from ten to sixty houses. I mention the Khols as they occupy the valley from north to south. Kish Khol, Sulaiman Khol (a large one), Toobal Khol, Mitha Khol (who sometimes travel), Mahmun Shaik Khol, Shok Khol, Kallansha Khel, and the Ablin and Nase Khol. Beyond these is Lanhari of the Taraldian; the forts have been described before; sometimes the Mohams effect a truce to last a stated time, when this is ended the forts begin again. This ruin of barbarism...

* Lieutenant Brodick here proposes two ways of tackling an invasion from the north-west. The first, namely, to make the Soliman range our frontier and to hold the passes in that which commands itself to our advantage. Holding that frontier, we are in a position to strike with success any attempt at invasion. Every day that we delayed the invaders' forces would swell greatly against them. Pool for the army and hold for the preliminaries would run short, and that would, in all probability, lead to collisions with the Alpaks. With this frontier held in force, we have little to fear from the other side of the hills, so long as the Khor camp and people may be held on. I would therefore expect every man to be held on. I would therefore expect every man to be, by every means at his disposal, to stir up and harass them; and to delay active measures till well assured of cooperation in India.

The second mode of meeting invaders, namely, to occupy Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kaban, is not, I think, seen to be considered. 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 hot one from a military point of view.—Ed.
consisted 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 prds 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 Damao money has no fixed value, being nearly unknown. The method of exchange is more barter, or by taking everything in yards of "kurbah," 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 Dama Gomul rises at a hill called Durstly, very near Paltan. Its course is then between the Kuhak and the Waairi ranges; this last I believe, from the shortness of the Dama Gomul and other circumstances, to originate in the peaks of Paltan. It diminishes and ends near Urak.

The Petsek and Naranoo, range from the Killa Kharat goes, I believe, to the Shikheh hill. It is the recent of a set of wandering shepherds, the Khwad Kiel, Khelai of the Suliman Khel. It suddenly breaks up and ends at the Kinar river.

The hills to the west of the Zohb appear little less than the Takti-Suliman. The Zohb rises in the Kikar country, and then flows through a long straight valley inhabited by the Mantra Kiel; this is a large tribe extending from the Kialal to near the Kikar country. They live generally in tents, but here also a few houses, probably built from fear of the Waairis, who occasionally come from their own hills, and sweep the valley of the Zohb. 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 Mantra Khels cultivate rice in considerable quantities, as well as jowar, wheat, and Indian 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 earings or neckless of white shells. The men wear, when it is cold, the "kohlal," 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 petticote 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 Kiikars, 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 our northern limit they are said to be a quiet people, repelling attacks 2 8 2
The hill tribes are so much alike in every respect, that a description of the Khivotis and noting a few minor differences in the others may serve for all.

The Khivotis inhabit the valley of Dwoa Gomal, the peaks east of Paltan; the sketch below will illustrate the position of their forts; of course there is no pretension to a scale in the sketch. Sirafna, a few miles from the source of the Dwoa Gomal, is a fort containing twenty houses, and affording protection to the families around. Sarbhys is a ruined fort with a few houses. Channikervah 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 Khivotis could gather, bring heaps of wood to the gate and burn it down; once in, they murdered and plundered. The Khivotis have now built a large fort, and filled the

ground again. Dursha is a fort of twenty houses, similar to the Babakhi Killa described in my route; these places are cut out of the hills, or are on little knolls, and all level soil has been carefully cultivated. Yet these cultivators are not the fifteenth part of the tribe; the mountains being covered with trees must have soil, and water is not deficient, so

* Or Sarbal.—Ed.
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, seem to prefer the wandering life. They have sheep, cows, 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, and sticks, or in rude huts cut out of the hill. In spring the people live entirely on milk, which is abundant, or the herbs are then born. Sheep, goats, and cheese are made in large quantities, and sold in Kattawaz or Shindir 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 blanket, made by their wives, and sandals (called shappu) (chappal) of goatskins 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 walking the deer. The pine on the hills furnish a salted chilgozi, which is a principal part of their winter food, added to cheese, bread, and occasionally some sugar. 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 a man even 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 must not gather them. The Khvoris are divided into two tribes; the Zulku Khel, of which the Mullah of Siraf, son of Gul Khan, son of Shendi Khan, is the principal person; and the Ali Khel, whose head is Shaham, an old man. These chiefs 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 neighbors and Mullahs generally interfere and attempt reconciliation; should one party refuse to abide by the decision, the neighbors 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 thing, that he soon gives 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 Khvoris sometimes buy, but generally make, their own powder.

