

SCHUYLER JONES

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
NURISTAN (KAFIRISTAN) AND THE
KALASH KAFIRS OF CHITRAL

PART TWO
SELECTED DOCUMENTS FROM THE SECRET AND
POLITICAL RECORDS, 1885-1900

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 43, 1



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København 1969

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Preface

It was intended to make this part two of a regional bibliography.* Having excluded references to official reports from part one, it was thought that they could conveniently and usefully be listed in part two. It was soon apparent, however, that part two could in no way be organized so as to form a conventional bibliography. In the first place, the sources are available in only one place – the India Office Library, London. This meant that an ordinary bibliography would result in a tedious list of titles, dates, and volumes of use only to scholars with access to that library. Secondly, in the India Office Library itself these documents are not listed by author (nor could they be usefully arranged in such a manner) but chronologically. Viewed chronologically, which is the only logical way in which to pursue them, the events that led to the conquest of Kafiristan and the aftermath of that conquest can be understood. The result is a kind of political history of events in Kafiristan from 1885–1900.

The extracts contained in this volume were, for the most part, prepared by various British Political Agents in Chitral, Peshawar, Gilgit, the Khyber, and Kabul. The chronological arrangement of these reports enables us to trace the course of events (albeit hazily at times, since we view them through a political screen of British interests) in Kafiristan in this crucial decade and a half. As will become apparent, the point at which the future of the Kafirs assumes a new direction is November 12th, 1893 – the date of the Durand Agreement. The final blow to their independence comes later – the 9th of April, 1895. Despite official statements to the contrary, it seems clear that the invasion of Kafiristan by the Amir of Afghanistan was a direct result of the Durand Agree-

* Part One appeared in 1966 (*Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.*, vol. 41, No. 3, Copenhagen).

ment. When that agreement was modified to give the Amir the whole of Kafiristan he lost no time in expanding his rule by force of arms up to the Durand Line. Thus, in 1895–96, he sent his armies into the Hindu Kush to wage the wars that resulted in Kafiristan (land of the infidels) becoming Nuristan (land of light; i.e., the light of Islam). Since those days the former 'Kafirs' have been called *Jadedi*, جدیدی or جدید الاسلام, 'new', 'newly converted to Islam'.

The editor of these documents spent several months carrying out anthropological fieldwork in Nuristan and has visited the majority of the villages mentioned in these extracts. Where the name of a village, tribe, or person is followed by another in square brackets, the latter name is that given by informants in the field. Throughout I have deliberately avoided intruding my own observations and comments into this raw material; restricting myself to a correction or clarification of terms. It will be noted that the spelling of the majority of terms and place names is highly erratic. I have left them so. Lut-dib, Lut-dih, and Lutdeh, for example, all refer to the same village, the correct name of which is Baragamatal. Further, the term Lutdeh (a Chitrali word) is occasionally used to describe the entire tribal area of Katrgul or Kantoz which contains some 30 villages. Despite our efforts at clarification, the average reader is in for a puzzling time.

With regard to our general knowledge of what actually took place in Kafiristan from 1885–1900, it should be pointed out that these documents show an imbalance in that the events occurring in the Bashgul Valley dominate the reports. This is understandable. The Bashgul Valley was the only part of Kafiristan that was at all known to the British in that period. Furthermore, the Bashgul Valley borders Chitral which was then under British control. Refugees and others crossing the border into Chitral brought information regarding events in the Bashgul, the Kunar, and the Pech valleys, and thus little is known of what took place in the more distant Waigel, Ashkun, Parun, and West Kati language areas.

S. J.

Kabul

Feb. 1968

I. Strictly Confidential

Reports on Kafiristan submitted to the Secretary of the Government of India, Foreign Department.

1. 1882, Calcutta. *Confidential Gazetteer of Afghanistan; Part One: including the Provinces of Kabal, Afghan-Turkistan and Badakhshan-Wakhan; and the Independent States of Chitral, Kafiristan and Kuram*. Compiled for Political and Military Reference by Lieutenant-Colonel C. M. MacGregor, Assistant Quartermaster-General in 1871, and Brought up to date by Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C. B., Deputy Quartermaster-General, Intelligence Branch, in 1882. Vol. II.

The majority of the information relating to Kafiristan is to be found on pages 372–400, and is derived from earlier accounts by Babur, Biddulph, Burnes, Elphinstone, Lumsden, Masson, Raverty, and Wood. In presenting this material the compiler is careful to point out that “No European, nor any other alien of whom we have any knowledge, has been into this country and returned, so that it is evident that very little can be known of it. . .”

2. 1885, Dehra Dun. *Explorations in Part of Eastern Afghanistan and in Kafiristan during 1883*. Prepared under the orders of Colonel G. C. De Pree, S. C., Surveyor-General of India. By W. W. McNair, F. R. G. S.

In this 46 page report McNair makes several references to an earlier report which he “submitted to the Surveyor General in September” but this has not yet been traced. The report under consideration here is divided into the following parts: 1. *Swat District* (8 pages), 2. *Bajour or Bajawar District* (6½ pages), 3. *Dir District* (9 pages), 4. *Chitral or Kashkar District* (12 pages), and *Kafiristan* (10½ pages).

The title of this report is somewhat misleading. The regions visited by McNair were never part of Eastern Afghanistan and, even aside from Robertson's later comments, it seems doubtful if McNair ever reached Kafiristan itself. Lockhart wrote [1889, p. 325] "He [McNair] was never in the Lut-dih valley, or in Kafiristan proper, his experience of Kafirs being confined to the subject Kalash."

McNair concludes his report by remarking that "the Kafirs would only be too glad to open communications with the British Government, and should the idea be sooner or later entertained, I would suggest that it be undertaken under direct European control, without the intervention of Chitral or Afghanistan."

3. 1886, Simla. *Routes in Dardistan and Kafiristan*. Compiled by Captain E. G. Barrow, Bengal Staff Corps, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, Intelligence Branch, Quarter Master General's Department in India. Preliminary Edition. Incomplete: to be revised. (37 p.).

Captain Barrow, together with Dr. Giles and Colonel Woodthorpe, were members of the Gilgit Mission of 1885–86 led by Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart. Barrow subsequently prepared and published (in 1888 or 1889) a *Gazetteer of the Eastern Hindu Kush* which was issued by the Intelligence Branch, Indian Army Head Quarters, but this we have not seen.

Routes in Dardistan and Kafiristan consists of the following sections:

- Route No. 1, *Chitral to the Dorah Pass*
- Route No. 2, *Chitral to Mastuj via Drasan.*
- Route No. 3, *Chitral to Mirkani (Twarai Pass Route) via Left Bank Chitral River*
- Route No. 4, *Chitral to Zebak, via the Agram*
- Route No. 5, *Chitral to Zebak, via the Nuksan or Khatinza.*
- Route No. 6, *Darkot to the Dasht-i-Baroghhal*
- Route No. 7, *Dasht-i-Baroghhal to Mastuj*
- Route No. 8, *Drasan to Rich*
- Route No. 9, *Darsan to Sad Istragh Pass, via Gartigul Pass*
- Route No. 10, *Gabar (Ludkho Valley) to Luddeh (Kafiristan) via the Zidig Kotal*

Route No. 11, *Gakuch to Jandrot or Janjarot*

Route No. 12, *Gilgit to Hunza*

Route No. 13, *Hoti Murdan to Chitral*

Route No. 14, *Hunza to Sarhad-i-Wakhan via the Kilik Pass*

Route No. 15, *Jalalabad to Ashrat*

Route No. 16, *Kulab to Ush*

Route No. 17, *Janjarot or Jandrot to Darkot*

Route No. 18, *Jandrot or Jinjarot to Mastuj*

Route No. 19, *Luddeh (Kafiristan) to Chitral via the Shawal Pass.*

Route No. 20, *Mastuj to Chitral*

Route No. 21, *Mastuj to Jinjarot*

Route No. 22, *Sarhad-i-Wakhan to Kala Panjah*

Route No. 23, *Sarwat (Junction of Tirich and Turikho) to Rosh Gol.*

Route No. 24, *Unch and Neighbourhood to Dir*

4. 1889, London. *The Gilgit Mission, 1885–86*. By Colonel Sir W. S. A. Lockhart, K.C.B., C.S.I., Bengal Army, and Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, C.B., Royal Engineers. 448 p. 11 Chapters, 2 Appendices, Table of Contents, Index, 3 maps, 110 illus.

“In the year 1885 His Excellency Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, determined that a correct knowledge should be obtained of the Hindu-Kush range, and of the population and resources of that region. To this end a party was, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, despatched from India in the month of June of that year, under command of Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B., of the Bengal Army. . . The other officers selected were Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, R. E., Captain E. G. Barrow of the Quarter-Master General’s Department, and Surgeon G. M. J. Giles of the Indian Medical Department. Of these Colonel Woodthorpe was to survey the country, Captain Barrow was to act as staff officer, and Surgeon Giles, as well as having medical charge of the party, was to be naturalist and photographer. The escort consisted of 17 non-commissioned officers and men of the 24th Panjab Infantry, and, in addition, there were three non-commissioned officers of Bengal Cavalry and Infantry, and one of Panjab Frontier Force Infantry, who were qualified surveyors. These latter were to sup-

plement Colonel Woodthorpe's one native surveyor, and, under Captain Barrow's superintendence, to conduct route surveys on a large scale." [from the Introduction].

A list of the chapters will provide a general idea of the scope of the work:

- Chapter I, *Personnel and Equipment of the Survey Party – Manner in which the Survey Work was carried on.*
- Chapter II, *General Geographical Descriptions. Roads. Bridges. Political Geography. Communications. Climate.*
- Chapter III, *Description of Chitral and its Subordinate Districts, Hunza, Naga, and Kafiristan.*
- Chapter IV, *Wakhan and Badakhshan.*
- Chapter V, *Passes and Routes.*
- Chapter VI, *Notes on the Geology of the Districts Traversed, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter VII, *Medical Notes, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter VIII, *Natural History Notes, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter IX, *Note on Chitral.*
- Chapter X, *Military Deductions.*
- Chapter XI, *General Narrative.*
- Appendix I, *Battle of Yarkhun.*
- Appendix II, *Description of a rock-cut Figure of Buddha near Gilgit.*

“The first five chapters of this Report have been written by Colonel Woodthorpe, the sixth, seventh, and eighth by Surgeon Giles, and the three last by Colonel Lockhart, who has also furnished the Introduction.”

In September 1885 the party crossed the Zidig Pass and descended the Bashgul Valley *via* Ahmad Diwana and proceeded to Lutdeh (Baragamatal). There, after some days, Lockhart actually made a treaty with the Kafirs.

“In the afternoon a covenant, discussed on the previous day, was made by Colonel Lockhart with the three principal men of the Bashgal tribe in the upper part of the valley, and their respective sons. This was ratified by the ceremony of killing a goat and dividing its heart (which was fortunately permitted to be cooked) between the contracting parties.

“The following is the text of the agreement, a copy of which, in



Amir Abdur Rahman Khan

English, was made over to Mara to be kept by him and his successors:—

“Covenant made between Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, on the part of the British Government, and the following chiefs of the Bashgal tribe:—

1. Mara
2. Malik
3. Gulmer
4. Chandlu, son of Mara
5. Merig, son of Malik
6. Shtaluk, son of Gulmer

“In the event of an enemy of Great Britain approaching the frontiers of Kafiristan, the above-named will send all available men of their own to the threatened quarter, to hinder or repel the invader. In return I agree, on the part of the British Government, to pay the several chiefs mentioned the sum of ten rupees per mensem per man placed in the field, and to provide arms for them; the chiefs on their part agreeing to receive one British officer per 500 men so raised, as instructors and leaders.

“This agreement has been sealed by the ceremony of sharing a goat’s heart between myself and the above-mentioned chiefs.”

W. S. A. Lockhart
Colonel

Lut-dih, 1st October 1885

One admires the boldness of the concept and the aplomb with which the agreement was drawn up, while at the same time wondering how the scheme was ever to be implemented.

