

REPORTS

ON

PARTS OF THE GHILZI COUNTRY,

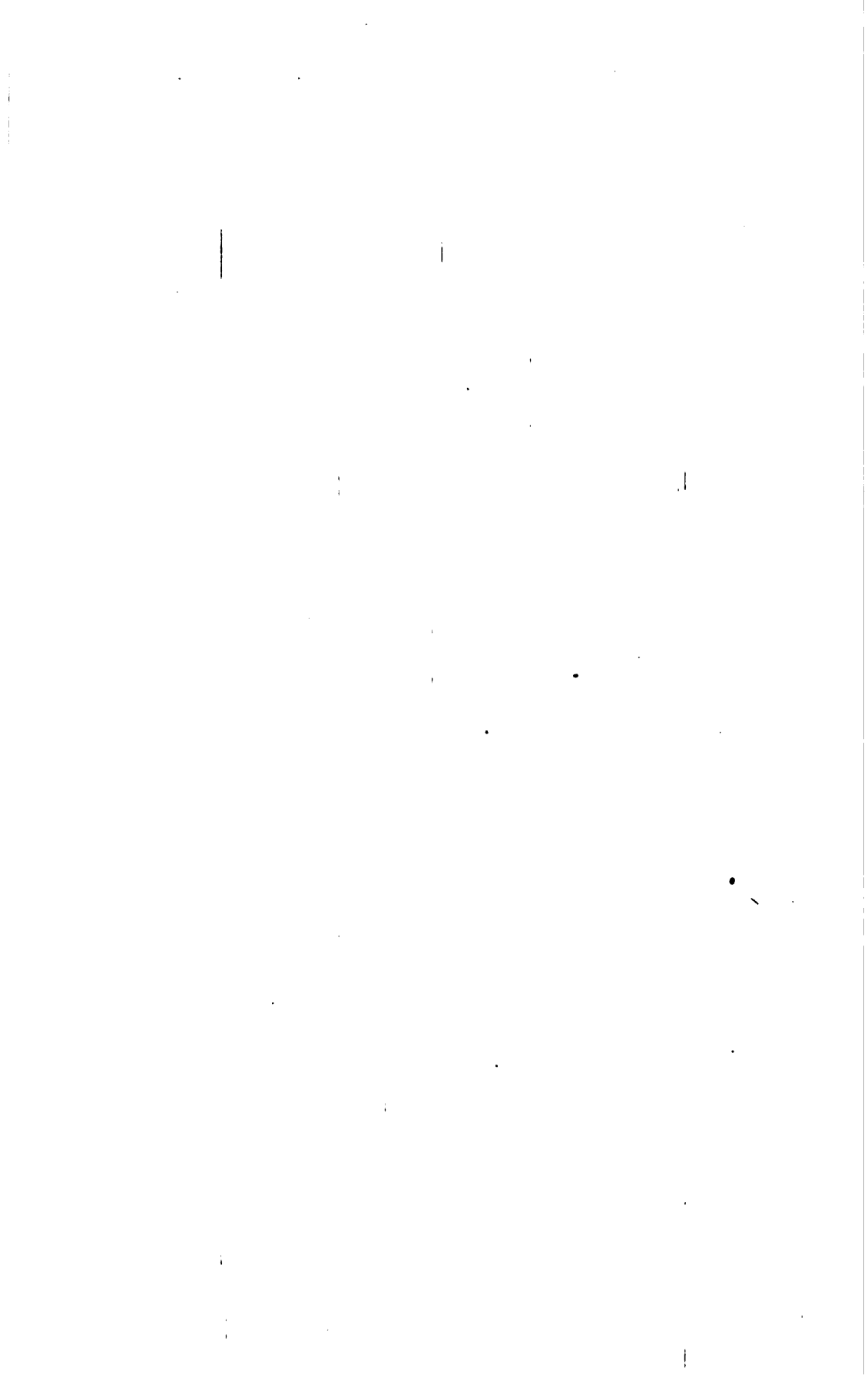
AND ON SOME OF THE TRIBES IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD OF GHAZNI;

AND ON THE

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

By LIEUT. JAMES SUTHERLAND BROADFOOT,
BENGAL ENGINEERS, 1839.

EDITED BY MAJOR WILLIAM BROADFOOT, R.E.



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Map, p. 438.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THESE reports having recently come into my possession, I was struck on reading them with their interest, geographically; no description of these parts of the country, except a somewhat short account of the route described in Report II. by Mr. G. T. Vigne, 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.

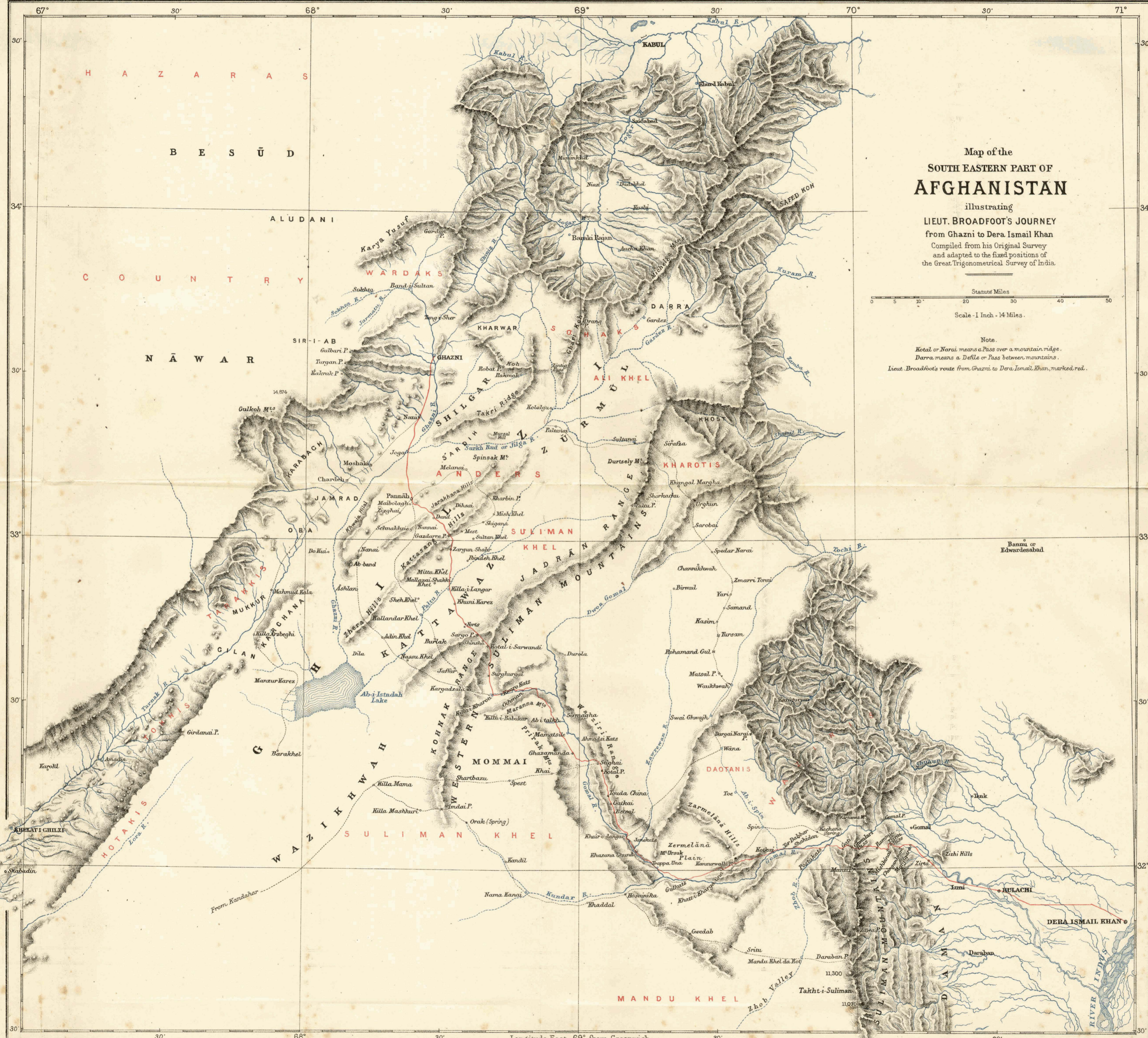
As I had Lieut. Broadfoot's original journal, I have in places added to, and corrected or eliminated parts of the reports as printed in Calcutta in 1870.

With respect to the spelling of the names of people and places, I have generally followed the mode adopted in Sir Charles Macgregor's compilation or Gazetteer 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 Ferozpur, across the Indus at Sukkur, to Kandahar 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.

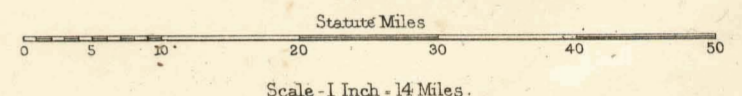
From Ghazni he was sent to join Captain Outram's force against the Ghilzis and other refractory Afghans in the neighbourhood. He remained with this force whilst it was in the field, and marched 340 miles in a month, surveying the country, assisting at the occasional fights, and collecting information 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 started, I heard at Kabul, by Outram, whom the Commander-in-chief would not allow to go. Outram assisted me by asking Sir



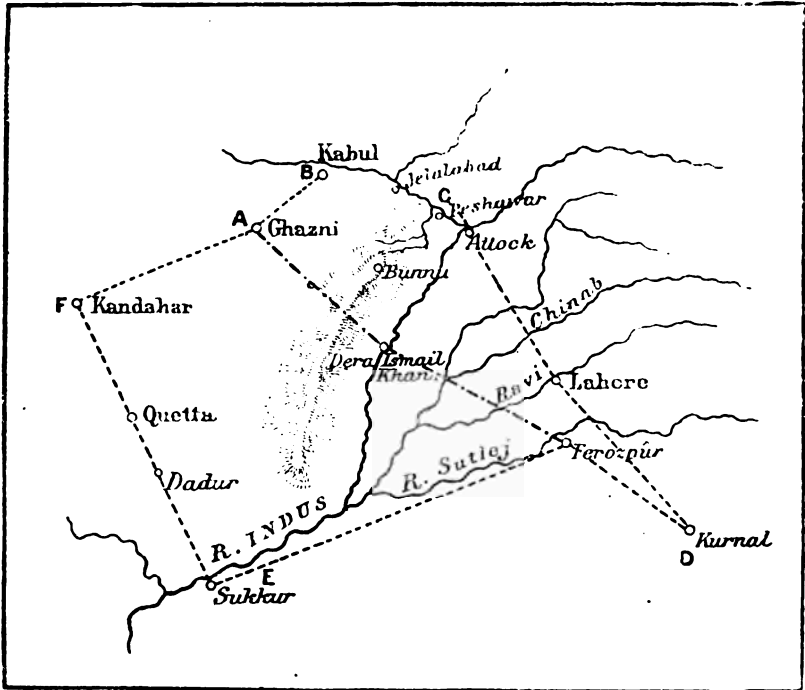
Map of the
SOUTH EASTERN PART OF
AFGHANISTAN

illustrating
LIEUT. BROADFOOT'S JOURNEY
from Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan
Compiled from his Original Survey
and adapted to the fixed positions of
the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.



Note.
Kotal or Narai means a Pass over a mountain ridge.
Darra means a Defile or Pass between mountains.
Lieut. Broadfoot's route from Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan, marked red.

W. Macnaughten's permission; and Major Maclaren allowed me to go in anticipation of sanction." In a letter home, written just after the journey was accomplished, he says, "Between Afghanistan and India runs the great Suliman range of mountains from C to E. Kurnal, whence the army started, is D; the army had marched round by the line D E F to Ghazni at A, nearly 800 miles out of the straight line; it



returned by A B C D, 300 miles round about. The straight line A D from Ghazni to India lies 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 agreements with natives, put on their dress and went among a set of murderers unharmed, because a guest, although 100 of the men of my party were killed one night."

Lieut. 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 Mohammedan, and no Englishman. For twenty days I passed through a range of stupendous mountains without a house, a dog, a crow, or any sign of life, but the nightly plunderers who waited to surprise the caravan. At last I came into the plains of the Panjab and crossed them as an Afghan flying before the English. The people of the Panjab, lately our firm allies, are now bitter 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 three days was in Ferozpur on the Sutlej, exactly one year (29th November, 1839) from the day when I entered it proceeding with the army, and where I saw the interview with Ranjit

Singh, now dead. Then I was all expectation and hope, now I came back weary with fatigue, after seeing the most curious race of robbers and murderers, and perhaps the wildest countries in Asia. I went into the first house I found, and met an old friend of William's,* and had my beard cut off, and ate with a knife and fork, and sat on a chair in an English dress."

Lieut. Broadfoot then went to Kurnal, where he wrote the report and drew out the plans. They were submitted to Lord Auckland, who was pleased to express great satisfaction with them, and who permitted Lieut. Broadfoot, at his special request, to return to Afghanistan. He was killed at Parwandarah on the 2nd November, 1840, when the Native Cavalry refused to charge, and allowed their officers, accompanied by Dr. Lord and Lieut. Broadfoot, to charge the Afghan cavalry alone. Of the five officers who charged three were killed, and the other two desperately wounded.