The Yia Khel is that which trades with India; 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 them to a milk diet and pine seeds, after eating bread and grapes; indeed, they complain that in a few days it gives them sickness in the stomach; this makes them be thought effeminate cowards. The Khvoris are hospitable and kind, they seldom attack tribes unprotected, 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 need never want food.

The Jadrins inhabit the east slope of the Jalran range; their country is small, and they are seldom heard of, so that they must be few in numbers; their food, dress, and livelihood are those of the Kharotis, except that they are great robbers, and protect all thieves. The Khwejas, a tribe of robbers, talked of a certain Killa Meck of the Jadrins, where they would have delayed us. The Jadrins sell their wool and cloth at Gardz; though I entered their country once, I never saw them.

The Waziris possess the whole hill country (with a few exceptions, noticed hereafter) bounded by Gymul on the north, by the Jadrins and Kharotis on the east, and the Kurram on the north. A branch of the tribe extends along the Koh-i-Sufo; they are more peaceful 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 Damascus, and in the hot weather return near the Kharotis. This country is stated to bear 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, sheep, and cows, which enables them to add 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 Bireml. The Jadrins are confined to one ridge; and the whole country of Zinti, and the Thwalar Pass, restable 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 Lohiris, to be Shiites—this is a calumny; as also that they are descendad from some (a few) Hamans who fled before Nadir Shah, and have increased in these mountains. This is universally 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 Firunnis, 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 all riders.

To get wonderful stories about them is very easy, but real information very difficult, as no sooner is one of them caught by another tribe

the other.
than he is slaughtered. The Waziris are much under the influence of the Syeds of "Urmur" (*), and one of the stories is, that a Waziri, tired of going several miles on a pilgrimage to a place where a Syed had been murdered, invited a Syed 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 spared some little boys in their mothers' arms. The Waziri village sent some Dostans to reclaim the caravans; the Lohanis agreed, provided 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 dead, and they should get no camels." So the 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 disseminated 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 Lohanis and Waziris have so many blood feuds that no false 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 in their enmity, 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 honoured guest, and a little girl would serve for escort through their whole country. They stick closely to each other, and their neighbours 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 Pashtunwali was inexcusable, 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 should not prevent a candid statement of what they are now.

The Waziris are divided into three tribes—the Alizai, whose head is Jungi Khan; the Balkhais of Nasir Khan; and the Ahmadzais (these must not be confounded with the Ahmadzais, Soliman Khel, who are also pastoral robbers) of Khan Muhammad; the principal are the Balkhais, who cultivate the valley north-west of Kanguram. Jungi Khan and

(*) "Urmur" or "Urmu." The name in English time in two MS. copies of the report I cannot find the name in Sir C. Munro's book on Central Asia.—Ed.
his tribe are sometimes praised for their moderation; the Akhsanis 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 princes.

The Damtanis, pronounced "Daotani," are a tribe of about 600
families, who inhabit the valley of Wana (a much 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 Toe and Spin, because the Loharis were always
plundering them. Their agriculture makes them a little richer than
the Khrotis, but their habits are similar. The Firmani is a Tajik
tribe, who live in a village at Urgum; cultivate their land, and have
artisans. They speak bad Persian. Their employment is chiefly
smelting the iron of their hills, and sometimes carrying it to Kabul or
Kundahar; but the Akhsanis are the principal carriers of this iron by
Wardak to Kundahar, and to Ghazni and Kabul. They do not buy
the iron, but simply lend their camels for hire.

Trading Tribes.