5. 1890, Fort William (14th January). *Confidential Report No. 965/Foreign*, from Surgeon G. S. Robertson, On Special Duty under Foreign Department, Government of India, to W. J. Cuninghame, Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department. 20 p. (Cf. *Letters from India*, vol. 59, Jan.—April, 1890).

This is Robertson’s first report, an account of his short visit to the Kam in the lower Bashgul Valley in late October 1890. Al-

though he does not dwell on it, the political nature of his travels is made clear:

“The circumstances which led to my undertaking this journey are briefly these – Last year I forwarded to the Government of India, through Colonel A. Durand, an application to be permitted to visit Kafiristan, and in my letter I explained the manner in which in my opinion the attempt could most successfully be made. . . It had been my particular wish that my little expedition should be postponed until next spring, as the delay would enable me to make all my arrangements and obtain certain information I was much in need of . . . when sanction for my journey was telegraphed to Colonel Durand through the Resident in Kashmir, it was found that my orders were to go into the Bashgal Valley in November. This was about the middle of September. Difficulties at once arose. The native surveyor, Ahmad Ali, drew back from his word, and begged in tears that he might be shot at once rather than be sent with me. He some years ago was with Colonel Tanner when the latter tried to get into Kafiristan from Jallalabad, and cannot forget his fears and troubles on that occasion. . . Colonel Durand at first thought it advisable that my journey should be abandoned altogether this year, but subsequently after much consideration decided to write and propose that I should be allowed to try and reach Kafiristan as soon as we should arrive at Chitral proper, making only a short visit and seeing the requirements of my party and discovering the chances of my receiving a friendly reception next year. Then supposing everything went satisfactorily, I was to return to India as quickly as possible and see the Foreign Secretary. Having explained to him how matters stood, permission was then to be sought to obtain such instruments, appliances, &c., as were necessary for the success of my venture next year. . . He [Durand] added that, unless he received orders to the contrary before we reached Chitral, these were the instructions I was to go upon.”

This is followed by 14 pages of mainly ethnographical information collected by Robertson in Kamdesh. The last two pages are devoted to some general political observations; see extracts below:

“As already remarked the Lower Kam people are already becoming much changed by the influence of their Muhammadan neighbours, and although they have hitherto been able to maintain their independence and keep to their own forms of faith, it

seems fairly safe to predict that they, as well as all the other Kafir tribes, cannot hope to withstand much longer their inveterate enemies, provided the latter were to form a league against them. Brave as they undoubtedly are and fearless of death, their courage and devotion would avail them nothing against the breech-loaders of Afghanistan, Chitral, and Yaghistan, while their unceasing internecine strife isolates them into small communities, which could easily be attacked and subdued in detail. It is I think merely because the Mussalmans are so constantly engaged in fighting one another that the Kafir has been allowed to exist. A strong leader who could combine the constantly warring elements into which the Pushtoo-speaking-races to the south are split up, would have no great difficulty with the help of the Amir of Kabul – or better still if he were the Amir himself – in overrunning Kafiristan and earning the coveted title of Ghazi. Daggers, bows and arrows and matchlocks would have no chance against Sniders and Martinis in the hands of ruthless men accustomed to mountain warfare and spurred on by religious zeal. The Mehtar's distrust of Umra Khan [of Jandol], the unceasing wars of the latter, and their common fear of [Amir] Abdul Rahman are a better protection to the Kafirs than the difficulties of their country and their personal intrepidity.

“. . . it seems to me a great pity that a fine vigorous race, such as the Kafirs, should ever come under the yoke of the Amir, the Mehtar, or whomever the conqueror may be, and their friendship and helpfulness lost forever to the British Government; nor is it necessary that it should be so. The doners of the rifles, the givers of subsidies, might well intimate that an invasion of Kafiristan would not meet with their approval, and if a good reason were required for this, it might be found in the fact that British Officers were travelling in the country.

“It may be utopian to suppose that the Kafir tribes could ever combine together and become a single nation, but time and devotion might reveal some common sympathy which might be used to weld them together, so as at least to enable them to oppose an united front to an invader. It would be the work of years no doubt, and no cautiousness could be too extreme.

“In the meantime much may be done by encouraging their hopeful and friendly attitude to the English, and showing them, that all advances on our part are kindly and benevolent, but all bar-

gaining and lavish present making must ever be discouraged. If once the idea that friendship is to be estimated and paid for in solid rupees, becomes prevalent amongst them, they will increase their demands until it is impossible to comply with them, and instead of remaining well disposed to us as they are at present, they will be transformed into angry dissatisfied enemies.

“The Kamdesh people, at any rate, are already not without their fears of the Afghans and Chitralis.

“In a private conclave several of the headmen of the village asked me to write to the Amir, or ask the Government of India to do so, and prevent him from attacking a certain village. My refusal was based first on the ground that my going amongst them was merely from my own private feelings of friendship and affection for them, and that being a mere traveller, the Amir would naturally pay no attention to any request of mine. Then I asked them why the Government of India should interest itself in their behalf. They (the Kafirs) were loud in their protestation of friendship, but had they ever done anything to show the truth of their assertions? Had they not prevented Colonel Lockhart from entering their country . . . ?

“They quite acquiesced and then asked me on my return in the spring to bring them a message from the Government of India, and while I was away would I tell the English people about them?

“My plan for next year differs little if at all from that submitted last July. My party will consist of a surveyor, of Syad Shah (perhaps) [see report of 3 May, 1889], and one servant. The difficulties about transport I shall try to overcome either by attempting to induce four Balti coolies to go with me or by availing myself of the proffered help of the Mehtar, who agrees to get me Kalash (slave) Kafirs as porters as far as Kamdesh.

“Adopting a son appears to attach the adopted one to you very strongly. He believes himself to be your real son to all intents and purposes, and I am not quite sure that his family do not also view you in the light of an actual relation. . . As at present advised, it would seem well for me to make one or two more adoptions of members of important families – if plurality is admissible. . . I anticipate little more than ordinary difficulty which temper and perseverance will certainly overcome. . .”

6. 1894, *Confidential Report on [a] Journey to Kafiristan*, by G. S. Robertson, C.S.I., British Agent at Gilgit, Kashmir. 187 p., map, Table of contents, index, and a Note by Major Hon. M. G. Talbot, Staff Capt., Intelligence Division, War Office, on the Map to accompany Mr. Robertson's Report on Kafiristan.

Part I. *Narrative of my Visit to Kafiristan* (pp. 4–39)

Part II. *Kafiristan and its People* (pp. 39–155)

Section I, *Geography, Description of Country, Climate.*

Section II, *Roads and Communications.*

Section III, *The Kafirs: Origin and Physical Characteristics.*

Section IV, *Kafir Character.*

Section V, *The Tribes: Their Divisions and Organisation.*

Section VI, *Villages, Houses, Household Appliances.*

Section VII, *Clothing and Ornament.*

Section VIII, *Women: Their Position, Marriage, Divorce, Home Life.*

Section IX, *Slavery.*

Section X, *Trade and Agriculture.*

Section XI, *War and Peace.*

Section XII, *Religion and the Calendar.*

Section XIII, *Miscellaneous Manners and Customs.*

Section XIV, *Political and Strategic Importance of Kafiristan.*

Part III. (pp. 156–180)

Section I, *Villages.*

Section II, *Road Report.*

Section III, *Lists of Latitudes, Longitudes, and Altitudes observed.*

Section IV, *Note on Map by Major Hon. M. G. Talbot, R. E., Intelligence Branch of the War Office.*

This is the report of Robertson's second visit to Kafiristan (Sept. 22, 1890–Oct. 24, 1891) and it establishes him, not only as a pioneer fieldworker, but also as a pioneer in political anthropology, although the term did not come into use until some 75 years after he left Kafiristan for the last time. The object of his journey was

that which is today called applied anthropology and his statement of purpose has a contemporary ring to it:

“What I myself saw and heard of the Kafirs at Chitral [in 1889] certainly helped to revive my interest in them, but perhaps that would not have been sufficient in itself to induce me to make an attempt to enter their country, if it had not been for the thought that Kafiristan was possibly destined to play an important part in Indian frontier questions in the near future. That was the point of chief interest to me. I wanted to find out the exact value of Kafiristan as a factor in the general problem how best to secure the safety of the North-West frontier of India against any possible invasion on the part of the Russians, or to prove it a *quantite negligee* in all discussions on that subject.

“In laying my proposals before Government, I had an adequate perception of the difficulties to be encountered. It would be quite useless from my point of view merely to march rapidly to a definite place, and then return quickly to Chitral. My desire was to make a comprehensive study of the peoples of Kafiristan, to examine their tribal organisation and discover their value as friendly disposed but neutral allies, or as active partisans in war: and to find out whether there was any cementing bond of union between the inhabitants of the different valleys likely on an emergency to weld the heterogeneous segments of the population into some kind of alliance which, however temporary, might still enable the Kafirs to show a united front to a common enemy. To accomplish these objects, a somewhat lengthy visit must be paid to Kafiristan. The people must be induced not only to tolerate my presence amongst them, but also to confide in me; while their statements would require to be verified by personal observation, or to be checked by the cross-examination of many different individuals.”

7. 1896, London. (7th January). *Kafiristan*, by W. L.-W. [Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary in the Political Department, India Office, 1895–1902.]

This eight page report provides a summary of background information on the Kafirs and Kafiristan and then goes on to discuss the consequences of the Durand Agreement in these terms:

“11. The agreement dated 12th November 1893, which, for brevity’s sake, I call the Durand agreement, contained this clause: “(3.) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgul valley.” “Read with the correspondence I have reviewed, there can be no doubt that Sir Mortimer Durand intended to leave with Chitral that influence over the Bashgul valley which it had always had, and with us the control over the Indian gate to Kafiristan, a valley which may be one day the outlet of a road from Badakhshan to the Kunar river, *via* the Minjan Pass. Sir Mortimer’s report, dated 20th December 1893, which dwelt on the Amir’s savage methods, and on his gradual “breaking down the independence (para. 23) of tribes which have held their own, such as the Kafirs and Hazaras,” justifies the inference that Kafiristan was not forgotten. Apart from this, the map which accompanied the agreement leaves no doubt as to the intention to save a part of Kafiristan, the Bashgul valley, from the Amir. It cut off from Afghanistan a very large part of Kafiristan, for at Chandak it boldly crossed the Kunar river, and made the southern watershed of Bashgul the limit of Afghanistan; but the Durand Convention was not observed in the delimitation. In the words of the Government of India’s letter, No. 518 F., dated 13th February 1895, to Mr. Udny, “the mistake in our maps and the convention” induced them to make an “undoubted departure”. The Amir maintained that the Arnawai and Bashgul rivers were not synonymous, the former draining into the Kunar from the east, the latter from the west. There was no doubt as to Sir Mortimer’s intentions because Chandak was mentioned, but the Amir threatened to break off negotiations unless he had “the whole of Kafiristan to its last house.” The Government of India recognised that to allow his claim was to lose the command of a route from the north through Kafiristan if ever that country was opened out, and to give the Amir in the same event a position of importance against Chitral. But it believed that our “hold upon him in other respects was much strengthened.” It might frankly regard him as “our ally” and claim his assistance, and the military value of the Faizabad-Jelalabad route *via* Bashgul was discounted by

the road from Khanabad to Charikar. It was observed that "the line which is being demarcated is not the line of British possessions or necessarily the line of British influence. It is the line beyond which the Amir undertakes to exercise no interference on the one hand and the Government of India undertake to exercise no interference on the other. Neither interferes necessarily up to the line;" and then as to the Bashgul case "the Government of India give up a piece of territory to which they do not believe that the Amir is entitled by the letter of the convention. They do so partly because a mistake was made by which His Highness may have been prejudiced." So the Kafirs were placed beyond the pale of British protection, and, at the same time, of Chitral protection upon which they had for so many years relied. The sequel is known. The Amir's forces, full of religious zeal, are encompassing the country. It is reported that orders have been issued to exterminate the Kafirs, and that every child over seven years is to be killed. Birkot is held by eight regiments. Istorgat is held by Mer Jan, a Kafir, friendly to the Amir because he has quarrelled with other Kafirs. Troops are at Munjan and Zebak, and there seems no possible escape for the Kafirs. At one time even an asylum in Chitral was about to be denied them, but, in accordance with the Secretary of State's orders, refugees from any Afghan atrocities are now to be allowed a refuge in Chitral."