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

WILLIAM BROADFOOT, Major.

112, GLOUCESTER TERRACE, HYDE PARK, W.,
31st May, 1884.

REPORT I.

On Parts of the Ghilzi † Country, and on 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 Kurnal 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 to act as field engineer to the expedition against the Ghilzis; as far as my field duties allowed I surveyed the marches; on the breaking up of the force I got permission to cross the Suliman Mountains, and surveyed the country from Ghazni to the Indus.

My only instrument was a prismatic compass, with which I took the angles. Three steady men counted their paces, which, compared with the rates of horses and camels, gave the distances pretty accurately. While with Captain Outram I used his perambulator from Kolalgu to Killa-i-Shahabudin. 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

* His brother, Lieut. William Broadfoot of the Bengal European Regiment.—Ed.

† Or Ghilji.—Ed.

to recognise them after going a sufficient distance to allow a different bearing. Even these, it is hoped, will afford useful military information. Such a rapid survey must have some errors, and be meagre 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 nearness with which my surveyed place of Dera Ismail Khan agrees with that determined astronomically. During the Ghilzi campaign, I lost by frost and plunderers the whole of my camels, and with them my Ghazni field-books, on which much labour had been bestowed. The remains of my papers are embodied in the plans and reports. I shall treat of:—1st. Hazaras and Wardaks. 2nd. Table-land of Ghazni and the Ghilzis. 3rd. The Ghwalari Pass.

The triangular space between Herat, Kandahar, and Ghazni is closely filled with mountains, inhabited on the west by Aimaks, and on the east by Hazaras.

From Ghazni three distinct ranges are perceived, running north-east in one unbroken chain. The highest peak is Gulkoh, in the clefts of which snow lies the whole year. Within 16 miles of the city are six passes, all leading into the valley of the Rod-i-Ghazni; their names are Kakrak, Turgan, Gulbari, Roba, Barakat, and Markul. Being alike in character and appearance, a description of Gulbari 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 farts. After 6 miles of gentle ascent, it narrows to 30 yards, water and cultivation cease, and a short steep slope leads to the top of the first range. The view now embraces large barren rocks, with a few green specks in the narrow ravines, and the high mountain of Karesuf* bounds 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 Jarmatū, 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. Barley and wheat, a little tobacco, clover, and turnips, are cultivated. The corn sown 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 goat-skin, 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 furs and hair-cloth for grain and flour; sometimes Shiah mullahs teach the boys to

* Probably the contraction of Karyā Yusuf; see p. 315.—Ed.

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 rupee, 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 chaste. However, the custom called "Korubistan," by which the Hazaras are said to lend 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 related on good authority. Across Jarmatū is another valley of similar character, and then the precipitous barren ridge of Karya Yusuf (Joseph's rock), which runs from Sir-i-ab to the Wardak country, and is passable for horsemen at each extremity. Beyond is the mountainous district of Aludani, and to the west the district of Nāwar.* This is a plain inhabited by the Muhammad Khwājas, and said to be 20 miles in extent, without trees, 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 grasses are so abundant, that it has always been a favourite place for the royal stud.

Still more to the north is Besūd, or Besut, the capital of a Polādeh Sultan; the chief is said to possess a town of a few hundred houses, and to keep up 300 horse, though he could raise many more. The want of artificers induces some to travel from Ghazni. They spoke well of the Sultan, praising his justice and liberality. These wandering artisans might give valuable information, but it is rendered worthless by the desire, so natural in a traveller, to exalt the country he alone has seen. They spoke of shawls, gold, and silver in Besūd, 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 Nāwar, and from thence to the Band-i-Sultan. In Karabagh the Hazaras and Afghans are mixed, in Nāwar and Sir-i-ab is the tribe of Muhammad Khwaja, in Jolga and Jarmatū are tribes of Jaghoris. In the valleys of Sokhta they are mixed with the Wardaks. The cultivated passes of the first range are given to a few families of Persian Bakhtiyaris, known by the name of Kazzilbashes. Nadir Shah settled them in Kabul, and the Afghans employ but distrust them. The young chiefs treated me very hospitably, and seemed to be liked by their ryots. The chief of the whole Hazara district is Gulistan Khan of Karabagh, 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 Kazzilbashes and Hazaras used to fight without inter-

* So spelt in Lieut. Broadfoot's MS. Should possibly be Nawāb, which means a plain, or tract.—Ed.

ruption. A revenue of a few thousand sheep and a little money is claimed by the Governor of Ghazni, and generally paid by Karabagh and the nearest valleys. The Hazaras hate the Afghans, who oppress them, and who are Sunnis. Nāwar and Sir-ī-ab, a few years ago, refused the tribute, and collected a formidable body of men.

A son of Dost Muhammad at the head of some horse, contrived to drag a light gun through the passes. The very sight of this dissolved the confederacy, and the tribute was paid. In spite of this example, I consider the country west of the first range to be quite impassable for artillery; and even were they dragged along by ropes, in such a country they would be 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, 3000 men could then penetrate where they pleased and find no serious opposition. In the valleys, grass, water, and a few sheep could be obtained: in Nāwar some grain might be got, nothing more could be furnished.

The Wardaks inhabit the valley of Sokhta, that of the Ghazni river, and that west of the Logar. They are neither Ghilzis nor Duranis, but nearer in descent to the latter. I have heard them called Sheikhs. I found them quiet and hospitable; the country well cultivated; always melons, and sometimes grapes. Sokhta, so called from its burned-up 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 specimens I had were lost with my camels. The Wardaks seldom molest travellers or interfere with the Afghan squabbles. Dost Muhammad, unable to make them join him, extorted a considerable sum to pay his troops. From Ghazni, along the river to the Band-i-Sultan, and thence through the Wardak valleys, a road goes over the Gardan to Kabul; it is sometimes travelled, as it avoids the Tang-i-Sher defile, but would be difficult for guns.

In the maps the Ghazni river is represented as a branch of the Logar running to the north. This is not correct, the Logar rises somewhere near Besūd, but the river of Ghazni was made by Mahmud, as follows:—In a little valley 12 miles from the city, three rivulets meet; anciently they flowed through different channels, fertilised 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 effected, is a wall of masonry closing a rocky valley; the dam when complete must have been 300 yards long, its height varying from 20 feet to 8 feet, and its thickness

* This dam is described by Mr. Vigne, but not in so great detail as here.—Ed.

6 or 7 feet. In autumn, when the ploughing is over and water no longer wanted, the outlet is shut (and a lake fills the valley 600 yards wide with a greatest depth of about 30 feet). In spring when cultivation begins, the orifice (a mere hole in a rock, stuffed with brushwood and earth) is opened, and the stream rushes out in several cascades, thus giving the whole water of the year in the season it is required. The lasting benefits of this work atone in part for Mahmud's religious cruelties. The principal of the rivulets which feed it rises on the northern slope of Sir-i-ab, and running to the north for 20 miles through a narrow valley, turns to the right by Sokhta in the direction of the dam. In its course to Ghazni, for the first four miles the river is confined by limestone rocks, opening occasionally, enough for a fort and a patch of corn; after this it sends off numerous irrigation canals to a line of villages on each of its banks. On the west are the bare spurs of the Hazara Mountains, and to the east a still barer tract thinly sprinkled with camel shrubs, and sloping up to the defile of Tang-i-Sher.

GHAZNI AND THE GHILZI COUNTRY.

The country from Mükür to Ghazni may be considered a sort of table-land, bounded on the north-west by the Hazara Mountains and on the east by the Jadrân range. Six miles north of Ghazni the plain attains its greatest elevation and declines towards Kabul. South of Mükür it sinks rapidly into the valley of the Tarnak. Between the two great ranges a low chain of hills conducts the drainage from both sides into the Ab-i-Istadah Lake. Elevated from 7000 to 8000 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 flowers which last only a few days. The climate is then genial, but even in July the heat is not oppressive. Except the periodical snow, rain seldom falls. This has retarded the decomposition of the rocks and the formation of soil; but the time may confidently be predicted, when much of the limestone, slate, and trap, shall have crumbled to powder, and the barren plains turned into forest or meadows.

These ideas are confirmed by the fact that the Jadrân 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 débris, at first waving in hillocks, and then sinking in a long gentle slope to the plain.

These slopes are scattered with a thin, low, camel shrub called "Tirkba," and have many subterranean springs. By some strange method the Afghans discovered where the springs were situated, and digging down to them formed wells: but wells are emptied by mechanical labour, and the Afghans by great labour have dug subterranean galleries from the springs to the valley lower down; these galleries having a small slope, the water pours through them, and the wells thus emptying themselves are called Karez.* Where the water issues from the ground is a fort with a few acres of corn and lucerne.

The general landscape is a brown stony moor bounded by distant hills, whose black rocky tops and shelving sides I have already noticed; sometimes a diminutive fort and its patch of cultivation look like green 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. At Ghazni I observed that the wind during the day was constantly from the south. It may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the trade winds tending to accumulate at the equator all the air of the globe, an upper current towards the poles is absolutely necessary. The altitude of Ghazni may bring it into these currents. At Mussoorie there is a great preponderance of the south or Doon breeze; but the theory requires more confirmation.

The Jadrān range runs N.N.E. It is the chief of the Suliman chain. I saw it in the distance overhanging Gardez and joining the Michelga hills, the last spurs of the Safed Koh. It is named after the wild Jadrāns, who occupy its eastern slopes. To the south it is penetrated by the difficult Pass of Paltu, and continued under various names to Konak and Sargo; from thence passing the lake it goes south, skirting the Tokhi and Hotaki country, and apparently ends near Quetta. All the streams of its eastern slope force their way to the Indus, showing that no intermediate range is so high or continuous; indeed, standing on ground 3000 feet above the sea, it may fairly be presumed as higher than the Takht-i-Suliman; a rough method made it 4000 feet above the plain. It throws out branches which shelter the Turis, Jajis, and other hill tribes, and direct the streams of Kuram, Kundar, and Gomal. I am at present uncertain whether the Waziri hills are a range running between the Throne of Solomon and the Jadrān Mountains, or are the spurs and offsets of the latter; another journey would settle the point. From Gardez to where I passed it in Sargo, this range is tolerably wooded; its peak and eastern face are covered with pines, and its lower parts with trees, whose Pashtu names I can give, but not a botanical description. The "Shne" has an eatable berry; the "Zrilg" an excellent gum, sometimes exported to Multan; the "Kurye" is much praised as a remedy for wounds; the "Khang" † furnishes wood

* Kārez, a Persian word meaning canal or channel.—Ed.

† "Pustuna" of Mr. Vigne.—Ed.

for bows; the "Adzarna" gives out a pungent oil; but the "Manzeh" pine, whose fruit is the chilgoza, is the most important, as whole tribes live on the nut, which is like an almond tainted with tar. The principal rock is clay slate, dipping 45° to the east. Parallel to this great mountain is the Hazarnow or Gharikoh, a ridge about 2500 feet above the plain, bare and rugged in its aspect.

Ala-koh is the peak of a mountain similar to the Hazarnow, on which it abuts to the east, running westward to Ghazni and crossed by the Kabul road at the defile of Tang-i-Sher. On a low spur of it, the Koh-i-Takht, some thousand Ghilzis were put to flight the day before we took Ghazni.

Between the last two ranges is Kharwar, an elevated barren district, thinly inhabited by Anders and Sohaks. To the north Kharwar opens on the fertile valley of Logar; to the west it commands the Kabul road; to the east it is entered from the Drang Pass from Zürmül; and on the south by the Robat Pass from Shilgar. The Zintig Pass is between the two. Of these I understand the Drang is the best, being passable for camels. The central situation of Kharwar makes it a favourite haunt of robbers, as they have on all sides a sure retreat. The country is dry and poor, guns could not easily cross it, and troops would find little forage. Takri is a rocky ridge about 1000 feet above the plain; it is 18 miles long, steep in the centre, but easily passed at either end. The range continues with intervals through Spinsak and Jarak-kana, the hills being of precisely the same character, and then may be traced in the rocky isolated peaks of Nanai Ghund, Zizhgai, Khwaja Hilal, and Do Kui. On the western base of Jarak-kana is a lower ridge, evidently of contemporary origin; and on its eastern side a chain of rounded hillocks formed of its débris, and called in the north Kharbin, in the south Gazdara. This is continued on a larger scale in Zhera, a rocky peak, surrounded by miles of hillocks and finally sinking into the Ab-i-Istadah Lake. Girdanai is the last of a range running from near Kandahar along the south-east bank of the Tarnak; 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 disjointed ridge of Karghana, which has a few peaks of rock rising above a long ascent of moorland.

The river of Ghazni has been traced to the city. It passes between Shilgar and Nani, sending off many irrigation cuts, till the water, after ten or twelve miles, becomes much less, and its banks too steep. It next runs west of Pannäh and Khwaja Hilal between Do Kui and Ab-band; in this desolate tract it is strongly impregnated with salt, and falls into the Ab-i-Istadah Lake. A curious circumstance occurs: the fish, brought by the stream from the upper parts, on entering the salt part sicken and die; they may be taken by the hand in all stages of illness.