All the trading tribes are generally called Loharis, but more properly
those of Daman are called "killa"; they average 100 men each, with women,
children, and camels in proportion. In summer they live in fine large "ghishaius"
tents of felt, near Daman and Karabagh; the men are partly away in Bobkirn and
Samarqand trading, or buying and selling at Kabul; the women and
children, with a sufficient gurad, live in the tent. In autumn the tents
are moved away in a friendly port, and men, women and children, and
animals go down the Ghinal pass to Daman, breaking all the way;
they then pitch their second set of tents, kept always in Daman. The
men go to Lahore and Benawar 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 Pasniish
and Karabagh.

The Nasaris are a much larger body, probably 2000 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 Ghinal is flooded; their reason is that their
sheep are with young, and lambs born in Daman too smaller and weaker
than those born in Khwanistan; the flocks go by the Zaoa pass, and join
the Ghinal at Namsh; the herds go by the Ghinal, either waiting till
floods run off, or avoiding them by taking the routes I have mentioned.

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

The Lohanis make part of their march, in very hot weather; the river is then low. Grass is found as high as the hills Khauri, green and sweet; when I saw it, it was dry but still good. The Lohanis 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 regretted.

In the evening, canoes are often carried off from the hills where they are grazing. The drummer (an important person, and called a “musician”) beats a peculiar roll, and all young men are expected to go. The thieves drive the camels up the narrow, pricking the beasts on with their swords; the merchants follow after. The robber is seldom caught even if the body is recovered. If caught, and a Waziri, he would be slaughtered. If a Lohari, they would not kill him for fear of another blood feud with a powerful tribe; but his heart is unstuffed with grass and set fire to in the middle of the camp, its cracking and blustering call forth shouts of laughter (hair burnt off in this manner is said never to grow); his eyes are then shaved off, and he is let go; sometimes a rough oyster is administered by setting the robber on his feet 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 Afghanistan or India.

The Lohanis, who boasted of killing Waziris when at a distance, no sooner entered the dangerous country than they showed a most Usurrious terror. Watchmen were shouting out the whole night that they were very determined, and were not to be trifled with, exhorting enemies to TCP away, and every man loaded 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 bellow shouts of “ha! ha!” The women and children join their shrill voices in the cry.

The Lohanis show their wealth by braiding the hair of their children with gold coins, and ornamenting their women with expensive earrings, 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 favorites) were balanced against each other in women's robes, on arriving at the ground they helped to unload the camels;
the girls drew water, and the men ground the meal, but the women seldom worked, 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 chests, 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 body, some horsemen were in front and some in rear; the young men, well armed, ascended the hills in search of hares and deer, answering also for flanking parties, yet a few robberies happened most unexpectedly.

The trade of Khurasan is but little, about 4000 camel loads of the hariz or coarse Multan cloth and India chintz or Bahawalpura 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 Khurasan, 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, etc. The Tajiks are the most enlightened and civilised.

In Ferghana and Kafiristan, 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 so cast runs out in rough pigs. These are heated again and slowly cooled, when they are worked into horse-shoes, guns, hammers, 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 Sullivan range, they never can export it. Lead is found in the Hamza hills near Band-i-Sultan. Antimony in small quantities is procured at Taimai near Ghwaliar. On a plant, called by the Afghans 'zard-tirzah,' something very like the cochineal insect is found, and saltpetre, not so good as the Persian, it spreads all over the hills near Killi-i-bothuli. 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 Nijol Nurgourd (if the passes were rendered easier and safe, and a good understanding kept up at Bokhina and Kashz, might easily be diverted to Kabul. The route being shorter, and our character for justice at home as high on that of the Russians, Kabul would then become the centre of the internal trade of Asia, for Indian goods could be easily sent through the passes.