8. 1896, London. (24th January). *Secret Memorandum on British Relations with Afghanistan*, by W. Lee-Warner.

A seven page report by the Secretary of the Political Department, India Office, in which he analyzes the behaviour of the Amir Abdur Rahman in the light of various agreements drawn up between Afghanistan and the Government of India, concluding that "the people of Afghanistan are grossly misruled"; that the Amir's rule "has weakened the tribes, promoted discontent, smothered trade, and failed to secure friendly relations with the British Government." Nevertheless, he continues, "the British Government, wishing to see Afghanistan strong and independent, granted free purchase and import of war munitions, and undertook to raise the subsidy from 12 lakhs to 18 a year." Sir William then lists the Amir's numerous anti-British violations of agreement,

his treatment of tribes such as the Hazaras and Kafirs, and finally to remark that "the immediate question is whether the Amir should not be brought sharply to book and made to understand that the subsidy and free arms involve a friendly return. The question in the back ground is whether we must at all costs maintain the integrity of Afghanistan."

Sir William urges that the British Government be prepared to act in the event of the Amir's death or revolt against his "intolerable misrule". He suggests that the result might be the partition of Afghanistan with the British maintaining Eastern Afghanistan – "The Kandahar-Kabul Alignment" – as a protectorate. "Finally, may it not be possible and wise to come to terms with Russia on the subject of a division? . . . If the Amir does not amend his ways, it would seem that the withdrawal of his subsidy and arms would bring him to his senses, and involve the least risk of more serious complications. Some indication of this danger might be made on the next occasion that a warning is addressed to him. From all accounts the Amir will not be long in giving us an opportunity."

II. Secret & Political Letters from India and Trans-Frontier Memoranda

Extracts from the diaries of the British Agent at Kabul; the Political Officer, Khyber; the Political Officer, Peshawar; the Political Officer, Chitral; the Political Officer, Gilgit; and other sources.

6th June, 1885 (Confidential) *Simla, no. 1043 F.*

From – W. J. Cuningham, Esq., for Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.

To – Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B.

I am directed to send you the following general instructions for your guidance during your absence beyond the British frontier.

2. You are requested in the first place to make your way through Kashmir and Gilgit to Chitral. On arrival there, you will enter into friendly relations with Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, and will endeavour with his assistance to obtain full information regarding Chitral and the neighbouring districts subject to his control. You will

report upon the material resources of this country, upon the number and condition of its inhabitants, upon the routes and passes leading through and from it, and generally upon all matters likely to prove of interest to the Government of India.

3. In the second place you should endeavour, if possible, to penetrate into Kafiristan, and explore it thoroughly. You will, of course, be careful to run no unnecessary risks in so doing, and you will remember that your primary object is to gain the goodwill of the inhabitants. You will, therefore, avoid pressing for admission to any part of the country which they do not wish you to visit. But if you find that you are welcome, and that your movements are unrestricted, you should make full use of your opportunities. The Government of India desires to gain all possible information regarding the country and its people, and regarding the passes leading from Kafiristan across the Hindu Kush. In this last respect, however, you must exercise special caution. It is not desirable at present that you should cross from Kafiristan into any of the Afghan districts, and it would be well if the fact of your presence in Kafiristan could remain altogether unknown to the Afghan authorities. Therefore you should, as far as practicable, avoid touching the Afghan border.

7. All correspondence between the Government of India and the officers of your party will pass through you, and I am to add that there must be no correspondence with the newspapers or with geographical or scientific journals and societies. You and the officers subordinate to you may rest assured that your exertions and theirs will be duly appreciated by the Governor-General in Council, but once your party has crossed the frontier the less the public hears of it the better.

15th August, 1885 (*Manuscript letter from Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary in India, to Sir Owen Tudor Burne.*)

. . . The passes over the Hindu Kush into Wakhan and Badakshan will I hope be thoroughly examined by Lockhart and his party – who reached Gilgit some days ago. Lockhart is instructed to make friends with Aman ul Mulk of Chitral, and to explore as thoroughly as possible the country under the Hindu Kush to the north and north east. He is also if possible to penetrate into Kafiristan and examine the passes in that direction.

I send you herewith a copy of the written orders which I was authorized to give him. They were of course supplemented by a good many conversations, and we went over the maps together with much care. Lockhart thoroughly understands what he has to do, and will I think succeed if success is possible. He has a turn for dealing with Asiatics, and is a man of considerable character – good tempered and patient, but very determined. I saw a good deal of him in Kabul where we were shut up together by the Afghans during the winter of 1879–80.

Lockhart has with him a survey officer of experience – Woodthorpe – a Doctor – Giles – and an assistant from the Intelligence Branch – Capt. Barrow. He takes with him a score of men from his regt. Chiefly Sikhs I believe – and some arms and other presents. So far Aman ul Mulk seems friendly and the Cashmere people are doing all they can to help.

You will see that Lockhart has been told to avoid publicity, and no one here has yet got hold of the Kafiristan idea. The Amir has extracts sent him from the Indian papers, and it is just as well he should know nothing about this part of the affair. I have always been a little afraid of his turning our breech loaders upon the independent tribes, and especially upon the Kafirs. Their subjugation would be a startling coup, and the idea might occur to him if they were talked about. Moreover it is not desirable to publish Lockhart's movements for the Russians.

The despatch of Lockhart's party might perhaps have been reported officially with advantage besides being put in the monthly journal, and I will now send extracts from the correspondence if the Viceroy has no objections.

Yours sincerely
H. M. Durand

28th August, 1885. *Simla, No. 151. Government of India, Foreign Dept. Secret/Frontier.*

To: The Right Honourable Lord Randolph Churchill, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

We have the honor to forward the papers specified in the margin [Letter no. 1043 F., dated the 6th of June 1885, to Colonel Lock-

hart; Letter no. 8 C.-K., dated the 10th of June, from Colonel Lockhart; Letter no. 215 B., dated the 26th of May 1885, to the Adjutant-General in India, Military Department] relative to the despatch of a mission under the command of Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B., through Kashmir and Gilgit to Chitral and Kafiristan.

2. Our object in sending Colonel Lockhart at this time is to establish friendly relations with the ruler of Chitral, Mehtar Amanul-Mulk, and to obtain accurate information on the routes and passes, the resources, and the inhabitants of Chitral and the country to the north-east under the Hindu Kush.

3. We further desire to establish friendly relations, if possible, with Kafiristan, and to improve the scanty information which we possess regarding that country.

4. Colonel Lockhart reached Gilgit on the 29th of July and left for Chitral after a halt of 10 days. He has been somewhat delayed by the unusual amount of snow remaining this year in the Kashmir passes.

5. For reasons which it is unnecessary to explain we have not made public the precise objects of this mission.

We have the honor to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

(signed) Dufferin
(and six other officials)

April, 1886. *Letters from India*. vol. 47, May-Aug. 1886. *Memo-
randum of Information Regarding the Course of Affairs Beyond
the N.W. Frontier* Rec'd During month of April, 1886.

Colonel Lockhart's party after wintering at Gilgit are again starting for Kafiristan. Last year they were prevented by the Kaffirs from proceeding beyond Luddeh [Baragamatal] because they had Chitralis in their train.

Their present intention is to try and reach Verrah, *via* Hunza, Wakhan and Badakshan, but His Highness [the Amir of Afghanistan] has expressed his opinion that the British Government intend to annex Kafiristan. An assurance to the contrary has been sent to His Highness.

It is doubtful whether Ghazan Kahn, the Chief of Hunza, will

allow the party to pass through his territory. Up to the last accounts Colonel Lockhart had been unsuccessful with him, and it is said that the Chief has referred the matter to the Chinese Government. Should Colonel Lockhart fail to get through Hunza he will again attempt to enter Kaffiristan, *via* Chitral, but if possible unattended by Chitralis. In any case he will probably join hands with the Afghan Boundary Commission, if they return to India from that direction.

9th July, 1886. *Letters from India*. vol. 47. Letter no. 116, dated the 9th July, 1886.

Badakshan – Mr. Ney Elias left the Boundary Commission Camp at the end of April on his way back to Badakshan, *via* Shiberghan. He arrived at Fyzabad on the 23rd May. Being in bad health, he is returning to India with Colonel Lockhart's party.

Dir and Chitral

Colonel Lockhart's Mission arrived safely at Zebak on the 10th June, and he was near the Dorah pass on the 17th of June. The Amir has promised to help them in his own territory, but strongly objects to the Mission visiting Kaffiristan. Colonel Lockhart will return to India as soon as possible, to take up the duties of Quartermaster-General, and Colonel Woodthorpe will probably bring the Mission back *via* Chitral, after entering Kafiristan from Chitral country if he finds it safe to do so.

30th July, 1886. *Letters from India*. vol. 47. Letter no. 131, dated the 30th July, 1886.

Abstract of the Contents of a Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 131.

2 Feb. 1886. To His Highness Abdul Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies.

Asks if His Highness has any objection to letting Colonel Lockhart pass by Wakhan and Badakhshan into Kafiristan as soon as the winter is over.

25th March, 1886. To His Highness, etc.

Reminds His Highness of the above request, and asks him to issue orders to his frontier officials on the subject.

23rd March, 1886. From His Highness Abdul Rahman Khan, G.S.C.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies.

Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 2 February 1886, and consents to Colonel Lockhart entering Kafiristan from Badakhshan. Adds that he has instructed his frontier officials to look after him.

22nd April, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Thanks His Highness for the above letter, and states that Colonel Lockhart has been informed.

10th April, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 25th March, 1886, and states that he cannot understand the object of the Mission to Kafiristan. Withdraws his consent to party going there by Badakhshan until the real object of the movement is explained.

22nd April, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

In reply explains that the object is simply to gain information of the country and its people, and assures His Highness that the British Government have never had any thought of occupying Kafiristan.

7th May, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Acknowledges receipt of the above letter, and adheres to his decision not to let the party enter Kafiristan from Badakhshan.

9th June, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Replies to the above letter, and informs His Highness that Colonel Lockhart has already marched for Wakhan. The Viceroy trusts His Highness will alter his decision.

14th June, 1886, No. 1075 F. Telegram to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Directs him to send a special post to Colonel Lockhart, informing him that the Commander-in-Chief wishes him to officiate as Quarter-master-General, and telling him to hand over the charge of the Mission to Colonel Woodthorpe. Requests him to inform the Amir, and to ask him to help Colonel Lockhart through.

16th June, 1886, No. 1092 F. Telegram to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Directs him to send a message urgently to the Amir that Colonel Lockhart's Mission are reported to be in great difficulty owing to want of money and supplies, and that the Viceroy trusts His Highness will issue immediate orders to ensure them hospitable and friendly treatment.

22nd June, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan. Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 9th June, 1886, and refuses to let Colonel Lockhart's party enter Kafiristan while the question of the Turi disturbances remain pending.

26th June, 1886, No. 7 C. From the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Forwards a letter received from the Amir promising to assist Colonel Lockhart on his return journey, but adhering to his refusal to let the party visit Kafiristan.

23rd July, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan. Intimates that Colonel Lockhart's party has been withdrawn from Afghanistan.