The next feeder of the lake is the Jilga or Surkhrud, which, rising

in Gardez and Michelga, flows through the whole of Zūrmūl, and passing through Sardih joins the Ghazni river opposite Moshaki. At Sardih it has perpendicular banks 15 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 Paltu, which rises in the pass of that name, and runs through Kattawaz to the lake; in its course it becomes slightly brackish; its banks are never above four feet high, its dimensions those of the Jilga. A very small stream runs into the lake from the Turkani Nawah, 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 drain would prevent the lake rising in its level during spring, the proofs of which are very evident in the newly dried banks of clay all round its channel. As we passed the greatest part of the Ab-i-Istadah by night, I cannot answer for its exact figure, but am not far wrong in estimating it at 17 miles broad and 15 long; its depth, I understand, is very trifling, probably not above 12 feet in the centre; it is bounded by a gently shelving margin of naked clay; not a tree is in sight, or a blade of grass, and hardly a fort; the blue hills in the distance make it look more lonely still. There were several large flights of chikor and rock pigeon, but we looked in vain for the myriads of water-fowl which the Emperor Baber 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 think, with soda, but had no tests.

Shilgar is included between the Ala-koh and Takri ranges and the river of Ghazni. The population are Anders, with the exception of the Tajik villages, Rakmak and Robot, each of about 150 houses. It contains about 340 square miles, and I estimate its population at 20,000. The western part, well cultivated with wheat, barley, lucerne, and clover, partly supplies Ghazni; the country is flat and easily passed in all directions; water is abundant, and troops would be well supplied. These estimates of population were made from lists of the number of the forts and water-mills as given by the Afghans, and are to be looked on as mere approximations. Zūrmūl is a valley 40 miles long and 20 broad; in its northern part is the Tajik village of Gardez, numbering perhaps 250 houses. Between that place and Kolalgu the inhabitants are Ahmedzais and Ali Khels. The mountains on each side furnish many karezes, and occasionally a line of forts parallel to their bases; a third line follows for some miles the course of the river, by which its fields are watered; Kolalgu is a Tajik village of 200 houses. From thence the western line of forts as far as Sardeh belongs to the Anders, and the eastern, which is more numerous, to the Suliman Khels. The roots or spurs of the Jadrān Mountains shelter a few hundred families of wandering

shepherds and robbers; the population is about 40,000. From Gardez a good road goes by Logar to Kabul and a more difficult one by Michelga to Jalalabad; the valley is passable for artillery in all directions; water, forage, and grain abundant. The road from Ghazni to Kolalgu is very easy as far as Killa Daulat Khan, from thence it crosses two low hills, and winds among some small ravines caused by the water from the east of Shilgar falling into Zürmül. 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 Darra is a plain inhabited by Sohāks, and the entrance to the pass of the Kuram river and to the country of the Jajis. The Pass of the Paltu is said to be difficult, and leads among craggy mountains to the Kharoti country and the source of the Dwo * Gomal at Shorkacha: the country is impregnated with salt. Sardih is a narrow strip between the lower end of the Takri and the hill Spinsak. It has seven or eight forts of Anders comprising about 1000 souls. The ground is covered with tamarisk bushes, and cut up by ravines running into the Jilga. Here are the remains of a dam erected by Mahmud, but now commonly ascribed to the prophet Ali; its object was to irrigate the land by means of the Jilga. Opposite Mursal there is an easy pass into Shilgar over the low end of Takri; there are others lower down; a guide can show several easy passages through the ravines.

Melanai and Joga are clusters of forts of Anders included in the Shilgar district. The roads from them to Pannāh are over an easy plain.

Pannāh and Maibolagh are little districts of Anders, together containing about 1000 souls. The road here winds among hillocks, but has no serious difficulty. Supplies for a small force could be obtained at Pannāh. Among the hillocks are camps of shepherds and Lohani merchants who emigrate in winter. Mulla Khel, Alisher Khel, and Zizhgai, are inhabited by Anders and Tarakkis mixed. The country is now even barer than before, and is a series of low swells and hollows; water is found near the forts, but supplies are scarce. At Shinbuti a spring of water issues from a hillock, and is the usual seat of a pastoral khel; at Ashlan there are two forts with twenty families. The ground is now completely void of brushwood, and salt; no supplies could be obtained; the road is easy, and parallel to the Ghazni stream now flowing sluggishly between steep banks. Dila is a fort of Khudazais with a few families, a strip of cultivation, and a well of good water; another fort of the same tribe is nearer the lake. During the night march to Mansur Karez, the shepherds' fires were all we saw. They tantalised us greatly as far as 15 miles—they seemed always close in front. At that place we saw the last of the Tarakkis' five or six forts of the Shibe Khel. From thence we marched among hillocks to Ferozai, the boundary

* The Shei Gomal of Mr. Vigne. The other branch is called Kena; Shei meaning right, and Kena left.—ED.

of the Tokhis; no supplies except water and camel 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 Turkani Nawāh † ("Nawāh" is a plain), an open plain, well cultivated by the Tokhis and Hotakis in the south, and the Tarakkis in the north-east.

After passing five forts, we arrived at Killa Abdurahman, the fort of the Khan of the Tokhis; 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 nawah, or "plain," and passing near the fort of the Khan of the Tarakkis, and a village called Lalezai of the same tribe, we reached Barik Khel. The nawah has on the west, the Rozanai and Sarrim Sokhta or "Sakhtu" hills, dividing it from Sirmagha, inhabited by the Muhammadzai Tokhis, and from the plain of the Tarakkis. These hills are about 1000 feet high, but not very steep. In the last the prolongation of Shinkai divides it from Wazikhwah, a hilly district of the Suliman Khels, and from Alitagh, a fine valley of the Shamalzai-Tokhis. To the south is the Marūf and the valley of the Arghesan.

From Barik Khel to Mir Ghazzab, the beginning of Wazikhwah, is about 20 miles, the road lying among barren hills, but, I believe, passable for guns. Mir Ghazzab has four families and a spring of water. The inhabitants are Nassir Suliman Khels. The chief was usually called the "Mama," because he was both father-in-law and uncle to Kohan Dil 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 Mushirs ‡ of his tribe.

Returning from Mansur Karez, we passed an open plain to Killa Arzbeği. The Arzbeği was said to be good and kind, yet every one knew him to be a notorious robber. Gilan, Mükkur, and Oba are fertile districts, inhabited by Tarakkis and a few Duranis. Water was everywhere abundant, and the road a level plain. Between Mahmud and Rozanai all the forts are ruined except Lalam Piyari Khel and Habib-ulla. 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 Rozanai to Jamrad are fifteen forts

* Barik in Lieut. Broadfoot's notes: Bara Khel on some of the maps.

† "Nawar" in Macgregor's 'Central Asia'; an error, I presume, for Nawāh, which means a tract or district.—Ed.

‡ Mushir means elder, councillor.—Ed.

with excellent cultivation, the road good, and water and supplies abundant. Karabagh has been previously mentioned; Moshaki and Nani are like Rozanai and Jamrad; Moshaki is inhabited by Anders.

Ghazni has 900 inhabited houses, which, at five to each house, will give a population of 4500 persons. To this may be added 1000 for garrison and camp followers. There are generally about 200 Hazaras, who come to get labour, or to sell their wool and hair cloths: also about 150 Hindu families, the money-lenders and bankers of the place. They are required to wear tight trousers, instead of loose ones, and a black cap for a turban, and to pay a small tax as infidels. For these concessions they receive protection and even consideration, and are allowed to practise 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 Wardaks and on the south by Nani, and included between the Ghazni river and Hazara Mountains. The origin of the Tajiks is doubtful, because they are derived from several sources. Those of Kandahar and Girishk, with flowing beards and large black eyes, are probably of Persian 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 Mahmud, and the Turks and Moguls established here by Baber, we must expect to find the remains of the powerful tribes which once ruled the country. To this day they are often called Moguls; and the proverb of "Turk and Tajik" is common in Asia. Exclusive of those near Ghazni, the villages of Rakmak,* Robot, Kolalgu, 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 Shujah: Nani and Karabaghi 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 encroachment, they have made the most of the remainder by skilful cultivation, making irrigation canals and laborious karezes. In the bazaar they are active, energetic workmen in all the usual trades of the city. They effect by fraud or policy what an Afghan would attempt by open force, and having something of the

* Or Rakmak.—Ed.

Persian wit and politeness, they vent their spleen in a thousand jokes on their Afghan oppressors.

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 Anders, as a set of murderous villains instead of the quietest Ghilzis I ever saw. During spring they are constantly occupied in their fields and gardens, a succession of good crops and fine fruit is the result. In May and June the people almost live on mulberries; they even dry them and grind them into flour for winter. Then apricots, peaches, plums, grapes, melons, pears and apples, of good quality, come in by turns. I think that a garden at Ghazni is more useful than a farm, so exceedingly cheap is the fruit; and for six months bread and fruit is their principal food. Towards autumn every one is busy salting long strips of mutton, and in making cheese and kūrūt,* or drying fruit; large stacks of brushwood are collected for firewood, and of lucerne 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 fuel 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 thaw sends them back to their gardens and fields.

Dost Muhammad formerly protected the Tajiks well, till of late years pressed by the Sikhs he kept up an army larger than his revenues could bear; to effect this he exacted to the utmost from 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 country 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 a national enemy would grumble at such measures; but the Tajiks saw nothing but Dost Muhammad's ambition to keep the throne at their expense; their constant prayer was, "Oh God! make Dost Muhammad poor, for he has ruined us." While the Ghilzis were arming to oppose us, the Tajiks from Nani to Ghazni wished us God speed. They are somewhat unfortunate, however, in their new friends, as about 200 of them were unavoidably killed in the storming, leaving a blank in many a family: at first they grieved bitterly, for their 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.

* Kūrūt, dried milk or curd, see note, p. 356.—Ed.

THE GHILZIS.*

The Ghilzis are divided into seven great tribes: the Hotakis and Tokhis living in the district from Marū to the north end of Turkānī-nawah; the Tarakkis from Gilan and Lalezai to Karabagh; the Anders, inhabiting Shilgar, Dihsai, part of Zūrmūl and Pannāh, the Sohaks, in Kharwar, Darra and Paghman, the Ali Khel settled in the north-east of Zūrmūl and the surrounding pastures, and lastly the Suliman Khel possessing half of Zūrmūl, all Kattawaz, Mommai and Wazikhwah, while their shepherds are found from Kattawaz to near Ghwalari; this last tribe is not overrated at even 40,000 families, but the rest may be taken at Mr. Elphinstone's estimate bringing the whole Ghilzi race to about 100,000 houses.

They are first heard of as inhabiting the Suliman range, living more by pasture than agriculture. The Duranis are probably from the Hazara 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. Ahmed Shah completed what Nadir had begun, and excepting a tumultuous attempt to wrest the crown from Dost Muhammad, they have been pretty quiet though not obedient.

Shahabudin Khan of the Tokhis established twenty-five years ago a kind of rule from Kelat-i-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 Hotakis, and heir of the Ghilzi monarch, carried on the same system. The Mama of Wazikhwah timidly joined them; the Khan of the Tarakkis was the quietest and best of the Ghilzi chiefs. The Suliman Khel have no regular head, but Mehtar Musa Khan had influence enough to lead formidable parties to a foray. The Anders and Tarakkis generally submitted to Dost Muhammad and seldom plundered.

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

* Or Ghiljis.—Ed.

sumption; madder is much produced to barter for cloth to the trading tribes.

The fields belong to the head of the family, who with seven or eight houses of relations inhabits a little fort above this cultivation. The fort is an enclosure of 40 or 50 yards square; the mud wall is 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 brushwood hurdles covered with clay. The doors are very small, as wood to make them is scarce. The houses being generally built round the fort, the roofs serve 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 Suliman Khel and some others are pastoral; they live in rude tents, made of two rough poles supported by hair ropes, on which they hang coarse blankets of their own making. In these the Ahmadzais slowly migrate from near Jalalabad in the winter to Spega and Allāmūr in spring and Zūrmūl in summer, always enjoying a temperate climate; others go parallel to the course of the Gomal as far as Wana and the Pirak. Each family possesses its own flock and a few camels, the tent 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 *kūrūt** and cheese for winter, butter-milk and bread for the daily consumption. On the march they help to load the camels and pack the tents; they are decently dressed in a brown petticoat and veil, but seldom cover their face unless impudently 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 last 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 neighbours that her friends will not give her to a beggar: the expense of a marriage is about 100 rupees in the poor classes, hence men are often 35 or 40 and generally 28 or 30 years old before they can afford the money. The obstinacy of the custom prevents the price being lowered, though many fathers

* *Kūrūt* a sort of dried milk or curd: described in Yule's 'Marco Polo,' 2nd edition, vol. i., p. 257.—Ed.

would be happy to give their daughters for nothing, were they not ashamed. The desire to get married makes the Afghan sometimes trade and often plunder. When all is arranged, he is admitted to see his fiancée once or twice (alone and at night) before the ceremony; if the young couple forget themselves, it is not inquired after by her friends, but the mother rates the girl soundly and calls her a "badzat";* 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 Afghans, 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 Khwajicks up a hill, the women and children threw down incessant showers of stones, at least as formidable as the dropping 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 Ahmadzais, 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 pest of the country. If the first blow be followed up, they will never reunite.