Then the Afghans, possessed of a fine breed of camels, and themselves fond of a wandering life, might become the chief carriers of this long 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 Mussoorie, I was led to remark the possibility of our securing this trade with Central Asia, by a good road, like that of the Siampour, made over one of the passes to Thibet; at that time there seemed no prospect of our commanding so finely situated a mart as Kabul, and I take this 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 Dobokhs; tradition stating that they fled from D robbed 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 Afghan, they struck me as a slighter race, with limbs more rounded and voices not so deep. They cultivate the land belonging to the Afghan, 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. With the climate of India they have most of its customs. They resemble in villages and towns round which are wide spaces of cultivation; near the hills many streams are used in irrigating the land. Where these are expended, their only trust is in rain cultivation. The climate of Daman is very hot in summer, even more so than Hindostan, but it is colder in winter; snow indeed never falls, but ice is sometimes seen in the morning. Both the rains of India and the winter monsoon of Khurasan 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 Gandava, the hill streams overflow in spring and cover the country with a thin sheet of water, which slowly running...
off, leaves a flat surface of clay; this is then covered with a thin stratum of water, which, in 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 extends a long way beneath the surface. In Daman the few wells are of different depths, as if the water was not continuous, but in others; but whatever the cause be, walls are not used for irrigation, and are seldom dug.

The Dowlat Khel are a large tribe, of which the chief place is Tank; they and the Gamedhurs use the whole Goml in irrigation. The senior family is the Kutte Khel, the head of which, Sarwar 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 Ghwalari. He died about six years ago, and his son Allah Khan ruled in his stead; but the son seems to have had neither abilities nor courage. In two years the Sikhs approached 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 leading tribes, and his only resource was the Waziris. He lives, I think, at Urgam, and possesses some influence in the hills, while Tank is garrisoned by a few thousand Sikhs.

The Gamedhurs are a large tribe settled from near Manjigara to 10 miles east of Kulanji. The chief place is Kulanji and Luni; 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. Luni is also a struggling place of about 400 houses and a good bazar. The Gamedhurs have never made a figure in Daman, though always strong enough to defend themselves. Their chief, Ali Khan, is an enormously 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 issues from Zava, and is considered in spring; this tribe has many Miyanis,* among others the Miyanis and the Bithitaris, the richest merchand of the country. The Miyan Khel is about equally divided into settled and migratory families.

The Starainis to the south of the Miyan Khel, formerly went by the route of Wohwa (Yilano), but from some quarrel with the Kilara of the road, they now go round by Ghwalari and Kundar or by Zava. They are similar to the Miyan Khel.

Exclusives of these tribes, partly migratory, the Waskars are wholly so; and the Sarpkara Salima Khel, a trading tribe, spend the

* Hindiya means neighbor.—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 by in four months' supplies for their cattle, or in some instances to send their sheep to the creeks 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 separate to 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 Kabul alternately every six months, and the difference of faith precludes all concert between the Governors of Daman and Khorassan.

The rule of the Sikhs is firm at Durr Ismail Khan, and around Tank, where there are garisons; at a distance from the Indus it is nominal, and near the hills openly defective. The Sikhs have allowed idolatry, have forbidden the call to prayers, and have endeavoured to prevent the Afghans eating their own meat. The Subsidiary Nawab of Durr is almost a prisoner. These measures, and the difference in religion, have reduced the Sikh rule alike to the tribes. When our army marched to Kandahar and Kabul, the Afghans held the Punjab to be virtually subdued, and refused to pay the taxes demanded. Now their eyes are open to the consequences of their errors, and they eagerly long for our rule. Every man whom I met eagerly when the province would be occupied. Several Mynars chiefs and the head of the Gujardars assured me they wished for it: and so general was the impression, that even Lalli Mall, Governor of Durr 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 disclaimers only made them give me credit for caution, without changing their opinion. Old prophecies (probably very lately made) declared that the British shall rule from China to Borneo, 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.” Taimur Shah, when he had a strong force to back him, sent to the Khudnis to claim a tax; they showed a handful of pine nuts (chilgozs), and said that that was their food, and they could only give a tax of what they had; on this the subject was dropped; at present they are too poor to pay even for their own protection.

In my notes I had very little opportunity to examine states or
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 Passanah, clay slate shading into quartz sandstone. In the Jafrau range, clay slate seemed dipping 45° to the east. Down the (unnamed) Pass clay slate predominated at the bottom of Gkwalad; 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. Ebanks,
Kantul 25th January, 1940.
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 Contours of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India
Scale -1 Inch = 10 Miles.

Hazaras Beshud
Aludami
Country
Hawar

Supplementary Papers, Royal Geographical Society, 1855.
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