3rd August, 1886. *Letters from India*. vol. 47. *Translation of a Letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept., No. 62, dated Paghman, the 3rd August, 1886.*

[para. 8] While taking meals I told the Amir:— “The Government of India wishes to have a map of Kafiristan or to obtain information from anyone who knows the geography of that country and is acquainted with its passes.” His Highness thereupon said:— “I have seen the borders of Kafiristan, but I cannot make a correct map of the country. I will draw a map for your information.” His Highness then drew a map with his own hand, a copy of which I forward herewith. His Highness told me not to send it to Government till a correct and complete one was made, and added that there might be mistakes in it. I asked His Highness whether there was any pass in it, which might lead to Badakhshan and India. His Highness replied – “There is no outlet on the other side. In the Chaghatai reign people entered the Darrah-i-Nur and came out at Badakhshan. This is the shortest road, but it is very narrow. A man riding on horseback would have to go two miles riding and two miles on foot.” The Dabir [دبیر, secretary] was ordered to write to the authorities at Kunar, Darrah-i-Nur, Lumkan (Laghman), Tagao, Nijrao, Panjsher, Indrao, Khost, Faizabad, Jarm, Shah Nasir Khisrau, and Anjuman, calling on them to send to Kabul any merchants, who might be trading with the interior of Kafiristan. His Highness said that information would

be collected from such men and a map would be prepared. His Highness then said – “The Afghan frontier extends from Kunar to the borders of Chitral. Chitral and Asmar are the only places not included in Afghanistan. Last year the Mihtar of Chitral had designs on Asmar. The people of that place applied to me for help. I wrote to the Mihtar to dispel such an idea from his mind, else there will be fighting. Kafiristan is situated on both sides of the Himalayas and is populated also on both sides.” I asked the Amir whether there was a road from Kafiristan to Swat. His Highness replied that the road terminates at Kunar. His Highness then said – “The length of Kafiristan is about 60 miles in a straight line.”

14th April, 1887. *Letters from India*. vol. 50. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*, No. 7, dated the 14th April, 1887.

Kafiristan

4. A deputation of about 60 men of the Siah Posh Kafir country went to Kabul, and the Amir granted them dresses of honor and some money presents, and it is stated that he has sent with them 18 Muhammadan religious leaders to induce the people of the country to submit to him. It may be noted here that Mullah Khalil, a religious leader of the Mohmand country, attacked two villages of the Kafir country last year and forced them to submit to the Amir.

18th October, 1887. *Letters from India*. vol. 51. *Translation of a letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.*, No. 83, dated Kabul, the 18th of October, 1887.

After compliments.— I beg to represent that . . . His Highness came back to the citadel on Saturday and held a Darbar [دربار, Court], which I attended. His Highness enquired after my health and I occupied by seat.

Five Kafir girls and a Kafir woman, who had a child in her arms, were presented before the Amir, who said – “They should be appraised. Half the price should be paid into the State treasury, and the other half should be given to the person, who brought them.” Accordingly they were valued at Rs. 400, Rs. 200 of

which was given to the person, who had brought them. I asked His Highness – “Have they been recently brought?” His Highness replied – “Yes. People always bring them. Sometimes the Kafirs catch the Afghans and carry them away. I prevented the (Lockhart) Mission (from entering Kafiristan) thinking that it might intercede on behalf of the Kafirs, i.e., that nothing should be said to them, and thus it would incur the anger of the Afghans.” I represented – “The object of the Mission in visiting that country was to obtain geographical knowledge of the place and its roads, and to prepare a map thereof. It had no other object in view. With this view Europeans travel all over the world and obtain geographical knowledge of countries, and do not care for the money they have to spend or for the hardships they have to undergo.”

21st Nov. 1887. *Letters from India*. vol. 51. *Minute Paper/Political Dept.* Dated the 21st November, 1887.

Subject: *Gilgit/Kafiristan Mission*. – Compilation of a report by Gen. Lockhart and Col. Woodthorpe.

No report of the information collected by this Mission having been compiled, the Gov't of India propose that Brigadier-Gen. W. S. A. Lockhart, Bengal Infantry, and Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., may be placed on special duty in England for a period of 6 months in order to write a complete account of their travels with this Mission. . . The preparation of such a report is very desirable and the information collected by the Mission should certainly be recorded. . . [See also Dufferin's letter to Viscount Cross, dated Simla, the 31st October, 1887, in *Letters from India*, vol. 51.]

17th April, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 53. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 17th April, 1888.

Kafiristan and Kunar

5. Ten Siahposh Kafirs arrived in Jalalabad by way of Kattar [Katar] to pay their respects to the Amir. They said their country contained three thousand families at feuds with each other. They asked the Amir to support them with fire-arms; they would force their tribesmen also to submit to him. The Amir agreed and

wrote to Colonel Muhammad Amin in Kunar to assist them. On their return journey with khillats [خلعت, robe of honour] from the Amir, Bangi Malik of the Safi tribe, resident of the Dewa Ghol Pass (independent territory) killed them in the said pass. The Sufi Regiment and the Artillery in Shewa have moved towards the Mazar Pass and not towards Kafirstan as had been first intended.

8th May, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 53. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*, letter No. 67, dated 8th May, 1888.

The visit of Tamasp Khan, the Chief of Asmar, to the Amir, was mentioned in the last journal. The Amir twitted him with want of courage for not attacking Umra Khan of Jandol; but before his departure he received a handsome khillat, and the Amir conferred upon him an annual allowance. . . A pledge is said to have been taken from him to prevail on the Siahposh Kafirs to wait on the Amir; to have the khutba [خطبه, sermon] read in His Highness's name in the mosques in Asmar; and to help in constructing the road from Jalalabad through Kattar to Chitral. Since the Khan's return to his country, the Amir has had to send 300 cavalry to his aid, the Khan declaring that his friendship with His Highness had given rise to a general feeling of hostility against him. It is reported, moreover, that the tribe has compelled him to promise never again to visit the Amir.

Several Kafirs have come in to the Amir at his summons. In Darbar and elsewhere the Amir has threatened the invasion of their country unless they make their submission; and has pointed out to them that allegiance to him would be more profitable than their allegiance to the Ruler of Chitral. At the beginning of March His Highness told the officers of the army that he intended sending an expedition against the Kafirs after the Nauroz. Since then the Sufi regiment has started for Kattar, which may possibly be the first step in this direction. On the 23rd March a party of Kafirs arrived at Jalalabad and agreed to become Afghan subjects. They were dismissed with khillats, but on their way back to their homes, they were attacked and killed by a malik of the Safi tribe.

Chitral has not been beyond the scope of His Highness's intrigues, in spite of his assertions to the contrary. . . Latterly, the Amir

appears to be working against Aman-ul-Mulk, from whom he is trying to withdraw the Kafirs now owing him allegiance.

31 May, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 9, dated the 31st May, 1888.

14. *Bajaur and Kafiristan*

The Amir's troops in Kattar on the border of the Siahposh Kafir territory are said to have made an attempt to encroach upon that territory. They had been opposed, and the construction of the road from Jalalabad *via* Kunar towards Kattar had been interrupted. If a collision were to occur the people of Bajaur intended siding with the Siahposh Kafirs.

16th June, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*, No. 10, dated the 16th June, 1888.

The Amir and Independent Tribes – Khyber, Bajaur, Kafiristan, Chitral, &c.

13 (C.) Muhammad Mattab Nazir, a trusted agent of Muhammad Sharif Khan, Khan of Dir, arrived recently in Peshawar, and is reported to have stated as follows:— When the Khan of Asmar was in attendance upon the Amir at Jalalabad about three months ago, Ram Malik, an influential headman of Kamdesh in the Siahposh Kafir country, waited upon the Amir, and His Highness treated him with much consideration. In his conversation with the Amir, Ram Malik said that the Amir was a great and powerful ruler, but that it was a pity that he had not supported Sher Afzal, disaffected half-brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, so as to retain a hold upon Chitral. (N.B. – By the Amir's arrangements, Sher Afzal is at present in the Jarram fort in Badakhshan, not far from the Chitral frontier). The Amir replied that he was considering this question. This information was then immediately conveyed from Jalalabad to Aman-ul-Mulk by his friends, and he placed a few armed men on the Asmar road to seize Ram Malik – they did so, and put him to death. Aman-ul-Mulk, to avoid the Amir's suspicions, gave out that a Siahposh Kafir, who had lately been converted to the Muhammadan faith and had become a follower of Shah Baba of Dir, had killed Ram Malik. Muhammad Sherif Khan, Khan of Dir, sent a message to Shah

Baba, asking him to expell the alleged assassin of Ram Malik or make him over to Dir to turn out of Bajaur or to send to the Amir. Shah Baba took no notice of the communication of the Khan of Dir, and when Aman-ul-Mulk received information of it, he at once wrote to Dir to desist from such intentions, and added that he would arrange for a reconciliation between Dir and Umra Khan of Jandol. Muhammad Sharif Khan was not, however, disposed to make peace with Jandol, and had sent Miyan Rahat Shah, Kaka Khel, to Chitral to advise Aman-ul-Mulk to trouble himself no further in this matter.

It was not known with what object the Amir occupied Kattar and disturbed the Siahposh Kafir country. It was conjectured that he intended to work against Aman-ul-Mulk, so that the latter might leave Chitral and move towards Gilgit, or that the Chitral and Badakhshan routes might be brought to meet a road through Kunar, Asmar, Chitral, and Zibak. It was not thought likely that the Amir would send a military expedition against Bajaur.

14 (b). The Amir was endeavouring to construct a road through Kafiristan to Badakhshan, but the Shinwaris of Shingal with the connivance of such Bajaur tribes as the Mahmuds and Salarazai of Babakar gave much trouble to the six hundred Khasaders [خاصہ دار] (irregulars) in Kattar; supplies and money sent to them were plundered, and raids and murders were committed. The Amir was not constructing this road in Russian interest but for himself. He had collected some crores of rupees in Badakhshan and Kabul, and if a rupture occurred between him and the British Government he could hardly venture into Turkistan as he could not trust Sardar Muhammad Ishak Khan. He would therefore escape by this route and remain in Badakhshan under the protection of Russia; success in constructing the above road was very doubtful, because so many independent tribes were living on it and were strong enough to oppose its completion.

23rd June, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 23rd June, 1888.

The Amir and Khyber and Kafiristan

A deputation of Siahposh Kafirs consisting of four headmen, *viz.*, Surjandat of Kamozi [Katir], Tabnik of Payam, Marya of Auranchba [Zhönchigal] and Kannudaul of Nashi [Nishei], and

forty men are reported to have arrived in Kunar through Kazi Amirulla Khan, head Kazi [قاضی, judge]. Rs. 800 has been paid for their expenses from Chighan Serai to Pishat, and they are well entertained.

They were afraid that the Amir would not take possession of their country, but merely construct the proposed road through it. He would not interfere with their religion, but they should adopt the Muhammadan dress. They were to go to Kabul.

16th August, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 15, dated the 16th August, 1888.

Kunar and Kafiristan

15. On account of the recent rebellious and hostile conduct of the Sangu Khel Shinwaris, the attitude of the Sufi tribe of Mazar and Shamashat on the Kunar border, who had been peaceful for some time past, has changed. They committed a raid between Nurgal and Islampur, killed a few travellers, and damaged the road. The Amir's brigadier in Chowki went to Kattar and sent Kazi Saif-ud-din of Chighanserai to the people of Shingal to advise them to visit the brigadier and enlist themselves among the friends and dependants of the Amir, who had no intention to take revenue or levies from them, and only desired to employ them in some work in Kunar, Pech, and Kafiristan. No reply had been given by the people of Shingal.

Sayad Ghulam Jan, Governor of Nurgal, Shewa and Shiggi, had lately received a letter from the Amir to appoint a specialist to travel *via* Darrah Nur, Kalman and Shingal to trace a way through the hills as far as Badakhshan and Kunduz, so that if practicable a road might be constructed. In compliance with these instructions, Sayad Ghulam Jan had appointed Sayad Kamal, son of Sayad Hashim, resident of Shiggi, on this special duty, the said Sayad being the religious adviser in the above-mentioned countries. Sayad Ghulam Jan had remarked in an audience that the Amir desired to construct three roads as follows towards Badakhshan and Kunduz:—

- I. *Via* Chighanserai and Kotal-i-Babarghab.
- II. *Via* Darrah Nur.
- III. *Via* Samhan, Farrashghan, and the Siaposh Kafir country.