The pastoral Ghilzis are all robbers when stimulated by idleness or hunger. They sally out on foot and carry off the cattle of some weak tribes, or look out for a traveller on a road. There is no calculating on half barbarians; sometimes they spill his blood like water, at others they only rob him. If he is well dressed, they exchange his fine clothes for their filthy rags, and send him away in the dress of a beggar; this is thought nothing of. Occasionally they give him a blanket when they find him naked. Unless stimulated by despair or to defend their families, the pastoral Ghilzis 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 Suliman range I saw several ruffians with their children and their horses decked out with necklaces of the new Company's rupees, which as well as the "Butki" of Bokhara are admired for the image;

* Rascal.—Ed.

there was no mistaking how they had got them. They seldom cultivate crops, but procure flour by bartering their surplus wool and ghee; they have no weights or measures; one shepherd settles 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 obedient to a khan, who leads the Ulūsi troops, and is answerable for the revenue, but should not act on important business without the sanction of a "jirga" or convocation 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. Cæsar and Tacitus describe them when the forests had been partially cleared and unruly societies established; but the interchange of lands every ten years and the frequent migration show how recently they had ceased to be hunters, and how they still clung to the roving life. While Rome remained strong, the barbarians were unable to extend southwards. At last, taught to be soldiers by many defeats, they overwhelmed the Empire as soon as it was internally convulsed, but not without many struggles, which obliged the hordes to submit to a king, and to inferior leaders armed with considerable 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 Arabs and Tartars are to this day scarcely altered, and the Afghans not much so. Like all nomade tribes, they have long genealogies. They say themselves that they were anciently descended from one man; at all events there is little doubt that they were once two families, not very large, called

Turans and Burhans. The increase of population obliged them to subdivide, the former into Hotakis and Tokhis, the latter into Ali Khel, Anders, Taraks, Sohaks, and Suliman Khel. This latter tribe is now so large that it has split into several other tribes, of which the Ahmadzai is the principal. The names of Turan and Burhan are now scarcely heard. The Hotakis are the oldest branch of the Ghilzis, and the chief of the eldest family of Hotakis is considered the king of the whole. His name is Gul 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 oldest 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 "Khel" is chief of the tribe, and the king often grants him the title of khan. He dares 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 infidels and merchandise, and in the obedient 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 head 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 "Toelwashtee" or leader is chosen, and while the danger lasts is pretty well obeyed. The senior family of the Anders 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 feuds. 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 Saddozai is the senior tribe of Popalzai, and therefore of the Abdalis, who themselves are the elder branch of the offspring of Saraban, the eldest son of Kais Abdul Rashid, descended from Saul, Abraham, and Adam. This genealogy, however absurd, has procured the head of the Saddozais great respect, which Ahmad Shah turned into a title to the throne. His fortunes and abilities brought him followers; his victories abroad en-

riched them, and enabled him to consolidate his influence at home by giving many jaghirs. The Duranis, thriving under the new system and never feeling the weight of the taxes, became rapid converts to it; the Ghilzis and other Afghans never liked it.

Had he remained at home levying taxes, he would have failed. The influence of his name and the habits formed by a long reign upheld the system through the time of his son Taimur; the thirty years of anarchy are well known which destroyed his institutions, foreign to the patriarchal 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 squeezed 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 tribute, defeating his troops, and killing his tax-gatherers in the most approved Afghan method.

The Ghilzis had kings also when they were conquering Persia, and were not taxed for their support. They say they had them before; if so, I suspect they were merely nominal ones. The Afghans then appear to be a nation of families or a little federation of men connected by blood, more or less subject to their natural heads, and having the patriarchal 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 civilisation. They have not yet assembled in cities, they practise no trades, and the ties binding them to the soil are still slight. Last year was a dry one, and the Sohaks of Kharwar, 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 Ghilzis, but with slight alterations to all the Afghans. The Duranis, 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 Duranis, who, even when they do not practise it, are loud 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 unostentatious search for truth, which characterise that writer.

The only genuine institution of the Afghans is Pashtunwali, the code of the traditional customs of their ancestors. The grand precepts

are hospitality to strangers, obedience to parents and elders, and revenge for the injuries of kindred. No allusion is made to paying taxes and following kings. Their injunctions clearly point back to a nomade 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 Duranis I have heard of a khan destroying his guests at a feast; this was looked on with horror. Among the Waziris a little child would be sufficient escort through the lands of the tribe, and they are said to protect men who have killed their brothers, if they come as guests. The method of insuring safety is to sit by a man's fireside and neither eat nor drink till he promises to convey you safely to any place you wish to reach; by the Afghan custom he must comply, and either go himself or send a near relation to prevent danger. If this ceremony be neglected, food and a pipe will be freely given, but it will depend on the character of the host whether he does not rob and murder his guest the moment he leaves the threshold. When they wish to rob a stranger, they either try to civilly hinder his entering the house, or make him eat before he asks for protection. The Achikzais are said to consider themselves as relieved from all obligation to hospitality when a guest has eaten his full, 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 rude virtue alone allows any travelling in the country; it is, however, a bad system, and should be replaced by laws and an armed force.

On a visit of importance a sheep is killed, made into "kababs" on a ramrod, and served on cakes of leavened bread. The guest and his followers sit on the best carpets, and eat according to their station out of dishes—pewter or wooden bowls. The host stands behind, pressing them respectfully to eat. After washing the hands and smoking the chillum, a horse or camel is brought for the guest's acceptance. 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 easily 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-barbarians constantly quarrelling, have always feuds on their hands.

At Pannāh there are two forts of relations who are at loggerheads.

The distance between them is only 200 yards, and on that space no one ventures. They go out at opposite gates and walk straight from their own fort, in a line protected by its walls from the fire of the other, till getting out of musket-shot they turn round to their fields. In Zūrmūl I saw a fort shut by rolling a stone against the door instead of the usual heavy chain; on inquiry as to the cause of such carelessness, the malik, 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. Pashtunwali devises a remedy, which the Afghans extol as the acme 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 "Nannawatt." 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 *beau idéal* of equal justice cannot be procured by one party having more killed than the others, the price of the reconciliation is much higher, but it never exceeds a feast and a few virgins. These girls are not given as concubines (which the country Afghans seldom or never have), but are married and well treated. The expense of marriage being so heavy, to get so many of their young men well married without expense is a great object, and a real money compensation. The other party do not like it however, as to give Afghan virgins without getting presents is thought to show want of spirit.

A fertile source of disputes is the right to water. In Kattawaz is a spot called Khūni Karez, or the bloody spring. It has been claimed and stoutly contested by two tribes. One party would occupy it and bring crops nearly to perfection. Then a constant skirmishing began, on one side to destroy the grain, on the other to preserve it; but the first is more easily done than the latter, and the cultivation was always laid waste. In these combats 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 civilised people, young men have the advantages the experience of ages has given in books; and better still, they are early obliged to act for themselves and form their own character. Before the body fails with age, they acquire perhaps all they will ever learn. The young Afghans, on the contrary, are as ignorant as beasts, they know nothing but their genealogies and the confession of faith. Without any means of education

but their individual experience, they for many years plough the earth, and then commit the crimes and excesses I have described. By degrees their wild independent life makes them rely on their own judgment, and gives them an acquaintance with human nature, at least in its Afghan form. As they get old they are constantly employed about reconciling feuds or arranging marriages, in which they have to reason with some, flatter others, and browbeat a third ; their fine climate and temperate habits preserve their faculties for a long time. They are much superior to the young or middle-aged men, and are respected accordingly. In all half-barbarous countries the same respect for the old men is observed. Sparta, which was about the Afghan standard, preserved the feeling much longer than Athens, where education, assemblies, and debates made the mind be quicker formed. Pashtunwali, a code good enough for wandering shepherds, when land and water were abundant for all, tended 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 guerilla warfare is not favourable to courage. The hospitality daily tends to a mere worthless form. All this is very observable in the Ghilzi country.

Zürmül and Kattawaz, beyond the power of Dost Muhammad, pay taxes neither to him nor to any one else. They gave Dost Muhammad a few camels, but no taxes like the Anders. Sometimes they killed the people who came for the camels. The whole produce of their land was turned to their own support, and it was notorious that, in the intervals of cultivation, they scoured the neighbouring country, living for nothing, and bringing back horses, camels, bullocks, and cloth, to increase their stock ; their very implements of husbandry were a tribute in some cases from the Kharotis. The soil is fertile and water plenty.

According to the most approved Pashtunwali, every man defended himself and defied his neighbours. 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 pasturage. 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 Shilgar to Zürmül the frequency of these heaps was sickening. In many cases they were at the closed end of the ravines, showing how the poor travellers had run as far as possible and then been hewn down. Such was Zürmül and Kattawaz. The Anders and Tarakkis have not so fine a country. They complained bitterly that Dost Muhammad had raised the

price from 10 to 22 rupees on every kharwar of rasad (800 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 Suliman Khel. They accounted for this every way but the right one—that in return for this tribute they had been partly protected, and feuds 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 Kattawaz, Akhtar Muhammad, chief of the Jalalzais, 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 Ulūsi. Akhtar Muhammad could not then withstand his enemies, and is in great poverty. Though respected by his tribe, he scarcely gets 300 rupees a year.

The people of Kattawaz, with all their discord, have united more than once. Some years ago, a son of Dost Muhammad, Afzal Khan, tried to reduce Zūrnūl; his troops penetrated by Kolalgu along the western line of forts of the Anders. Some he destroyed, others he passed; but at Nashkel he was met by nearly all Kattawaz, and was defeated. Again, when our army approached Ghazni the Suliman Khel, allured by reports of our wealth and effeminacy (they said we were Hindustani sheep coming for slaughter) and excited by Dost Muhammad speaking of the Nang-da-Pushtoneh (Afghan honour) and the mullahs promising heaven to those killed by infidels, they came in a tumultuous rush from all quarters; but the head of the throng being promptly charged, the whole dispersed. Again, when the force with Captain Outram arrived at Mish Khel, many of the tribes burned their grain and forage to prevent us entering Kattawaz, and we had to go round by Pannāh and Ashlan.

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

Mihtar Musa is the son of Yahia Khan and head of the Sultan Khel (of Suliman Khel). He is a shrewd, plausible man, and has acquired more influence than any other man of the tribe, and as he has an Ulūsi of his own, he is a formidable enemy. In want of some live stock, a few years ago, he despatched his family drummer to every Khel in Kattawaz, to announce that on the third day he would head a chapao. The rendezvous was Burlak; 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 Sargo and fell upon the lands of

the Waziris, surprising their flocks and camels in great numbers. The Waziris occupied the gorges and crests of their mountains, and saw their country ravaged. But at night signal fires were lighted on the hills, and the whole tribe came, tolerably armed and eager for vengeance.

The Suliman Khel had attained their object; some carried their plunder home, and I believe part, under Mihtar Musa, passed into Damau to collect a little more. The Waziris formed a bold resolution. They crossed the hills by paths known only to themselves, and pounced on Kattawaz while their enemies were absent, guided to the flocks and herds by one of the Suliman Khel, and then returned home richer than before. The Suliman Khel was greatly vexed at being so outwitted, and had no resource but negotiation, as entrapping the Waziris twice was hopeless. After much swearing on Korans and giving to each other some unfortunate Syads as pledges of their faith, all the cattle were restored on both sides, except those *bonâ fide* eaten 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, forays are on a smaller scale, sometimes they are mere thefts. They seldom plunder near their own houses, 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 rupees 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 rupees for each, saying they were fine animals (as the owner well knew), and when they offered 10, he asked indignantly if they meant to cheat him. Even the Waziri chief, Jangi Khan, between whom and the Lohanis a war of extermination had for a hundred years been going on, came into their camp about some camels he had stolen. Had the safe conduct been 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 limitation. They have no abstract love for the moral beauty of truth, but their scattered simple life, where everything about a man is known to all, and where there is little buying or selling, takes away many of the inducements to deceit, which inhabitants of towns possess; but to a stranger, or where anything may be got by it, I must confess the Afghans make no scruple at falsehood: I heard a similar account of some hill tribes in India when first seen by Europeans. An Afghan swore by all that was holy he had never hired a young man

as his servant nor 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 our 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 Hindu 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 Asiatics allows bravery to the nation. I am afraid the general opinion of our army is the contrary; and it contains so many men of judgment and experience, that I cannot help stating the grounds of my singular opinion. Our easy success, always objected, was, I think, the result of other causes; an army conquering a country always thinks lightly of the people. We expected to find the feudalism of Europe in an Asiatic dress, but in a vigorous state, and every one anxiously longed for the day when the Afghans would come charging to the bayonet's point. The fruit and climate had been always praised; grain scarcely heard of. Unfortunately (for the army, i. e. for its chance of fighting), we had the king with us. The Duranis, disgusted by thirty years of anarchy, and by seeing their frontier recede from Bahawalpur to the Khyber, and by no longer enjoying the best places in the country conquered, were anxiously looking to the king's restoration as the first step to regaining what they had lost. Mehrab Khan was busy in outwitting himself, and Kohandil Khan was vainly trying to make the Mullahs declare it a "Ghazā"* 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 roused 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 sink into apathy. Thus the simple proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick roused all France to arms and made her mistress of the Continent, till, worn out by her over-exertions, she tamely saw her capital twice entered by foreigners, and her bravest shot like a dog. The Afghans just so, would not oppose us, although they would not join us. Another great help was the strict discipline of the army. They saw with astonishment our cavalry horses die of hunger and the corn stand untouched in rear of the column; this was often mentioned with wonder by the Afghans.

The Ghilzis, on the contrary, detest kings, and especially Durani ones. They see a prospect of paying taxes, and curse "Shujawal" for

* Ghazā is the war and Ghāzī the warrior against infidels.—Ed.

bringing in infidels. The hill tribes, Waziris, Kharotis, &c., trust still that their mountains will keep them independent, and, I think, care little who rules at Kabul. The large and civilised body of Tajiks were, when I saw them, much pleased with the new system; the influx of money and the prospect of protection securing their attachment.

The old system of taxation among the Ghilzis was a very bad one. The khan directed the Khels to bring their quota, and presently saw lots of rotten sheep and toothless camels arrive at his gate. These were bought on the king's account at high prices and sold for what they fetched. Blankets, grain, and a little money, made up the remainder. There was always a deficiency in the amount, and the khan usually took half of what he received, and gave the king the rest with an apology; sometimes the king allowed him to take a certain share. There have been no taxes collected at Kattawaz for a long time, but I give the account as I heard it.

The great obstacles to the improvement of the Afghans are the feuds and the difficulty of internal travelling caused by want of a government. Whatever the form is, if the government is a strong one, it will be useful here; but to overawe the robbers and clear the road, troops are required. I can say from experience that Afghans can be made to submit to discipline, but with difficulty; except the hill tribes, the people have a great dislike to serving on foot. As they are hardy and fond of the service, they might be made useful cavalry. The Kabul ponies also are cheap and hardy. Desertion is not looked on as a crime, but as an indefeasible right to go home. The Durani horse under Muhammad Osman Khan Saddozai, accompanied Captain Outram on the Ghilzi expedition. They complained bitterly that though their pittance of pay was only 10 rupees a month for man and horse (with by-the-bye grass given them), that out of five months' arrears given at Kandahar, their leaders had taken two months' pay. I saw that when 700 rupees prize money was given to be divided among them, only 400 were spent on the men. They often declared that under officers who were as conscientious as the "Feringi Sahib" they would have made a different appearance for the last thirty years. With such a system it is no wonder they plunder the country and frequently disperse.

For infantry I think the Tajiks, Moguls, and even Hazaras might be advantageously employed. They are hardy, active and obedient, and have often behaved well. At Herat some, certainly, of the garrison were Moguls (Tajiks).

To pay the troops, a better system of taxation is required; this question presents peculiar difficulties. Ignorant people are the last to appreciate measures for their good. The pastoral tribes moving from place to place will fly to the mountains at the sight of a tax-gatherer, and were all money levied on the soil (exempting shepherds), it would be a premium on pasturage which possibly might cause the country to be

without agriculture, because the shepherds can easily procure grain cheap in Daman, 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 civilised nation, they already feel their inferiority in the sterling qualities. Their barbarous virtues of respect for elders, their rude hospitality, and their frank independent manner, will probably disappear; and should their barbarous vices of revenge, treachery, and murder be merely changed in form, but not really altered, then the consequences of our advance will be deplorable indeed. But the course of events in placing our troops so suddenly in Kandahar, and our influence at Herat, have already made all prophesying the future absolutely ludicrous; 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.

KURNAL, 19th January, 1840.

J. S. BROADFOOT,
2nd Lieutenant, *Engineers*.

REPORT II.

On the Route from Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan by the Ghwalari Pass.

First, my own route.

The country from Ghazni to Pannāh has been already described; the distances are (by the road)—

1. Ghazni to Nani	14 miles.
2. 18th October, 1839, Joga	13½ "
3. 19th ,, Pannāh	10½ "

All this day, the 19th October, I was an object of curiosity: women came and lifted up the purdah of the tent and looked at me, some smiling, others looking with horror, but none seeming to imagine the possibility of indelicacy. Whilst dressing, it was all the same: the children sometimes stole in, calling me "Pelingi," 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 easy hillocks, then a plain; at the eighth mile, turning round the end of Jarakkana, a road, saving a few hundred yards, goes over the ridge, which is here a few black rocks at the top of a gentle slope. From this point we went between some low hillocks. Near Dand a dry water-course is crossed, with banks four feet high; the whole road is very easy for guns. Near Pannāh the villages and forts shown in the plan would supply a brigade with grain and forage, and water is abundant at all of them.

At Dand there is no other water nearer than Dih sai or Nannai; the first a large village of Anders with perhaps 100 houses, the latter a group of four or five forts of Anders and Suliman Khels. Dand is a fort with thirty houses of Shakki Suliman Khels, with about 150 acres of cultivation. Near Nannai is Schnakhzie, two forts of a tribe of Suliman Khels. At Dand the only supplies are water and camel forage.

The people here show the most undisguised hatred of the Feringis, and of the Lohanis for introducing them. They give false answers to every question, and say that they will never consent to have their country written down.

For the first time in Khorassan, I judge it necessary never to leave camp alone, even if well armed; my life now being certainly in danger if met alone. At Dand the caravan halted for a day in order to allow the Mian Khel Lohanis to join for safety's sake. The strength now was three camps of about 200 men, each with women and children in proportion, and camels out of all proportion. A crowd of men and boys attend 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 kamrband, a chapkan or very loose, long, camel's-hair gown, trousers stuffed into boots which come above the knee. When I ride, these are put into a pair of green shoes, which keep the boots and feet warm. A pistol and dagger in the belt and my sword by my side. In riding, over all a poshteen.

21st, a halt.

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

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

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

On entering Kattawaz, from every man there was a burst of abuse against me, though the dress prevented them from recognising me till told by the Lohanis which was the Feringi 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 Kafila prevented my murder. I could not go out all day, but was stewing in a close tent with the door tied up.

Several chiefs came at last, afraid to venture to Kabul and afraid of the consequences of not going. Among others, the brother of Mehtar Musa Khan. I found out a plot to catch Sarwar Khan and me as a hostage or perhaps from revenge. The chiefs I could in a few days bring in. The people are different. Except the Mian Khel 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.

23rd.—Shincha, pronounced Shintsa, 13½ miles.—The first 2½ miles are through the cultivation and fallow of Langar, and the deserted fields of Khuni Karez, 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 them was called the "Ghlo kalla" (thieves' fort): their feuds destroyed each other. From this point we enter the Sargo Pass. It is a ravine cut by water through the Kohnak 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 migratory; but a little watch-tower commands the field, and shows by its machicoulis defence and its gate, scarcely to be reached, how little certain the owner was of reaping what he sowed. This seems an example of the method by which the Afghans change from pasture to agriculture. The small Khel 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 relinquished their tents for houses. The coldness of the climate obliged the settled Ghilzis 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 karezes, and extend into the plains, becoming firmly attached to the soil; the chance at present is, that some feud will drive them from their little fields and make them again return to their wandering life; I have seen instances of this retrogression. The hills are sprinkled with thorny bushes and low trees, giving fuel in abundance; the spring is plentiful, but grass scanty. High up the mountains of Kohnak is the fort of Omna, 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-failing subject of religion. I asked him why he did not change; at which he got

into a rage and said, "Feringis change their religion for a pretty girl, the Musalmans were no better, while he was of a perfect religion that he would die sooner than give up." This he roared out with much violence, and to my surprise 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 Hindu said we had got the gate of Ghazni 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.—Surghurgai, Red rocks, 12 miles. The Kafilā started at day-break, the cold being less and delay expected on the road. The road for three miles ascended gradually; undulating in slopes, passable for guns. There was an ascent of 20 yards, the angle about 11 degrees, with a few stones requiring breaking; next, for two miles, a level ravine 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 requires a few hours' labour. Fuel, water, and camel forage are abundant. From the Kotal-i-Sarwandi commences a descent continuing without interruption to the Indus. This, and the fact that from Kohnak the Attock is often visible, first decided my opinion that the Jadrān was the principal range of the Suliman Mountains. I estimate the height of the Kotal-i-Sarwandi ("Kotal" means a pass over a ridge, as "Darra" implies a passage between mountains) at 7500 feet, by referring it to that of Mūkkūr as determined by Lieutenant Durand and Dr. Griffiths.

25th.—12 miles to near Othman. The first six miles are down the pass, now a shingle reach 400 yards wide, and very straight. The rocks bounding it gradually sink to the Killa-i-Babakar. This is inhabited by Kharotis, who have shown great skill and perseverance in conducting water to every little spot of soil within miles of their fort. The fort has a little garden and is in good repair. Being the only place of supply for caravans within several marches, there is always a quantity of chopped straw for sale. A tower of refuge has been built on a rock commanding the fort; to this they fly on any danger, and prevent by their fire any injury being done to the crops or garden below them. The main stream of the Gomāl rises here, several springs join near the fort, and flow over a fine small shingle, 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 "Kwaro Kats" ("Kats" or "Kach" in Pashtu means a place, and especially a wider space, in a narrow pass, where the rocks are 1000 yards apart, and where caravans frequently halt). We bivouacked in a spot of similar character. The road presents no difficulty; water and camel forage plenty.

26th.—Sirmagha, 18 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 Maranna 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 Sirafza, and flows through the Kharoti country, draining the Waziri and Kohnak ranges; the Koh-i-Waziri, cut into a thousand channels by rain, looks very different from the smooth hills of Khorassan, 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 da Gharda." They are the hills of the Waziris; but at different points they have different names, as Sazankai, Waraki, Chini, and Khangal Margha. Othman 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 reedy 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.—Ahmadai Kats, 11½ miles. At one mile we passed Sirmagha, a halting place 500 yards wide and a few feet above the river. At 2½ miles, the salt rivulet of Ab-i-talkh enters the stream; from thence the channel is narrow, and winds to every point of the compass in bands at every 300 yards, yet I never saw it less than 30 yards wide. At seven miles is Mamatsile, "Māmā'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 no serious obstacle to guns.*

28th.—Stighai, 10½ miles. For the first five miles the Gomal wound so much that the horsemen and idlers went across the hills, rejoining it three miles lower down. The camels, of course, continued by the river. The crossing was very frequent. The breadth of water here is 20 feet

* Lieutenant Broadfoot in his journal remarks, "To-day I was very careful, there being a report current that the chiefs had hired men to take or kill me."—Ed.

and the depth one foot. At $7\frac{1}{2}$ 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 pioneers 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 Prirak plundered many servants to-day, taking good clothes for old ones, and sometimes giving none at all in exchange. They say openly I shall be shot one of these days, and that only my disguise has saved me hitherto; I believed this to be humbug for some days, but now so many people of all tribes have told me, that I mean to be very careful. In this country generally, and on this road particularly, all emotions are absorbed in a constant dread of murder. Many men have refused the most tempting 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 leave their houses without putting on rags, in hopes no Afghans who meet them may have worse. It is a singular state of society.

29th.—Betsal, $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The first mile and a half was over the same easy ravine to the Kotal of Stighai. This is a low ridge crossed by three paths, all equally good. The ascent is about 150 yards of a broad level road not at all steep. From this an easy ravine leads gently down to Touda China ("warm spring"), a fine spring eight miles from the halt. At the sixth mile is a smaller spring with scarcely water for a regiment; at 11 miles the road runs along the side of a hill, and crosses it in a place called Gatkai, where there are some troublesome large stones. From this we descend the bed of a rivulet which drains part of the Waziri country, and must be large in the rains, as it has cut a wide bed, 30 feet deep, into hard slate. The ravine is crossed by camel tracks, but I saw none fit for guns. Afterwards a stony plain continued to Betsal, which is a collection of graves of Lohanis who had died in the pass. Alim Khan Miyani had procured from Kabul some fine marble slabs for the tomb of a favourite son. The rest are heaps of stones; water, grass, and forage are abundant. This march is one of the most difficult; and a road could not be made under a day's hard work, the last three miles about Gatkai being so difficult. If necessary, this obstacle could be avoided by keeping down the bed of the Gomal. A woman was robbed, on the roadside, of a gun and some clothes, and the thief escaped.