His Highness had commenced a fourth road from Kattar to the village of Salim in Shingal.

Kafiristan

17. Since the murder of Ram Malik, the head of the Kamoj Siahposh Kafirs, by the followers of Shah Baba of Bajaur, reported in previous diaries, the Siaposh Kafirs commit raids on the Lahori [Lowari Pass], Shahi, Deshan, and Upper Baroul roads, and without a strong guard, no convoys can pass. Many Muhammadans have been killed.

Kafirs and Mahmunds made a combined attack on the fort of Kattar, and Brigadier Muhammad Amin, commanding the Kabul troops in Nurgal, repulsed the marauders. He seized some of them, and again released them without inflicting any punishment. The Kafirs made another raid on a village between Kattar and Chighanserai and carried off three boys.

29th August, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 55. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 16, dated the 29th August, 1888.

The Amir, Kafiristan, and Dir

10. The same correspondent [unidentified] reports that on the 4th August Biyaj Balli, a representative headman of the Piyam Siahposh Kafir section, who live four marches beyond Kattar, and whose country is only three marches to Badakshan, arrived in Kunar *via* Chighanserai, Kattar and Gambir. Some Safi headmen and Mulla Muhammad Sarwar, Akhunzada, the religious adviser of the Pech Pass of the Safi country, escorted him to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, who gave some presents to the Safi headmen and dismissed them.

(b) Some people of Shingal, Baraul, and Safi countries attacked the Siahposh Kafir village of Chiniyar, a fight took place and resulted in much bloodshed. The Muhammadans burnt the village, killed Malik Jaimal, the Kafir headman of the village, and brought his women and children as prisoners to Shingal.

September, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 55. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*.

Muhammad Sharif Khan and Communications between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Trans-Border Chiefs.

17. The following statements made by Bahadur Khan . . . give an account of his mission by the Khan of Dir to the British Government. . .

Statement of Bahadur Khan, Agent of Muhammad Sharif Khan, Khan of Dir, made on the 5th September 1888, in three petitions. Petition II –

My verbal instructions from the Khan of Dir are to make the following representations. . .

The Khan states that during his lifetime his deceased father was in friendly communication with the British Government; when the people of Sind made preparations to attack Mr. McNair, the Khan and his deceased father were engaged in fighting with Umra Khan of Jandol, and they at once abandoned all operations and went to Sind and protected Mr. McNair against the fanatics, and guarded him as far as Chitral. The Khan entertained hopes that the British Government would appreciate and recognize this service. . . [The Khan of Dir then recounts his efforts to establish relations with the British Government. He wishes to purchase rifles and requests that a British Agent be appointed to Dir where he would eventually live 'publicly and permanently'. . . Petition III is a request that Bahadur Khan be granted a passport to travel to Hyderabad to establish friendly relations between the Nizam and the Khan of Dir.]

(A) In November last Hussain Shah, Miyan Kaka Khel of the Peshawar district, not the Hussain Shah, Miyan, who accompanied Mr. McNair to Swat, Bajaur, and Chitral, went to Chitral together with Muhammad Afzal, Miyan, originally a resident of Bajaur, and for sometime past in the service of the Nizam of Deccan, Hyderabad. They advised Aman-ul-Mulk to enter into a matrimonial alliance and give his daughter to the Nizam. Aman-ul-Mulk refused on the ground that they had brought no letter to the above effect to his address from the Nizam, and he gave them a Siahposh Kafir girl of 10 or 12 years of age to take to the Nizam. Hussain Shah and Muhammad Afzal, together with the girl, are in the Ziarat of Kaka Sahib, Peshawar district, and they will take her in a few days to the Nizam. . .

Kafiristan

18. With reference to the Siahposh Kafir girl mentioned in the last paragraph, Bahadur Khan adds that the girl belongs to a

religious adviser of the Kamdesh section of the Siahposh Kafir tribe, and that three months ago when he was in the service of the ruler of Chitral a Kamdesh deputation, consisting of Mal-dang, Mihr Jan, Buritaj, and other headmen complained before him that the ruler of Chitral had taken Rs. 300 from Hussain Shah and Muhammam Afzal, and had given the girl to them contrary to the wishes of her parents. These Kafirs were much pleased with Colonel Lockhart, and he had held out hopes to them that the British Government would consider any petition from them. They now desire the Government to intervene and return the girl to them. They were at enmity with Afghans and could not travel through Afghan territory; but if the British Government returned the girl, they would go to British territory through Gilgit and Kashmir.

3rd May, 1889. *Letters from India*. vol. 57. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 3rd of May, 1889.

Kafiristan

24. Gulab Khan adds that Sayad Shah, a catechist of the Peshawar Missionaries, went to Kafiristan in October 1888 *via* Kashmir, and is now preaching among the Kamdesh Siahposh Kafirs. The headmen of this section of the tribe are Diwan Mulk, Marjan, Mir Hazar, Ashtaluf, Mullai, Kal and Wisa. The whole section appreciate the Christian religion, and if Sayad Shah or any other missionary live long in the country and continue to preach, a large number of the people might accept that religion. These people have no books on religion, and their chief pride is the assassination of persons of other religions. Gulab Khan quotes a story that a Siahposh Kafir on being asked why the tribe was addicted to bloodshed, and why it did not fear God, replied that Abu Jahl was its prophet who had killed many Muhammadans; that it is therefore the duty of the tribesmen to kill as many people as possible and thus earn the title of 'Goki' and go to heaven. They call their God 'Umra', and their religious leader is called 'Pi'. The men occupy themselves with killing animals and birds, and women do all agricultural and household work.

(b) About the 3rd April, five men of the Khan of Dir, on their way back from Aman-ul-Mulk, Ruler of Chitral, were attacked

and killed by a party of Siahposh Kafir raiders in the Lahori [Lowari] Pass, and the guns, swords, spears and other property in their possession were carried off. A few residents of Chitral accompanied the men of Dir, but they were not molested by the raiders.

(c) It is reported from independent Mohmand territory that a deputation of 200 Chomiya Kafirs has gone to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir's sons.

24th August, 1889. *Letters from India*. vol. 58. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 24th of August, 1889.

Kafiristan

20. Bij Balli, a representative headmen of Waikal [Waigal] Siahposh Kafirs, and 60 tribesmen, have arrived in Kunar on their way to Kabul. The Amir desires them to attend in Mazar-i-Sharif to arrange for a road through Kunar and Kafiristan to Badakhshan. Bij Balli waited on the Amir last year at Kabul.

A report received through the Khyber states that the Amir intends despatching three regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and three batteries of artillery into Kafiristan *via* Hazarastan and Bandol, and after some months' stay in the country these troops are to go to Badakhshan.

10th September, 1889. *Letters from India*. vol. 58. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 12, dated the 10th of September, 1889.

The Amir and Kafiristan

5. On the 1st June, Aman-ul-Mulk received a letter from Umra Khan of Jandol, stating that it was his intention to wage a religious war against the Siahposh Kafirs, as they always killed travellers and committed other offences. It had been decided that the Jandol, Nawagai, Salarzai and Asmar forces should advance *via* Asmar, and that Dir, Swati and Painsa Khel levies should advance through the Lahori Pass. Umra Khan begged that Aman-ul-Mulk should take no offence, as he (Umra Khan) was only performing a duty which was consistent with the Muhammadan religion. The Mehtar and the Kafirs were alarmed, and the Kafir elders and agents of the Mehtar visited Shah Baba and Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir, and the Kafirs entered into an agree-

ment that they would not in future commit bloodshed or any other injury to Muhammadan travellers. Since then the Lahori Pass and other roads had not been infested, and were quite safe for travellers.

Fighting was going on between Kafirs for some days past, and one party had sent agents to the ruler of Chitral for assistance. Last year two Kaka Khel Mians were killed in the Lahori Pass by Siahposh Kafirs, and the ruler of Chitral took as a penalty from the offenders a Kafir boy, and gave him as compensation to the heirs of the deceased. These heirs lately advanced a claim for further compensation, stating that four murders had been committed, and two thousand rupees had been plundered. The Mehtar summoned a deputation from the Kafir country, and they stated that the murders had been committed by the command of Shahi Malik, Rahat Shah Mian, and Harifulla Mian. The Mehtar allowed them to return to their own country, and told the complainants that he would not arrange for further compensation. Rumours prevailed in Chitral that the Amir had a firm intention to attack Kafiristan, and that he would send his household from Balkh to Kabul through Badakhshan by the following route, *viz.*, Manjan, Lower Qauran, Upper Qauran, Ajband, Paryan and Panjsher. This road takes only seven days between Badakhshan and Kabul.

Jandol and Chitral

Umra Khan of Jandol has, with the connivance of the Khan of Asmar, built a fort in Harnoi on the Chitral border. He has given out that he will keep this fort only during such time as he is engaged in operations with Siahposh Kafirs.

8th January, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 59. *Translation of a letter from Sayyid Diwan Muhammad, British Agency Munshi at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 3, dated Kabul, the 8th of January, 1890.*

After compliments: . . . People of Afghanistan used to bring Kafir girls and sell them in the town for prices offered in proportion to their beauty by the purchasers, who used to make them their slave girls. The Amir has lately ordered that no one should do so now, because the trans-border Maliks have promised to pay

revenue. Occasionally 5 or 7 (Maliks) come at a time. Those who come receive khilats and go back to their country with their expenses paid. For this reason the Amir has prevented people from kidnapping their girls. The old custom has been stopped. Now those people, who bring Kafir girls, give 60 goats, a handkerchief, and a few yards of chintz to the parents of the girls, and they willingly give their daughters to people, who thus pay them about Rs. 350.

24th February, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 59. *Translation of a letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 16, dated Mazar-i-Sharaf, the 24th February, 1890.*

After compliments. – I attended the Darbar held by His Highness on Saturday. . .

Some people made a complaint against the Shah of Munjan, stating that the Shah in collusion with the people of Kafiristan did not allow them to go to that country. . . His Highness said – “My men went to Kafiristan and counted that there were remaining only 2,500 houses of Kafirs. I will send at first a messenger to them during the spring, informing them that, if they become willingly my subjects, it will be better for them, and wherever the Kafirs become Muhammadan of their own free will, I shall not establish any military station there; and I shall appoint Khassadars and build forts in those villages, the inhabitants of which will remain Kafirs, and will agree to pay the ‘Jazia’; but if the Kafirs do not agree to the proposals made by the messenger, I will depute my troops and tribesmen during the spring to make them my subjects.” . . . The Darbar was over at about 4 o’clock when it began to rain and snow.

17th April, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 59. *Letter from Gen. W.S.A. Lockhart to Edmund Neel, Assistant Secretary, Political & Secret Department, India Office, London, dated the 17th April, 1890.*

My dear Neel

I return, with many thanks, Dr. Robertson's report [of 14 January, 1890]. He makes some very curious blunders. e.g. says "The Kamdesh people speak with wonder as well as dissatisfaction at the splendid gifts given to the upper Kam people (their enemies) by Colonel Lockhart, and openly say that this is the real reason they would not let him pursue his journey down the Bashgul Valley." Now, apart from the very apparent absurdity of supposing that any savages would object to people entering their country with gifts because their enemies also had had gifts, the Kamdesh people had no say in the matter. We wanted to go to Virran – the *red* Kafir capital, and, when thwarted in that, suggested that we might go on south to the Kamdesh people, but my hosts in the upper valley would not hear of this and turned us bodily out of Kafiristan altogether. Robertson is either an ass, or has never read our report – or doesn't believe it.

Yours sincerely,
Lockhart

11th July, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 60. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 11th of July, 1890.