30th.—(Hill of Treasures) Khazāna Ghund, $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles. At first we crossed the desolate plain of Samblabar Raghle ("we have reached the black plain"), the boundary, as it is called, of Khorassan and India. At $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles we turned the hill of Stighai and entered the channel of the river by a descent (not difficult) of about 80 feet. The bottom is stony as usual; a wretched hut gives the name of Khair-o-dangar to this place.

At eight miles is Janekats; this place is named from a great Waziri robber, who at last fell into the hands of the Lohani merchants and was there hewn to pieces. At Janekats are three acres of cultivation and the entrance to the stream Zawrewan, said to come from near Birmul. At 10 miles is the isolated rock with a flat top called Khazāna Ghund, which the Lohanis believe to be full of the treasures of Nadir Shah. The channel of the river was wider, and not so stony this march. Grass and forage as before.

31st.—Gulkats, 14 miles. The camels followed the whole way the stony bed of the river. At four miles is an encamping ground called Trappa Una; from thence I mounted on the high bank by a steep, rocky passage, and entered a small plain under the hill of Ursak; this is a steep, craggy ridge, about 800 feet high. Advancing further, we entered the wide, stony plain of Zarmelānā, and saw the Takht-i-Suliman towering in a mist above the inferior mountains, its base extending to the south past Wohwa, and the north beyond Ghwalari. At the tenth mile we descend 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, forage, and grass abundant. We are now rid of the wandering Sultan Khels, and I am not pestered with people opening the tent and staring at me like a wild beast. Six camels were carried off in the evening.

1st November.—9½ miles near Kanzurwalli. After six miles of easy plain is Khatt-i-Kharga-una, 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 at a distance Egyptian temples and fine colonnades, 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 same 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 ridden 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 Dabbar, "Blackstone." The hills of Zarmelānā send out a spur to the east, which reaches the Gomal; we crossed this in the Kotal of Kanzurwalli. 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, splintery 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 shingle. At eight miles is an insulated rock, with two trees and beautiful reed grass. This place is "Kotkai," and a little to the north are Spin and Tee of the Daotanis, and Wāna about two marches distant; this march has abundance of water, grass, and camel forage.

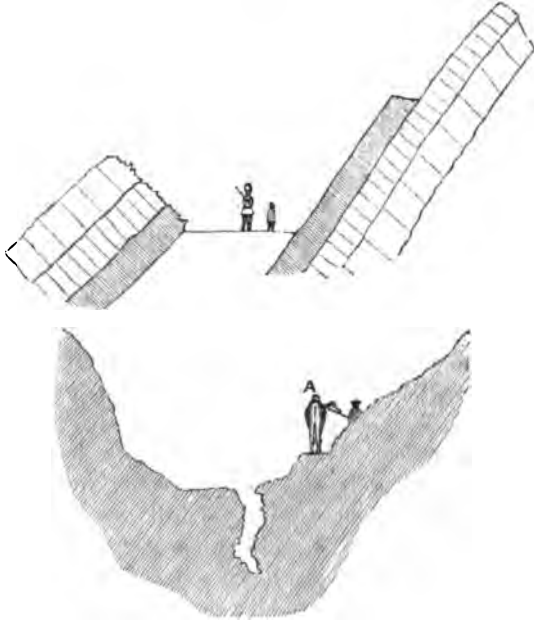
3rd.—12½ miles to Gatkai.* After two miles we reached Shahidan, a number of graves of merchants slaughtered by the Wasiris, and called by the Lohanis the "martyrs," to throw odium on their enemies. After this the hills on each side branch off, leaving an undulating plain, in which the Gomai is met by the Zhub. This stream, 30 yards wide and one foot deep, is larger than the Gomai; its valley could be seen for at least 40 miles in a straight line parallel to the Takht-i-Suliman; its waters are reckoned peculiarly sweet; I thought them just like those of the Gomai. At 11 miles is a small date-tree standing in a spot called Postakats, where large caravans usually halt, that they may drink the Zhub water before crossing Ghwalari. From this we enter the pass, an easy ravine leading by a few windings to Gatkai*; it is sometimes only 25 yards wide with a level bottom, the sides being high perpendicular cliffs of pudding-stone. The rain has cut these into deep, vertical clefts, which have a somewhat architectural appearance; when the conglomerate ends, clay slate begins, and Gatkai* is a place where the ravine is only 20 feet wide with a fine level bottom, but nearly blocked up by two rocks about eight-foot cube, which have fallen from above. At present it is only passable by one camel at a time. Water is procured here in plenty, but it is brackish.

4th.—Mishkinai, 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 slate 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

* Gati on Map.—Ed.

† See next page.

down a steep ravine for 600 yards, the slope from 10 to 20 degrees, but always wide enough for a road. Some large stones would have to be removed, and then the guns might go down by drag-ropes. Below this the pudding-stone cliffs and fine wide road begin again and continue



with increasing width to Mishkinai. At Rammu a spring of water is usually found, it is always brackish and sometimes dry. Near the halt there is a little stony plain, the eastern entrance to Ghwalari. The water at Mishkinai is brackish; plenty of forage is found at a little distance.

5th.—Chingankram, 9 miles. The first two miles led along the north side of the Tsirai rock; this ridge is laid in parallel strata of limestone



mixed with clay; the ends of the strata are broken and decomposed, but the west side is the surface of a natural layer of rock, and extends for miles as smooth as hewn 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 Tsirai may be avoided by a longer route which goes direct from Mishkinai to the Gomal.

The Afghans having no regular artisans, must help each other on many occasions. A person who wishes to build a fort, sends to his own tribe, and others friendly to him, a notice that he will entertain any one who will help him in his design; a great many people attend; they eat mutton and kūrūt, 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 Attan; this is called Ulūsi building, and, though pleasant enough, is rather expensive. In this way "Tairai" was rendered passable. From this the usual stony ravine with a few scattered Palosa trees or tufts of coarse "Sirmagha" grass leads on to Chingankram, 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.

6th.—Zirtā, 12 miles. The first mile and a half brought me to Zmarri, where the water is said to be sweet. The everlasting stony ravine widened after turning a ridge, its hills sunk into mere hillocks, the boulders turned to pebbles, and it came fairly to an end. Mounting a small knoll, we saw Daman 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 monotonous jungle of thin tamarisk; but to us, who had passed 180 miles of brown rocks, it seemed a picture of beauty. The shingle brought from the hills covers the plain for four miles past the halt, but we soon entered the reedy grass jungle on the banks of the Gomal, where it penetrates the hillocks of Zizhi, under which we encamped. Manjigara, of 100 houses, could afford a little supply of grain. Wood, water, and camel forage are abundant.

7th.—Dera Ismail Khan, 49 miles. This march occupied 23 hours. During the day I kept up my route survey, but soon after passing Kulachi darkness and fatigue rendered it impossible. The distance, however, I still continued to note, and the directions are judged from the stars. In four miles we passed the hillocks of Zizhi and re-entered the thin tamarisk jungle. We saw several villages in the distance on either hand, as, skirting the old bed of the Gomal, we reached Luni; this is a large village of 400 houses, with a well in the bazaar; but most of the water seemed to be got by digging holes five or six feet in the bed of the river. At 17 miles was Kulachi, 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 cultivation and several villages, and that the tree jungle grew less as we approached Dera. 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 round towers, and the ramparts narrow except in the bastions. It would when finished withstand anything but a regular siege. Dera Ismail Khan is well known, so I do not describe it.

To clear these passes, 500 pioneers would be sufficient, a proportion of these (50) should be armed with crowbars and sledge-hammers, a few (4) sets of blasting tools should be always at hand. The rest might be armed as usual with 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 Gazdara, four miles beyond Dand towards Kilalanger, is no obstacle. That of Sargo, through the Kohnak range near Shintsa, would not oblige the troops to halt, and the bed of the Gomal as far as Ahmadsai Kats requires little clearing; from thence to Gulkats 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 Stighai is followed, the army might arrange one of its halts so as to allow a day for making a road in Gati. The Kanzurwalli Pass, between Gulkats and Toradabar, 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 Ghwalari would resist any instruments, 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 "Kotal" itself is of slate crumbled into earth and apparently easy to cut. To blast the two fallen rocks of Gatkai, four parties of three men each would be necessary; by heavy jumpers 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 Gatkai, 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 camel road; and, if necessary, a different column with all its baggage could go over the Manzi Kotal, which is within three miles of Ghwalari to the south.

The Ghwalari Pass I conceive to be easier to make practicable than

the Kohjak, and not nearly so 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 Kohjak, jammed for days on one narrow camel track. The water of Ghwalari, though brackish, is abundant on both sides; that of the Kohjak was sweet, but on the west sadly deficient, even in the month when there is usually most.

As the caravans are large bodies of men, horses, and camels, their method of supplies is like that of an army; grain or flour, from Kattawaz to Luni, should not be expected. The Daotanis of Wana and the people of Zhob bring rice and flour, and the Kharotis bring goats for sale, but in an army these small supplies would be scarcely felt. A month's supplies would enable troops to reach Kattawaz, or, if in small bodies, Ghazni; 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 "Tirkha" 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 they eat the tamarisk of Daman get looseness of the bowels, and they are usually crossed over the Indus quickly to obviate this. This 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 Langar to Killa Kharoti the Kafilas carried chopped straw for the horses, and again from Killa Kharoti to Stighai. 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 rains of spring, I believe that the country as far west as Killa Kharoti is covered with the "Saba" or "Washa," similar to the long-bladed grass which is given to horses at Simla and Mussooree, but I think rather sweeter and better. Below Ahmadai 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 is seen; but even in autumn, by proceeding up the ravines abundance will be found. To assure myself of this fact, I sometimes went among the hills alone, and would have gone every day had any one agreed to accompany me. Every brigade should have five or six Daotani or Lohani guides, 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 Khorassan, 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 Kafilas, I could only hear of one man on whose stomach it had any bad effect.

Fuel in Khorassan is the usual brushwood which covers the ground; in the pass there is a slight addition of shrubs and stunted trees; in Daman there is jungle. An army going from Dera Ismail Khan to Ghasni might form the magazines at Manjigara or Luni, 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 biased me.

The route from Shikarpur to Kandahar is very difficult. After two marches of jungle the Mulk-i-Kachi is entered. This is a plain of hard clay, as level as a billiard table, with scarcely a blade of grass or a shrub as far as the eye can reach. The water is also most precarious; one march of 28 miles is a total desert, and generally there are only a few hamlets at wide intervals, the mud huts of which are scarcely to be distinguished from the plain. The poor inhabitants dig holes in the earth, and watch for hours till a little moisture collects, and the scanty supply is eagerly 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. Bhag and Dadar, of 500 and 300 houses respectively, allowed us to halt and gave us water. The Bolan Pass was a level shingly ravine, bounded by hillocks, and very similar to the channel of the Gomal, but is totally deficient in camel forage and fuel, and water at parts is scarce. Except when rain fills a puddle in the Dasht-i-Bedanlat ("hopeless or poverty-stricken plain"), a march of 28 miles is necessary for water; even then camel forage and water are the only supplies. Quetta, and the fertile valley of Pishin, can support a small body of troops; but in advance is the same dry, stony plain, which is also cut up by ravines. The hills then have to be crossed. There are three passes,—the Kohjak, which was crossed by us; the Roghanai, 10 miles to the south, is difficult for camels; and the Ghirriah, 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 failing, the men had dysentery, and the road behind us was strewn with the bodies of camels and horses, and of men who had been murdered when they lagged from exhaustion. Much of this might, no doubt, have been avoided by better information; but yet when we consider that in Katch Gandava filling up about 100 wells would leave 60 miles of march without water, and that the Bolan (easy as its road is) is exposed to floods in winter, and to the fatal simoom in summer, I think it will be allowed that that route is impracticable against well-directed opposition.

The Ghwalari ridge is nearly as bad as that of the Kohjak, and the constant drag over loose shingle would batter the feet of the artillery horses. Hindustani camels soon get sore-footed in any stony pass; they sometimes poison themselves on the hills by foolishly eating the wrong shrubs, which no Khorassan camel will ever do; and the horses generally, unless shod in the Afghan fashion by plates covering 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 those of climate, water, fuel, and forage. It opens also in the best part of the country, and threatens alike Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul. Out of the thousands of camels who pass this road twice a year, I only saw two skeletons, while the rear of our army was covered by them; 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 ROADS ON THIS ROUTE.

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

1. From Pannāh to Nanai Ghund. Near a fort of Shakke Khel, water and camel forage are to be had.
2. Khinjakak, a ruined fort of Shahtori Suliman Khels. There is a karez. The road crosses Zhera, but is easy.
3. Burlak of the Shakhel Jalalzai. Water and a little supplies (for a small force) to be procured. Road an easy plain.
4. Jaffar. A spring like Shincha in the entrance of the hills.
5. Kargadzala (crow's nest). A spring.
6. Killa Kharoti. Already described.

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

1. Pannāh to Dokāi or fort of Schnakhzi. Already mentioned.
2. Adin Khel in Kattawaz. The road turns the southern end of Zhera; small supplies to be had. The Adin Khels who are Kaisers fight the Jalalzais who are Shammals.
3. Masso Khel, a migratory Khel with only one fort. Road easy.
4. Kargadzala. Described.
5. Killa Kharoti. Described.

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

The next road to be noticed is that of Maranna. It leaves the river by a ravine half-way between the Dwoa 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-talkh, and passing Ghazamanda 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 Spest and Shartbazu, to Killa Mama in Wazikhwah. A similar path also goes from Khair-o-dangar to Wana. In spring these roads are rendered of more importance than they would otherwise possess, by the Gomal, swollen with rain and melted snow, frequently filling its whole channel and rendering the great road unsafe. The tribes who come up in March or very early in April do not follow the Gomal, but proceed from Ghwalari to Kachana, where there is a spring; thence to Spin, which is a mile or two north of Kotkai. This march is long, but said to be pretty level. Then to Kanzurwalli and Khat-i-kharga-una. From thence they again diverge from the river to Zarmelānā and to Betsal, or they go from Kharga-una across the lower end of Ursuk, and so by Zawrewan to Stighai, where the Maranna road is followed to near the source of the Gomal. These roads are stony 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 Bolan Pass. We were pitched in the dry channel of the rivulet at Abigum; the clouds had been gathering round the peaks to the west; at three o'clock in the morning a loud roaring noise in the glens was followed by a rush of water through the tents, washing away everything loose, and wetting us in our beds; every one started out, and the tents were struck by the torrent in a few minutes; the camp was inclosed on all sides by much deeper water rushing past with great noise. It was pitch dark, and there was no escape; marks placed 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 5000 to 7000 feet above the plains of the Indus, and supported by its vast buttress—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 flat bottoms 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.

South of the Khyber and Momand passes, the first of importance is Kuram. The road commences near Gardez, and generally follows the channel of the river to the Indus; at first it passes through the valleys of the barbarous Jajis and Turis, and then through the lands of the Bangash and Bannuchis. I have no good information about the marches, but the general impression of all travellers is, that the Kuram river is the best entrance to Khorassan, whether for supplies or easiness 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 Kaniguram, and another road reaches Kotkai on the Gomal in five marches; they are:—

1. From Tank to Sir-i-ab, entering the hills.
2. Shuhur Narai; Narai means a “kotul,” or pass, over a mountain; an easy kotul near Shuhur.
3. Dargai Narai, another ascent.
4. Spin, already mentioned.
5. Kotkai on the Gomal.

The next pass is that of the Gomal at Ghwalari. This has more than one exit. The river has forced its way through the end of the Takht-i-Suliman range, dividing Ghwalari from the Karkanna hill. Its channel, called Adamkak, is said to be narrow, with the Gomal falling over large rocks, and to be scarcely passable for cows and sheep, of course not for camels and baggage; three miles south of Ghwalari is the route 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 “Munza-quenna”;^{*} the road a tolerably easy ravine.

^{*} As I do not recognise this word, I leave it as spelt by Lieutenant Broadfoot.—Ed.

2nd. Gati, a spring of brackish water; the road crosses the ridge by an ascent, said to be a little steeper than that of Ghwalari.

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

Next, the road of the Waziris goes from Ghwalari to Kattawaz, opening by one route upon Gardez, by another at Riltu. It avoids the Gomal entirely, and is described by many people of different tribes who had seen it, as much superior to the Gomal 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 Stighai, from what I had seen of these 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 Waziri country. The following marches must be very short, probably not averaging seven miles:—

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

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

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

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

5. Swai Ghwajh. A space in the bed of a stream, said to flow to the Bangash country. On leaving Wana is the kotul of Matsal, said to be very easy.

6. Waukhwah, 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. Matsal, a pass over the Khwenda Ghar range, which seems to be parallel to the Koh-i-Waziri.

8. Rohamand Gül Kot. A fort of the Waziris.

9. Tursam Kot. These forts seem to be in a narrow valley between the Khwenda Ghar and Poshtai ranges.

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

11. Samand Kot. A fort.

12. Yari Kot. A fort.

13. Zmarri torai.

14. Spedar Narai, a pass over the Pashtu range which seems to rise from the Jadrān range, and is partly inhabited by the Jadrān tribe.

15. Sarobai of the Kharotis.

16. Urghun of the Fermuli Tajiks.

17. Khangal Margha. Near the head of the Dwoa Gomal.

18. Sultanai, entrance to Zūrmūl and Kattawaz.

19. Paltanai in Zūrmūl, inhabited by Minzis (who lately were notorious robbers).

20. Kolalgu. In the plan.

This road is sometimes varied by going through Spin, Toe, Wana, Birmul, and Sarafza.

Opposite Daraban is the pass of Zawa which leads to Kandahar. As Lieutenant Marsh of the cavalry has visited this route, I shall merely mention those connecting it with my own route of Ghwalari. It passes the Takht-i-Suliman, the Zhob 30 miles above Postakats, and is connected with the Gomal by the road of Kundar.

From the place where the Kundar joins the Gomal to—

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

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

3. "Navel stone," Nama Kanai, a stone thought to reduce hernia of the navel; the road is still by the stream of Kundar, which flows through an easy ravine.

4. Kandil, the source of the stream. There is usually here a little cultivation of the Zhmurianis, a small tribe said to be Syads; and in summer there are some Nassir shepherds.

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

6. Mashhuri, a fort in the valley of Wazikhwah. The road crosses the hills by the pass of Imdai.

7. Killa Mama in Wazikhwah, 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 Kundar to Zawa is—

1. Hosainika, mentioned above.

2. Gwedab, a small spring.

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

4. Mandu Khel da kot, a fort in the valley of the Zhob, after crossing the river.

5. Daraban, mouth of Daraban Khwarra, from whence the water of the Daraban 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 Dahna 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 Takht-i-Suliman is the road of Wohwa,* passing through the Kakar country to the Arghesan 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 Suliman 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, Kuram, Ghwalari, Zawa, and Wohwa or Vihova. I put the Bolan out of the question, as the water is easily cut off 60 miles in the Kach Gandawa. Of these the Khyber, Kuram, 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 Kuram, 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 he arrived; and were the 20,000 men already guarding it driven to the plain, the scattered columns of the enemy, slowly emerging from the mountains, would be opposed one by one to a powerful army well supplied and fresh with the whole resources of India at its back; all this is independent of the opposition which might be so easily afforded in Khorassan. 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 Vihova 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 firmer 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. Kattawaz merits a separate notice.

Its length is about 48 and its breadth 24 miles.

The plain is level and open, bounded on the east by the Kohnak Mountains and on the west by the lower hills of Kattasang and Zhera. To the north it reaches Zürmül, and to the south is ended by Lalazai and the Ab-i-Istadah Lake; the valley is entered on the east by the three passes which meet at Killa Kharoti, and on the west by the passes of Gazdara and Kharbin. This last road goes from Mish Khel between Spinsak and Jarakkana. It is a winding pass, generally 30 yards wide, between low hills, which cavalry might often cross, and leads by a gentle ascent, through the lower range, and then with as gentle a descent to Melanai. Guns could pass it in its present state, and a very little work would make it a beautiful road; a small rivulet called Khurbin flows down part of its length, and turns three or four miles before it reaches Kattawaz.

This district entirely belongs to the Suliman Khel; the settled tribes living in the centre of the valley, and the pastoral ones wandering about the lower spurs of the mountains. The tribe has two great divisions, the Shammals (or Ismailzais) and the Kaisers; these often fight with each other. The Khels are generally groups of five or six forts, each containing from ten to sixty houses. I mention the Khels as they occupy the valley from north to south. Mish Khel, Sultan Khel (a large one), Poindeh Khel, Mitta Khel (who sometimes trade), Mallazai Shakki Khel, Sheh Khel, Kallandar Khel, and the Adin and Nassu Khel. Beyond these is Lalazai of the Tarakkis; the feuds have been described before; sometimes the Mollaha effect a truce to last a stated time, when this is ended the feuds begin again. This relic of barbarism

* Lieutenant Broadfoot here proposes two ways of meeting an invasion from the north-west. The first, namely, to make the Suliman range our frontier and to hold the passes, is that which commends itself to my judgment. Holding that frontier, we are in a position to await with calmness any attempt at invasion. Every day that we delayed the invader's forces would tell most heavily against them. Food for the army and fodder for the animals would run short, and that would, in all probability, lead to collision with the Afghans. With this frontier held in force, we have little to fear from an enemy on the other side of the hills, so long as the Indian army and people may be relied on. I would therefore expect an enemy's tactics to be, by every means at his disposal, to stir up and foment discontent; and to delay active measures till well assured of co-operation in India.

The second mode of meeting invasion, namely, to occupy Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul, is not, I think, now to be recommended. We should be surrounded by a hostile people, and have long and uncertain lines of communication. The position, I venture to think, would be a false one from a military point of view.—Ed.

existed till lately in Europe. When the caravans passing through Kattawaz are too strong to be overpowered without loss, they are only required to pay a small tribute to the tribe whose lands they pass. When they are weaker, the impost is a little higher, and if only a few individuals, they are usually plundered. The general tax is one rupee, or rather 12 yards of coarse cloth for every eight loaded camels.

Infidels pay more. The traders always choose their road through Kattawaz with reference to their friendly relations with the tribe. I may mention here that from Kattawaz to Daman money has no fixed value, being nearly unknown. The method of exchange is mere barter, or by valuing everything in yards of "karbaz," 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 Dwoa Gomal rises at a hill called Durtsely, very near Paltu. Its course is then between the Kohnak and the Waziri ranges; this last I believe, from the shortness of the Dwoa Gomal and other circumstances, to originate in the peaks of Paltu. It diminishes and ends near Ursuk.

The Prirak and Maranna range from the Killa Kharoti goes, I believe, to the Shinkai hill. It is the resort of a set of wandering shepherds, the Khwaid Khel, Elalzai of the Suliman Khel. It suddenly breaks up and ends at the Kundar river.

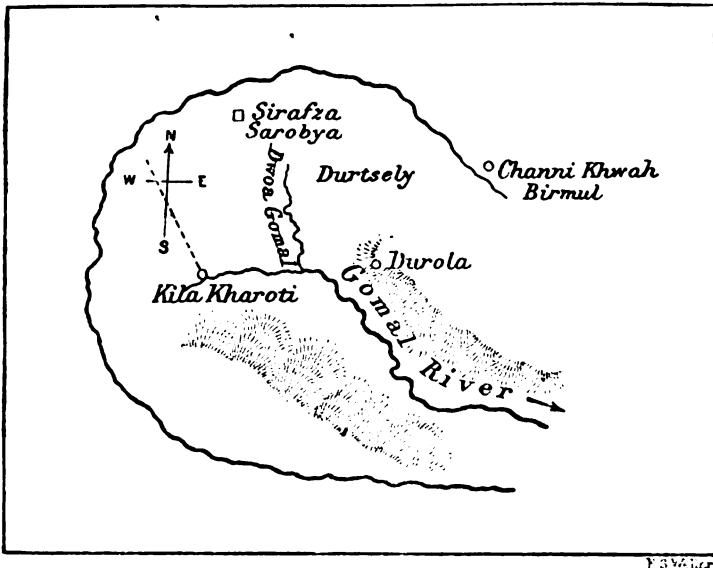
The hills to the west of the Zhob appear little less than the Takhti-Suliman. The Zhob rises in the Kākar country, and then flows through a long straight valley inhabited by the Mandu Khel; this is a large tribe extending from the Gomal to near the Kākar country. They live generally in tents, but have also a few houses, probably built from fear of the Waziris, who occasionally come from their own hills, and sweep the valley of the Zhob. A year or two ago they surprised a fort when there were only two or three people in it; these were put to death, and the cattle, grain, flour, and clothes carried off. The Mandu Khels cultivate rice in considerable quantities, as well as joar, 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 earrings or necklaces of cowrie shells. The men wear, when it is cold, the "kohsai," a cloak made of white felt, and in the hot weather have nothing but a pair of trousers and shoes. This exposure of the naked breast, and the costume of the women, which is petticoats without trousers, is thought very indelicate 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 Kākars, and having the same habits and customs, I have described them at this length; as of the large tribe of Kākars I know little. Here at their northern limit they are said to be a quiet people, repelling attacks

indeed, but nothing more, never carrying arms, and looked on as unwarlike. Perhaps this good character is from comparison with the Waziris; on their boundary the Syads of Peshin represented the Kakars as incarnate demons.

HILL TRIBES.