[Umra Khan of Jandol has conquered Dir]

III. *Interview between Shah Baba and Umra Khan*

On the 21st June, Shah Baba met Umra Khan in conference. . . . At first Shah Baba congratulated Umra Khan on the successful termination of his operations against Muhammad Sherif Khan [Khan of Dir], and then Umra Khan asked him to let him know what his wish and will were. Shah Baba replied that this world was transitory and everything passed like dreams, and nothing was superior to acquiring a good name and reputation, and this could only be earned by a religious war being waged against the Siahposh Kafirs, and compelling them to accept the Muhammadan religion.

These Siahposh Kafirs had become addicted to highway robbery and assassination of Muhammadans, and it was lawful according to the Muhammadan law to take measures for their general slaughter unless and until they became Muhammadans. The English had secured the friendship of these Kafirs, and frequently went through Kashmir and Chitral to visit Kafiristan, and it was

desirable to stop such intercourse between the English and the people of Kafiristan. Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, was also an infidel, inasmuch as he associated with English, Dogras, and Kafirs, and a religious war against him was also lawful. If Umra Khan gave effect to the above advice of Shah Baba, it would add to his fame, wealth and prosperity, and then Swat might come under his sway without any fight. After success in all these undertakings, the title of Amir would be given to Umra Khan. . .

In reply to the above, Umra Khan said that he had made up his mind to act according to this advice of Shah Baba, and desired him to accept the appointment of 'Sheikh-ul-Islam'. Shah Baba replied that he could do nothing at present without instructions from the family of his spiritual leader, the late Akhund of Swat, but that he would be able to make all arrangements for him when he was successful in the proposed war against infidels. It was not advisable to undertake such operations at present, as Chitral might offer resistance with the assistance of Dogras of Kashmir and troops of the British Government. Umra Khan had better wait till the road between Chitral and Kashmir had been closed with snow, and the country now acquired by him had become thoroughly peaceful.

IV. *Umra Khan's Aspirations*

Umra Khan agreed to the advice of Shah Baba, and postponed all military operations until the end of September 1890, and returned to Jandol on the 26th June. Many religious characters and notables of Bajaur visited him and offered congratulations and assistance for the proposed religious war. . . He [Umra Khan] is also collecting arms and ammunitions, and making preparations for an advance on Kafiristan soon after September.

VI. *Kafiristan*

Achuru, the son of a Kamdesh Kafir, had gone with Dr. Robertson to Simla. He stated that on the one hand the ruler of Chitral had become displeased with them, and on the other hand Umra Khan threatened them with an attack.

Kafiristan

16. Rumours have been spread in the Mohmand territory that, in the beginning of the cold weather, Ghulam Haidar Khan,

Commander-in-Chief, will go to Badakhshan *via* Asmar and Kafiristan and will open a road between Kunar and Badakhshan through the Siaposh Kafir territory. Babar, the renowned Moghal Emperor, had adopted the same route in his journey from Kunar to Badakhshan. A military officer was to start with a detachment from Badakhshan, and to meet Ghulam Haidar Khan in Kafiristan.

19th July, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 60. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 19th July, 1890.

The Amir, Dir, and Aspirations of Umra Khan

13. . . . Umra Khan desires to extend his territory as far as Chitral by first undertaking a military expedition against the Siahposh Kafirs, who live on the Dir and Chitral border, and if he is successful in this expedition he intends attacking and occupying Chitral. He sent a message to the Siahposh Kafirs, stating that they must accept the Muhammadan religion, otherwise he would fight and put them all to death. The Kafirs sent a deputation making professions of submission, and begging to be excused from becoming Muhammadans, but Umra Khan declined and sent letters to the people of the Bajaur and Mohmand territory proclaiming that, as the slave of God, he had determined on a religious war being waged with the people of Kafiristan, and inviting all true Muhammadans to co-operate with him. . .

Kunar and Kafiristan

14. The Safis of Pech and Mamunds and Salarzais held a meeting at which they proposed to proceed against the Kafirs of Wama, and force them to become Muhammadans. These Kafirs sent a deputation through Malik Hasan Khan, Governor of Chaghanserai, to Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, offering eight slave-girls if he could prevent the above-mentioned tribes from going to Kafiristan through Chaghanserai, and the Governor of Kunar consented. . .

December, 1890. *Letters from India*. vol. 62. *Memorandum of Information Regarding the Course of Affairs Beyond the North-West Frontier Receiving During the Month of December, 1890.*

Gilgit, Kafiristan, &c.

News has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated the 29th October. He had then been a month at Kamdesh in Kafiristan. He writes that the Mehtar of Chitral had done his utmost to prevent his entering Kafiristan, or at all events to limit his stay there to a few days. Both the Mehtar and his son, the Shah-i-Mulk, warned Dr. Robertson that his life would be in danger, but their real fear is that their influence in Kafiristan will diminish the longer an English officer remains in the country. By the Kafirs themselves, Dr. Robertson has been received in a very friendly and hospitable manner, and they have asked him to stay two or three years, and then to take a deputation of them to India on his return. The Afghan forces sent from Kabul to attack the Kafirs from the south have not yet entered the country, and have been suffering greatly from cold and privation at Parian Darrah.

14th February, 1891. *Letters from India*. vol. 62. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*, No. 3, dated the 14th February, 1891.

Translation of a letter from Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, to Colonel E. L. Omanney, Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, dated 3 January, 1891.

After compliments. – All is well here, and I always pray for your good health. . . I have afforded every assistance to Dr. Robertson in reaching Kafiristan where he is safely put up; there are no other news worth communicating. Dr. Robertson has sent his letters by my servant, Mian Gul. If anything is sent for Dr. Robertson, it is advisable that Mian Gul may accompany my other servants who have gone for purchase of goods, so that he may be safe from danger on his way. . .

February, 1891. *Letters from India*. vol. 62. *North-West Frontier, Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. February 1891.

Kafiristan. – Private letters received at Gilgit from Dr. Robertson about Christmas time show that he continues to keep on fairly successful relations with the Kafirs. Torag Morag, the most influential man in Kamdesh, and also the high priest [Uta] of the Kam people, have sworn eternal friendship with him; and he begins to be quite hopeful for the future, though his position is

one of daily danger and anxiety. Umra Khan of Jandol has given up his intention of attacking the Kamdesh Kafirs, and is making friends with them, being too much occupied elsewhere to do otherwise at present. Several of the Amir's troops at the Darrah-i-Paryan have died from cold and exposure. The Amir sent a message to the Kafirs that, if they tender allegiance to him of their own free will, he will not levy taxes from them or establish military posts in their country; but that if he has to reduce them to submission by force, troops will be permanently located in their country. The Kafirs replied that they will not become subjects of His Highness.

April, 1891. *Letters from India*. vol. 63. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*, April 1891.

Kafiristan. – News has been received from Dr. Robertson up to the 1st of February. He had been seriously ill throughout December, but had recovered sufficiently to travel. He had been in considerable peril at one time, owing to the misconduct of a servant, who after robbing his master, had raised a disturbance, in which Dr. Robertson and his whole party were threatened with massacre. Dr. Robertson has been down the Kunar valley to the land about Narsat in dispute between the Mehtar of Chitral and the Khan of Jandol. He considers the Mehtar's hold on it very slight, and that any attempt to build a fort there would lead to his being attacked by the people of Asmar. The Mehtar had not relaxed his endeavours to get Dr. Robertson robbed and turned out of Kafiristan. He is said to be in great fear that the Government intends annexing his country, and he has tried to imbue the Kafirs with a similar feeling.

23rd May, 1891. *Letters from India*. vol. 63. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 23rd of May, 1891.

The Amir and his Kafir Subjects in Connection with Attacks Threatened on the Latter from Bajaur.

8. Some days ago, a deputation of Siahposh Kafirs under their representative headmen, Kamchan, Jauntak and Daur, residents of Gintol, visited Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Jalalabad, and he appointed his agents to go with them through

Kattar and Duzit and find out the road by which the Emperor Baber took his army from Badakhshan to Afghan Turkistan in ten days.

(b) About 15,000 Salarzai and Mohmands and Shinwaris of Shingal advanced to attack and burn the villages belonging to the Kafirs of Wama and Kandesh. These Kafirs informed the Amir's Brigadier at Chawki that they had submitted to the Amir, and begged therefore that they might be protected against the above combination. Under instructions from Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, the Brigadier at Chawki took his troops as far [as] Chaghanserai and dispersed the coalition. The Kafirs brought 200 sheep and 10 slave-girls to the Brigadier, and stated that their tribe is of European descent, their ancestors having been brought from Europe into Kafiristan by Alexander the Great. Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, has invited Mulla Khalil, Akhundaza, from the Mohmand territory to advise the Salarzai and Mamunds of Bajaur to act in accordance with the instructions of the Brigadier Commanding at Chowki, but on the other hand the Salarzai and Mamunds have asked Mulla Khalil to prevent the Brigadier from interfering with them in the proposed attack on the Kafir country. These two tribes gave out that the religious leaders in Bajaur had given them permission to fight with the troops in Chawki, but since they have received a letter from the Amir, of which the following is a translation, they have been much frightened:—

“Be it known to the people, elders, headmen, and representatives of the Mamund and Salarzai tribes of Bajaur that they are deprived of royal favours and sentenced to severity and violence. It has been reported to His Highness that they have become refractory and rebellious, and have thus violated the laws of the Prophet and of their King who is the shadow of God. They have entertained hostile designs, and desire to attack Muhammadan villages in the hills and declare themselves fanatics. It is most surprising that they should consider as infidels those Muhammadans who have made their submission to the ruler of Islam. Consequently, with the aid of the Prophet and his four friends, a gallant and victorious force will be appointed by His Highness to punish the rebels, and to destroy them with guns and other firearms as a warning to them. Orders have been sent to the

troops in Kunar and Chaghan-serai to advance at once without waiting for any reinforcements from Kabul to destroy the villages of the rebels. We (i.e., the Amir) have read the books on the Muhammadan religion, and have, in consultation with learned persons, directed that the rebels should be put to death.”

On receipt of the above letter from the Amir, several Mullas and headmen visited Mulla Najam-ud-din, Akhundzada, and pointed out that the Salarzai and Mamunds used generally to fight with the Siahposh Kafirs, that the Kafirs of Kattar [Katar], Gabir [Gemir] and of a few other villages had only become Muhammadans under compulsion, that the Amir had taken possession of their villages and established posts, that this year some of these Kafirs had committed murderous outrages in the villages belonging to the Shinwaris of Shingal and Safis of Pech, and still the Amir and his officers prevented them from retaliating. They begged Mulla Najam-ud-din therefore to persuade the Mohmand tribes to assist them. The Mulla expressed himself exceedingly displeased with the Amir, and on the following day he invited the Usman Khel, Khwajazai and Atmar Khel Maliks to give their opinion as to what should be done. The Usman Khel, who are about 10,000 souls, promised to resist the Amir's troops if they proceed through *their* country, but the Atmar Khel declined to break up their friendly relations with the Amir as they possess lands in, and trade with, his territory, and the Khwajazai expressed themselves quite unable to oppose the Kabul troops, as the greater part of their tribesmen had gone to reside in the Peshawar district. . . On the 10th May, a deputation of the Mamund and Salarzai waited on Safdar Khan [Khan of Nawagai] and asked him to advise the Amir to send no troops against them. Safdar Khan entertained the deputation hospitably, and told them that they were very stupid not to discriminate between the strength of the Amir and their own weakness, that they should not interfere in any way with His Highness, and that he would write to His Highness begging pardon for their past conduct.

The Amir is said to have sent a communication to the Officer Commanding at Chawki, expressing his satisfaction with the promptitude with which that officer had despatched the troops under his command to prevent the Salarzai and Mamunds from proceeding against the Siahposh Kafirs, and adding that the said

officer should support the Kafirs, and that reinforcements would be sent to him from Jalalabad or Kabul. Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, is raising a force of 400 Jezailchis to post them in Gintol, Gambir and Sangar, and thus to extend his jurisdiction close to the independent Kafir country. . . . General Kattal Khan has arrived in Indrab with one regiment of infantry, and is collecting supplies at that place to advance against the Siahposh Kafirs who are still independent.