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

The Kharotis inhabit the valley of Dwoa Gomal, the peaks east of Paltu; the sketch below will illustrate the positions of their forts; of course there is no pretension to a scale in the sketch. Sirafza, a few miles from the source of the Dwoa Gomal, is a fort containing twenty houses, and affording protection to the families around. Sarobyā* is a ruined fort with a few houses. Channikhwah 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 Kharotis could gather, bring heaps of wood to the gate and burn it down; once in, they murdered and plundered. The Kharotis have now built a large fort, and tilled the



ground again. Durola is a fort of twenty houses, similar to the Babaki 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 fiftieth part of the tribe: the mountains being covered with trees must have soil, and water is not deficient, so

* Or Sarobai.—Ed.

that the hill, if cut into terraces as in the Himalayas, might be much better cultivated. But the hill tribes, less civilised even than the other Afghans, seemed to prefer the wandering life. They have seen sheep, cows, asses, and mules, 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, as the kids are then born. Ghee, kurut, and cheese are made in large quantities, and sold in Kattawaz or Zürmül for flour. In the winter they eke 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 shappli) (chapli) of goat-skins nearly raw; sometimes they have a bit of blanket for a cap, or if lucky, exchange some wool for a coarse turban. Their houses have nothing in them but a rug and an iron pot, yet with all this poverty they have fine matchlocks and good swords. Their greatest delight is stalking the deer. The pines on the hills furnish a seed called chilgoza, which is a principal part of their winter food, added to cheese, kurut, and occasionally some bread. Yet with all these hardships and their severe climate, they are a healthy, robust race. Even for Afghans they are very dirty. They have no weights, measures, nor means of estimating time and distance. Right to soil is only thought of in cultivated spots; a piece of grazing land, however long occupied by a family, is intruded on by 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 Kharotis are divided into two tribes; the Zakke Khel, of which the Mallik of Sirafza, son of Gul Khan, son of Shadi Khan, is the principal person; and the Adi Khel, whose head is Samand, 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 neighbours and Mullahs generally interfere and attempt reconciliation; should one party refuse to abide by the decision, the neighbours give up speaking to him; and herding goats on a hill, without any one to talk to, or a pipe to smoke, is so unpleasant, 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 Kharotis 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 dislike to a milk diet and pine seeds, after eating bread and grapes; indeed, they complain that in a few days it gives them spasms in the stomach; this makes them be thought effeminate coxcombs. The Kharotis are hospitable and kind, they seldom attack tribes unprovoked, 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 Jadrāns inhabit the east slope of the Jadrān 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 Khwajaks, a tribe of robbers, talked of a certain Killa Nakk of the Jadrāns, where they would have defied us. The Jadrāns sell their wool and cheese at Gardez; 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 Gomal on the south, by the Jadrāns and Kharotis on the east, and the Kuram on the north. A branch of the tribe extends along the Koh-i-Safed; they are more peaceable and settled than the rest; their numbers are less than so extensive a country would seem to indicate, as many of them emigrate every cold season to the hills overlooking Daman, and in the hot weather return near the Kharotis. This country is stated to have wood, water, and grass in plenty; some valleys are partially cultivated with rice, millet, wheat, and barley. The rice crops prove there is plenty of water in some parts. Their successful forays have given them a great stock of camels, 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 Birmul. The Jadrāns are confined to one ridge; and the whole country of Zhob, and the Ghwalari Pass tremble 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 Lohanis, to be Shiah—this is a calumny; as also that they are descended from some (a few) Hazaras who fled before Nadir Shah, and have increased in these mountains. This is universally believed, but they speak Pashtu, and I have seen so many tribes retain their language for generations, that I cannot imagine these have lost theirs in one hundred years. The Tajiks still speak Persian, even when living in Afghan villages. The Firmullis, who live between the Waziris and Kharotis, are still unable to speak Pashtu. The Waziris go on foot, and are most active in the mountains; a few great men of the tribe have horses, but of course are bad riders. They generally attack caravans by night, but sometimes by day. While firing from rocks, they eat sometimes a little raw flour, and from this also a story is raised that they never cook their meals. 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

than he is slaughtered. The Waziris are much under the influence of the Syads of "Urmur" (?),* and one of the stories is, that a Waziri, tired of going several miles on a pilgrimage to a place where a Syad had been murdered, invited a Syad to his house, and killed him a few yards off, that he might have a "ziyarat," or place of pilgrimage, without going so far for it. Their ordinary warfare is by long shots, but if really provoked they sometimes make desperate attacks. While passing their country in a caravan, some of the merchants rode to a village of Waziris from which they heard the men were absent; they returned with a few camels, and boasted they had speared some little boys in their mothers' arms. The Waziri village sent some Daotanis to redeem the camels; 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 bad, and they should get no camels." On this the Waziris armed and fell on part of the caravan, and totally destroyed the males of every age, carried away the camels and property, leaving the women untouched but disconsolate 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 fresh injury can increase their ill-will, and no good faith could reconcile them. The Waziris never injure females nor take their jewels, but all males they invariably kill. This is not a rule common to all Afghans, but made by the Waziris; and their enemies are so fearful of driving them to extremities, that this rule is observed on both sides. Even by their enemies, the Waziris are allowed to be very hospitable; a man who has killed the brother of another, need only go to his house to be treated as an 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 radically bad, and that the Afghans are in a very low state of civilisation. 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 Jangi Khan; the Balolzais of Nisrat Khan; and the Ahmadzais (these must not be confounded with the Ahmadzais, Suliman Khel, who are also pastoral robbers) of Khan Muhammad; the principal are the Balolzais, who cultivate the valley north-west of Kaniguram. Jangi Khan and

* "Urmur" or "Umur." The name is written thus in two MS. copies of the report I cannot find the name in Sir C. Macgregor's book on Central Asia.—Ed.

his tribe are sometimes praised for their moderation; the Ahmadzais 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 garrison.

The Damtanis, pronounced "Daotani," are a tribe of about 600 families, who inhabit the valley of Wana (a march north of Zarmelānā), 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 Lohanis were always plundering them. Their agriculture makes them a little richer than the Kharotis, but their habits are similar. The Firmullis are a Tajik tribe, who live in a village at Urghun, 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 Kandahar; but the Kharotis are the principal carriers of this iron by Wazikhwah to Kandahar, 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 Lohanis, but more properly those of Daman only. The Lohanis are in fourteen camps or "kilis"; they average 100 men each, with women, children, and camels in proportion. In summer they live in fine large "ghizhdis" tents of felt, near Pannāh and Karabagh; the men are partly away in Bokhara and Samarkand trading, or buying and selling at Kabul; the women and children, with a sufficient guard, live in the tents. In autumn the tents are stowed away in a friendly port, and men, women and children, and animals go down the Gomal pass to Daman, bivouacking all the way; they then pitch their second set of tents, kept always in Daman. The men go to Lahore and Benares 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 Pannāh and Karabagh.

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

The six camps of Kharotis follow the Nassirs 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 Killa Kharoti, 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 serious.

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

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

The camels of the caravans are not in strings, but each is separately driven; good camels (even with heavy loads) go three miles an hour by this method. The men run after the camels with heavy sticks, driving them by blows, and giving deep bass shouts of "Ha! 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 massive 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 favourites) were balanced against each other in kajawals; on arriving at the ground they helped to unload the camels;

the girls drew water, and the men grazed the camels; the women seldom scolded, 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 fail; 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, scoured the hills in search of hares and deer, answering also for flanking parties, yet a few robberies happened most unaccountably.

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

In Urghun and Kaniguram, 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 goat-skins. The iron at last runs out in rough pigs. These are heated again and slowly cooled, when they are worked into horse-shoes, gun-barrels, and swords, with which all the eastern part of the country is supplied. Iron is abundant enough, but without coal, or much more wood than they have even in the Suliman range, they never can export it. Lead is found in the Hazara hills near Band-i-Sultan. Antimony in small quantities is procured at Tsirai near Ghwalari. On a plant, called by the Afghans red "tirkha," something very like the cochineal insect is found, and salep misri,* not so good as the Persian, is spread all over the hills near Killa-i-Bakshi. 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

* *Şa'labi mişri*, the root of a kind of orchis used as a restorative.—Ed.

China and Thibet trade, which goes through Tartary to the Volga and Nijni Novgorod (if the passes were rendered easier and safe, and a good understanding kept up at Bokhara and Kunduz), might easily be diverted to Kabul. The route being shorter, and our character for justice at least as high as that of the Russians, Kabul would then become the centre of the inland trade of Asia, for Indian goods could be easily sent through the passes.

Then the Afghans, possessed of a fine breed of camels, and themselves fond of a wandering life, might become the chief carriers of this large trade. But of any extensive traffic with the Afghans themselves I see no prospect for a long period. People to buy must have something to sell, and the Afghans have almost nothing. It will require many years of order and good government, and a total relinquishment of their pastoral habits, before they can enter this field. In a report made by me to the Military Board in April 1838, on a road in the Himalayas near Mussoree, I was led to remark the possibility of our securing this trade with Central Asia, by a good road, like that of the Simplon, 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 Belochis, tradition stating that they fled from Belochistan a few hundred years ago; but their language, manner, and appearance are those of the Jats. I see no reason to give them a different name. Compared with the Afghans, they struck me as a slighter race, with limbs more rounded and voices not so deep. They cultivate the land belonging to the Afghans, who often furnish the seed and everything but the labour. They seldom carry arms, and if not positively oppressed are treated as an inferior race. With the climate of India they have most of its customs. They assemble in villages and towns round which are wide spaces of cultivation; near the hills many streams are used in irrigating the land. When these are expended, their only trust is in rain cultivation. The climate of Daman is very hot in summer, even more so than Hindustan, but it is colder in winter: snow indeed never falls, but ice is sometimes seen in the morning. Both the rains of India and the winter monsoon of Khorassan fall in Daman, and there are occasional showers during the year; yet the total rainfall is less than that of India, and very precarious. The rain cultivation, therefore, sometimes makes a man rich, at other times poor. Consequently the Afghans keep large flocks and herds, making themselves independent of the rains. Like Kutch 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 soon covered with a thin tamarisk jungle, and camel shrubs. The soil, a few feet under the surface, has generally a moist stratum, by digging in which, a small quantity of water oozes out; but if this is dug through, dry clay mixed with sand extends to a great depth. In some parts of India it seemed probable that water in horizontal sheets extended a long way beneath the surface. In Daman the few wells are of different depths, as if the water was not continuous, but in caverns; but whatever the cause be, wells are not used for irrigation, and are seldom dug.

The Dowlat Khel are a large tribe, of which the chief place is Tank; they and the Gandehpurs use the whole Gomal in irrigation. The senior family is the Katte 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 Alladad 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 fled without a blow. The tribute had made him the enemy of the trading tribes, and his only resource was the Waziris. He lives, I think, at Urghun, and possesses some influence in the hills, while Tank is garrisoned by a few thousand Sikhs.

The Gandehpurs are a large tribe settled from near Manjigara to 10 miles east of Kulachi. The chief places are Kulachi and Luni; the first contains about 700 houses, with a good bazaar, 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 straggling place of about 400 houses and a good bazaar. The Gandehpurs 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 Daraban; they use the Zirkani stream, which issues from Zawa, and is considerable in spring; this tribe has many Hamsāyas,* among others the Miyanis and the Bakhtiaris, the richest merchants of the country. The Miyan Khel is about equally divided into settled and migratory families.

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

Exclusive of these tribes, partly migratory, the Nassirs are wholly so; and the Sarprekara Suliman Khels, a trading tribe, spend the

* Hamsāya means neighbour.—En.

winter in Daman. Near the hills there are always numbers of camps of the tribes driven by the snow to seek a warmer climate. Indeed, when it is recollected that the settled Ghilzis have every year to lay in four months' supplies for their cattle, or in some instances to send their sheep to the care of a friendly tribe in a warmer district, for which they pay a tax on their flocks, it may be easily conceived that many cannot afford to spend so much of the year in idleness, or have too many feuds to trust their sheep out of their sight. This shifting population has a prejudicial effect on Daman, as they are not reached by the law, and contribute nothing to the general support. When it was so easy under the Durani kings to evade the demands made on them in one country, till the climates 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 Dera Ismail Khan; and around Tank, where there are garrisons; at a distance from the Indus it is nominal, and near the hills openly defied. The Sikhs have allowed idolatry, have forbidden the call to prayers, and have endeavoured to prevent the Afghans eating their own beef. The Saddozai Nawab of Dera is almost a prisoner. These measures, and the difference in religion, have rendered the Sikh rule odious to the tribes. When our army marched to Kandahar and Kabul, the Afghans held the Punjab to be virtually subdued, and refused to pay the taxes demanded. Now their eyes are opened to the consequences of their error, and they eagerly long for our rule. Every man whom I met asked eagerly when the province would be occupied. Several Miyani chiefs and the head of the Gandeypurs assured me they wished for it: and so general was the impression, that even Laki Mall, Governor of Dera Ismail Khan, gave more than hints that he was our friend. To all this I steadily replied that I knew of no wish to take the country from the Sikhs, who were our firm allies. Yet these disclaimers only made them give me credit for caution, without changing their opinion. Old prophecies (probably very lately made) declare that the British shall rule from China to Damascus, and the strange events of last year might easily mislead them. The Hindus are the shopkeepers and money-lenders of Daman, and among Musalmans have always one character—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 Kharotis to claim a tax; they showed a handful of pine nuts (*chilgoza*), 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 routes I had very little opportunity to examine strata 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 Pannāh, clay slate shading into quartzite sandstone. In the Jadrān range, clay slate seemed dipping 45° to the east. Down the Gomal Pass clay slate predominated at the bottom of Ghwalari; 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.

KAENAL 25th January, 1840.

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