9th June, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 95*, dated the 9th of June, 1891.

Kafiristan. – News has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated Lamboret [?], the 16th of March. He appears to be slowly surmounting the grave difficulties which encompass a traveller in this almost unknown country, and is beginning to be allowed to move about in it. Since his visit to Narsat in the Kunar valley, he has paid a visit to Shah-i-Mulk at Aronda in the Kohistan, and at the time of writing was about to return to Kamdesh.

The Amir continues his endeavours to extend his suzerainty over the Kafirs. The Salarzai, Mohmands and Shinwaris of Shingal recently started to attack the Kafirs of Wama and Kamdesh, near the Kunar border. The Kafirs appealed for protection to the Amir's General at Chawki, saying that they had submitted to His Highness. The General advanced to the head of the Kunar valley and dispersed the tribal gathering, and the Amir has since sent a letter to their headmen, declaring that they shall be severely punished. The tribes have appealed to the Khan of Nawagai to intercede for them, and he has promised to do so. The Governor of Kunar, taking advantage of the overtures of the Kafirs, is enlisting 400 Jezailchis to post them in Gintol, Gambir and Sangar, thus extending his jurisdiction close to the independent Kafir country. It is reported that General Kattai Khan, one of the most successful of the Generals in the Amir's service, will shortly advance from Indrab against the Siahposh Kafirs.

7th July, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 111*, dated the 7th of July, 1891.

Kafiristan. – News has been received from Dr. Robertson up to the 10th of May. He was still in the Kam Kafir country, but it was settled that, as soon as the passes were open, he was to be permitted to try and enter the Waigal and Preshangal [Parun] countries. He writes that he has every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the position he at present holds among the Kam Kafirs.

8th September, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 157,*
dated the 8th of September, 1891.

Badakhshan. – General Said Shah continues to act as civil as well as military Governor of Badakhshan. The troops in Wakhan and Shighnan have been relieved by troops from Faizabad. Three Afghan regiments have arrived at Kila Panja, and there is said to be a still greater force on the Badakhshan and Shighnan frontier. It is believed that they are intended to attack Kafiristan *via* the Minjan Pass, and it is not understood that their concentration is in any way connected with the recent Russian activity on the Pamirs. . .

Gilgit, Chitral, &c.

Letters from Dr. Robertson in Kafiristan state that he has traversed the Kafir valley visited by Colonel Lockhart, crossed a pass 15,000 feet high into the Minjan valley, and then returned on hearing that the Afghan Governor of Zebak was about to visit the valley. He writes that things are going on satisfactorily, and that he hoped to penetrate into the western valleys of Kafiristan, in which case he would not be heard of again for some time.

14th October, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 172,*
dated the 14th of October, 1891.

Kafiristan. – A great many Kafirs came to Kabul during the past month, and were converted to Muhammadanism by the Amir himself, who subsequently gave them presents and sent them back to their country. A letter has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated the 6th of August. He had up to that date failed in his endeavours to get to Presemgal [Parun], owing to the jealousies existing between the different sections of the Kafirs; but he has visited Lutdib [Lutdeh/Baragamatal] and was making a final effort to reach Presemgal, failing which he proposed to return very shortly to Gilgit.

9th November, 1891. *Letters from India*. vol. 64. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*. No. 21, dated the 9th of November, 1891.

The Amir and Kafiristan

4. The Amir appointed three agents to ascertain as far as possible the passes and population of Kafiristan, and it is said that these agents have submitted the necessary report to His Highness. The number of houses is stated to be 11,000, with a population of 44,000 persons, and as the country is fertile, the Amir is considering the question of sending a force into it.

About 50 Siahposh Kafirs lately waited on the Amir, having been sent in by some Afghan frontier officer; they became Muhammadans, and, after receiving dresses of honour, obtained permission to return to their homes.

9th December, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. Letter No. 204, dated the 9th of December, 1891.

Kafiristan

Dr. Robertson, after a stay of about a year in Kafiristan, reached Gakuch on his way back to Gilgit on the 14th of November. During October he had again met with serious opposition and difficulties in the Presemgal valley; his tent was rushed and his arms seized, and his life and the lives of his coolies appear to have been only saved by his indomitable coolness.

23rd January, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 3, dated the 23rd of January, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

4. The Political officer, Khaibar, who appointed special messengers to obtain information regarding the movements in the Kunar valley of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, sends the following information received from this source:—
“Ghulam Haidar has moved from Sarkani to the village of Dani, which is one march from Chaghanserai. He has with him two batteries of artillery, four regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry. The Khan of Nawagai waited on the Commander-in-Chief with 120 horsemen and 700 footmen. The people of Bajaur and the Surkh [سرخ, ‘red’] Kafirs have combined to resist Ghulam Haidar Khan, but the latter has made satisfactory arrangements

and is summoning additional tribal levies. . . Ghulam Haidar Khan professes to have no intention of fighting with the people of Bajaur, and asserts that his object is only to carry off from Asmar the daughter of Tahmasp Khan who was betrothed to Sardar Habibulla Khan [son of Amir Abdur Rahman]. The Surkh Kafirs, Charmangis, Mamunds, Salarzais, Safis and Shinwaris of Shigal have held out hopes of assistance to Umra Khan." . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan talks of going to Bajaur and of taking measures for its subjugation, and Safdar Khan of Nawagai and other friends of the Amir have promised to help him. He is constructing a road between Chauki and Marawara along the bank of the Kunar River, but it is believed that, if he advances on the Shigal Pass by this road, the Mamund tribe will oppose him. The accounts which he gives of the objects of his mission vary from time to time, but include the following:—

- i. — to gain possession of the Kamoz Kafir country;
- ii. — to fetch from Asmar the daughter of the late Tahmasp Khan who has been betrothed to the Amir's son; and
- iii. — to punish Umra Khan, but he affirms that he has no intention of occupying Bajaur or of interfering with its independence.

(b) Mirza Ibrahim Khan, confidential Munshi [منشی, official secretary to a person of high rank] of Safdar Khan of Nawagai, wrote a letter to one of his friends in the Mohmand country to the following effect:—

“. . . The Amir has sent a firman to Ghulam Haidar Khan directing him to take measures for the appointment of Tahmasp Khan's son to the Khanship of Asmar or the restoration of Dir to Muhammad Sharif Khan, and for Safdar Khan to become the sole ruler of Bajaur. The Amir adds that, for the purpose of punishing Umra Khan, Ghulam Haidar Khan should proceed not *via* Nawagai, but through Asmar, that Kafiristan, Pech, Shigal, and Bajaur should be reduced to submission, and that any reinforcements required for these objects may be obtained from Kabul.

9th February, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 4, dated the 9th of February, 1892.

3. The Political Officer, Khyber, sends the following information received from the special messengers appointed by him to send

reports regarding the movements in the Kunar Valley of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief:—

“II. *Dated 29th January.* — Under instructions from the Amir, Ghulam Haidar Khan has come with full preparation for fighting. . . He has not, however, yet commenced fighting, and Umra Khan is carefully watching his proceedings. . . A deputation of about 60 ‘Surkh Kafirs’ also visited the Commander-in-Chief, and in answer to his advice that they should submit to the Kabul Government, they said they would consult their tribe. . .”

“III. *Dated 1st February, 1892.* . . . The scarves and other presents which were given by the Commander-in-Chief to the Mamunds, Salarzai and Surkh Kafirs have been burnt by their tribesmen, who say they have determined to oppose him in the event of his interfering with their independence. Dissensions have occurred among these tribes, some having made up their minds to submit and others having decided to fight.”

“IV. *Dated 3rd February, 1892.* — The people of Pech and the Surkh Kafirs have submitted to Ghulam Haidar Khan. The Surkh Kafirs have become Muhammadans . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has gone to the Pech country.”

(b) . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has moved his camp from Chaghan-serai to Managi close to the Pech border, where several headmen of Pech waited on him and received khillats. . .

(c) . . . reports state that Ghulam Haidar Khan has not yet attacked any hostile tribe. He held a review of all his troops in the presence of . . . all the tribal deputations, which had visited him, whom he dismissed after bestowing on them dresses of honour and giving them the following advice:—

“You should consider him to be your friend who is the friend of the Amir, the ruler of Islam, and you should combine to destroy those who are enemies of the ruler of Islam.”

It is given out that the Mehtar of Chitral will help Umra Khan if he is attacked. Ghulam Haidar Khan continues to assert that his object is only to settle Asmar and Dir matters, and to open a road between Kunar and Badakhshan through Kafiristan. . .

A party of Kafirs and other malcontents fired into the camp of Ghulam Haidar Khan by night, and he gave permission to the Sangu Khel Shinwaris to retaliate by making raids in different passes. These Shinwaris plundered 1,600 cattle belonging to the

people of Shigal and brought the same to the Commander-in-Chief, who expressed himself much pleased. . .

5. *The Amir and Bajaur*

Leaving his brother Muhammad Shah Khan to command in Jandol, Umra Khan himself has taken off some levies in an unknown direction. It is said that he has gone either to Asmar or to fight with the Kafirs who lately committed a raid in Nara on the Chitral border and cut off the hands of four Muhammadans.

Kafiristan

(6) Kazi Asif-ud-din, son of Kazi Ahmad Gul, a resident of Chaghanserai, was appointed by Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, to distribute 800 rupees, 1,000 yards of red 'alwan', 2,000 yards of long cloth and 800 yards of muslin, among the Nashai [Nishei] Kafirs. The Chumia [Chimi] Kafirs are intriguing with the Safis of Pech who live in Chappa Darra below the Kund hill. The son of Bepaj Balli, an influential headman of Kafiristan, has paid his respects to Ghulam Haidar Khan who granted him four rifles, 200 rupees, one shawl and one turban, and directed him to go home and persuade other Kafirs to come and submit. Another Kafir deputation visited the Commander-in-Chief and having become Muhammadans remained in his camp.

23rd February, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 23rd of February, 1892.

Umra Khan and Kafiristan

9. When the Kafir tribes come down to live in winter near the banks of the Chitral [Kunar] river, the Muhammadan residents of Bandi Baraul (Bajaur) make occasional raids on them and carry off their children and property which they sell. In pursuance of this custom a party of Bandi Baraul raiders lately attacked a Kafir hamlet on the Chitral river, but in the encounter which ensued the Kafirs caught three of the raiders and cut off their hands. These three raiders complained of their mal-treatment to Umra Khan, who thereupon left his brothers, Muhammad Shah Khan and others, to guard the Jandol and Munda posts, and went himself with some levies to fight against the above Kafirs who are

at present camped on the further side of the Chitral river in the limits of the Mehtar of Chitral. To get at them he had to cross the river by means of ropes which he did successfully, and in the fight which followed only three men on his side were wounded, while he carried off 2 men, 5 women and a large number of goats; but on his return the ropes broke, and 17 Jandol levies fell into the river, of whom 14 were drowned and only three saved. One of the 5 women has been sent by Umra Khan to Ghulam Khan, Khan of Asmar, as a present. One of the four remaining, who have not yet been disposed of, is very handsome (being probably the wife of a Kafir headman), and for her release the Kafirs offered a ransom of Rs. 3,000, but Umra Khan has refused to let her go. Among the Kafir tribes the sale of women and girls is considered very objectionable; but when they are obliged to give a woman as a present or to obtain the release of a prisoner, they take a girl from among blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters or weavers [i.e., *Bari*], upon whom they look as people of inferior class. An offer of this kind was made to Umra Khan in exchange for the above woman, but this also he refused. Shah Baba, the religious leader in Dir, has issued a proclamation, copies of which have been forwarded to the Bajaur tribes, expressing admiration of Umra Khan for his sympathy with the people of Islam in allusion to his recent victory over Kafirs, and exhorting all Muhammadans to side with him.

Asmar

11. Umra Khan is anxious lest Ghulam Khan of Asmar, should be frightened by the appearance of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, in the Kunar valley, and should consequently submit to him. The Kafir woman, referred to above, in paragraph 9, has therefore been sent to Ghulam Khan, as an assurance that he need not feel any anxiety on account of the Commander-in-Chief, and that Umra Khan is prepared to support him under all circumstances. . .

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

14. The Political Officer, Khaibar, sends the following information. . .

“IV. *Dated 15th February* [1892]. In the expedition, which Umra Khan lately undertook against the Kafir tribe, he carried off 16

men and women and about 1,200 cattle, but he lost 14 of his own men who were drowned in the river. He intended making another attack on these Kafirs, but the Mehtar of Chitral forbade him to do so.

(b) The Political Officer, Khaibar, has also sent the following information obtained by him from other sources:—

Ghulam Sadik, Sahibzada, who is an intimate friend of Ghulam Haidar Khan's, has stated in the Mohmand territory that an understanding exists between the Amir and Russia that, if His Highness will open a road beyond the limits of the Afghan frontier for her proposed advance on India, Russian troops will not be sent *through* Afghanistan. It is for this reason that the Amir has sent Ghulam Haidar Khan to the Kunar valley to open a road between that valley and Badakhshan *via* Kotal-i-Babar Shah and Kafiristan to enable Russia to reach Peshawar.

8th March, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 6, dated the 8th of March, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

9.(b) The following information has been received from the special messengers appointed by the Political Officer, Khyber. . . . [Ghulam Haidar] is taking measures to construct roads between the following places:—

- I. — From Chaghanserai to Nathili in the Pech pass.
- II. — From Chaghanserai to Kattar.
- III. — From Kattar to Gintol, which is between Chaghanserai and Kafiristan and close to the range of hills called after King Babar.

(c) Recent reports received on the 2nd of March are to the effect that Ghulam Haidar Khan used much diplomacy to induce the Safis of Pech, Badil, Shigal, &c., to submit, but that he failed partly on account of Umra Khan's intrigues, and partly because Shigal had promised to help Pech. Although these tribesmen warned Mulla Khalil that he should not visit their territory again to mislead them as regards submission to the Amir, and pointed out to him that he had deceived them on a former occasion when the hostages which they had given on his advice had been put

to death at Kabul, the Mulla managed to keep them in play by means of conciliatory communications until he found that all the tribal levies, who had come from other places to keep them, had gone back. He then advised Ghulam Haider Khan to advance, and in compliance with this counsel, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 15th February 1892, marched up the Pech valley. Although the people were off their guard they fought gallantly, but, as their arms are of inferior quality, they could not cope with the forces under the command of Ghulam Haidar Khan. The valley extends about 9 miles in length, and the Commander-in-Chief has taken possession of the following villages in it:—

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| I. Bar-Kundi, Upper. | IV. Sandai |
| II. Ditto Lower | V. Shamud |
| III. Golak | VI. Nangalam |

About 60 men on the side of the Commander-in-Chief and about 150 or 175 men of Pech were killed and wounded in this fighting. Men, women, children and cattle seized by the Commander-in-Chief have been forwarded to Chauki, and the Commander-in-Chief has again opened negotiations with the Safis of Pech, but the latter have sent their families and cattle to different places, and have themselves taken refuge in caves whence they fire on the Commander-in-Chief's camp at night. Ghulam Haidar Khan demands a fine of Rs. 20,000 with levies for service, and a tribute of one out of every 40 head of cattle, but the tribe refuses these terms, and their headman, Jan Said Khan, has not yet submitted.

The Amir and Kafiristan

10. About 2,000 Kafirs of Nashai [Nishei] had come to help the Safis of Pech, but Mulla Khalil, Akhunzada, at once seized the opportunity to denounce these Safis as infidels for relying on such aid, and the result was that, while the Kafirs returned to their own country, the people of Bajaur held aloof and gave no assistance. The Safis attribute the disaster which has befallen them to the treachery of Mulla Khalil and are anxious to compass his death. Sur Chandu [Čanalü], a headman of the Kafirs of Nashai, lately waited on Ghulam Haidar Khan, who granted him a dress of honour and sent four agents with him to obtain informa-

tion regarding Kafiristan. Of these agents one is Kazi Wasim of Kunar. The other three are 'Talid-ul-ilms' and followers of Mulla Khalil.

The Amir and Bajaur

11(d.) On receipt of information regarding the victory of Ghulam Haidar Khan in the Pech valley, Safdar Khan expressed himself as much pleased, but he has told his tribes secretly that he will raise no objection to their opposing the Commander-in-Chief when the latter enters Bajaur. Ghulum Haidar Khan has written to Safdar Khan that, after the settlement of affairs on the Kunar border, he will advance first on Kafiristan and then on Asmar.

22nd March, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 22nd March, 1892.

Kafiristan

11. In the last surprise of Kafir hamlets by Umra Khan, about 12,000 goats, cows and bullocks were seized and carried off by his force, and he intends making another attack on these hamlets after the 'Id' festival (which will be celebrated on the 26th April). Of the two representative Kafir headmen who have been taken prisoners by Umra Khan, one named Mirak, having killed several Muhammadans in many raids, enjoys much distinction and is called 'Bahadur' [Batur] by his tribesmen. Umra Khan at first intended to put him to death, but subsequently refrained from this, and made him over to Muhammad Shah Khan (brother of Umra Khan). This man, Mirak, has now become a Muhammadan, and Umra Khan has directed him to send for his family before he can expect release. Amongst other Kafir prisoners is Musamat Barchani, the wife of Tanak who has gone to Calcutta with Dr. Robertson.

9th April, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 66. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 8, dated the 9th of April, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

[The Commander-in-Chief has captured Asmar.]

IV(d) A road is being constructed through the Pech Valley. A deputation of Kafirs lately waited on the Commander-in-Chief,

who granted them khillats and sent some surveyors with them to take surveys and obtain other information regarding Kafiristan.

The Amir and Kafiristan

8. On the 11th of March Ghulam Haidar Khan dismissed 320 Kafirs who were with his camp, but before dismissing them he obtained verbal assurances from them that they would remain loyal to the Kabul Government. They had brought with them two camel loads of idols and five loads of arrows and other weapons used in Kafiristan, which have been forwarded to the Amir.

22nd August, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 18, dated the 22nd of August, 1892.

Kafiristan

12. It is reported from Mohmand territory that the Kamdesh Kafirs have committed a raid on the Safis of Pech and killed a few men of that valley. The Maliks of Pech have therefore gone to Kabul to beg the Amir to direct Ghulam Haidar Khan to restore to them the weapons which he took from them in the recent collision. Meanwhile Ghulam Haidar Khan has summoned to Asmar Jun-tak and Bij-balli, the headmen of the Kamdesh Kafirs, to direct them to restrain their tribe from such outrages. (b) Other reports state that the people of Dir were much troubled by Kafir raids, which have now been stopped by the Mehtar of Chitral. The Kafir tribe sent three women to Umra Khan, and asked him to accept them in exchange for Mirak, who, they begged, should be released. Umra Khan has accepted two of these women, but was not satisfied with the third and sent her back, promising to let Mirak go when another woman was brought in lieu of her. He intends retaliating on the Kafir tribes for the raids committed by them in his territories.

12th October, 1892. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 186*, dated the 12th of October, 1892.

Gilgit, Chitral, Hunza, &c.

Aman-ul-Mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, died suddenly in Darbar on the 30th August, Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk, the eldest son, was away at the time in Yasin, and the rulership was at once assumed

by Afzal-ul-Mulk, who, in letters to the Viceroy and Foreign Secretary, announced his accession "with the unanimous consent of my brothers, the leading men and all the people of this country" and asked for aid and support in the event of Nizam-ul-Mulk opposing him. . . It is reported that he has caused Shah-i-Mulk and two of his other half-brothers to be murdered, but this requires confirmation.

Miscellaneous

Shortly before Aman-ul-Mulk's death, Umra Khan sent a Kafir headman to Kamdesh to summon the Kafir elders to Jandol to make their submission to him. The Mehtar, hearing of it, sent messengers to the Kafirs, prohibiting them from obeying the summons, and ordering some of them to Chitral. Since the death of the Mehtar the Kafirs have offered to come to terms with Umra Khan; but, as the possession of Narai places him in a position to strike at them with advantage, he refuses to make any terms until they embrace the Muhammedan religion.

8th November, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 23, dated the 8th of November, 1892.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief

9. The following information has been received from the special agents deputed by the Political Officer, Khaiber. . .

II. *Dated 17th October.*— . . . About 500 men of the Camp of Ghulam Haidar Khan have died from small-pox. . .

III. *Dated 18th October.*— Ghulam Haidar Khan is now living quietly at Asmar. Some people say that he has been forbidden from hostilities by the British Government, while others think that the Amir has prohibited him. Although Umra Khan is building forts in San and Narai, Ghulam Haidar Khan raises no objections and is trying to secure the friendship of the Ruler of Chitral and the Surkh Kafirs, some of whom have visited him. . .

10. A report from Mohmand territory under date the 29th October contains the following information:— . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has constructed a fort at Nashagam, close to the border of Kamdesh and Chumiya Kafirs, and has built three towers on the Asmar hill. . .

Chitral, Narai, Umra Khan and the Amir

13. Abdul Haqim, a Chitral Agent, lately brought a letter from Afzal Mulk to Umra Khan to the following effect:—

“On the death of the Mehtar I withdrew the Chitral levies from the Kohistan (Narai) because the state of affairs in Chitral was not satisfactory. I believed that, as you were one of my elder relatives (Umra Khan is married to one of the late Mehtar’s daughters. [signed R[ichard] Udney) and friends, there would be no harm in my recalling these levies from Narai to Chitral; but contrary to your friendship, you have taken possession of the ilaqtas [علاقہ, area, place] of Nasrat and Narai and are building forts there. If you wish to remain my friend, I request you to withdraw your forces.”

To the above communication Umra Khan sent the following reply on the 14th October:—

“The Kohistan to which you allude was formerly under the Yusufzai and Tarkalani Rulers and was abandoned by them on account of the constant violence of the Kafir tribes. Let me know the grounds on which you consider it an integral part of Chitral and the hereditary property of the late Mehtar. Also inform me for what reasons I should withdraw my forces. Send me your views after calm deliberation. I am about to undertake a Jahad [جهاد] (religious war) against the Kafir tribes, and, if you are my friend, join me with your levies to extinguish these tribes and restore peace and order.”

Kafiristan

14. As since the occupation of Nasrat, Umra Khan has extended his jurisdiction up to the borders of Kafiristan, he has determined to advance on the Kafir tribes this winter and to build a fort in the village of Barikot (in Nasrat territory) which is situated on the west of the [Kunar] river on the frontier between Kafiristan and Chitral. He believes that when a port has been constructed at Barikot the Kafir tribes will be compelled to refrain from making raids on the Dir, Asmar and Jandol border; while in the event of these tribes ever misbehaving, it will enable him to surprise them at any time. He thinks that the best time for building this port and for advancing against the Kafirs will be when snow falls

on the hills, so that neither the Kafir tribes nor the Ruler of Chitral may be able to move and obstruct him.

A report from Mohmand territory states that, in compliance with the summons of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, a deputation of the Kamdesh, Wama and Gin-Tol Kafirs, who live close to Kathar, waited on him at Asmar when he warned them against making any raids in future on the Safi tribesmen of the Pech valley, and then dismissed them with presents. Their representative headman Dor received a full dress of red 'alwan'.

23rd November, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 24, dated the 23rd of November, 1892.

Kafiristan

14. The following information is extracted from the Khyber Political Diary for the week ending the 7th November, 1892:—

Seraj-ud-din Khan, Governor of Panjsher, sent 10 Siahposh Kafir lads for service to the Amir, but the inhabitants of the Panjsher valley shot four of these lads dead on the road. Nine offenders were arrested for this, and blown from guns by order of the Amir.

15. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 11th instant, states that Umra Khan has sent circular letters to all the Bajaur tribes, intimating his wish to wage a religious war against the Kafir tribes, and offering arms, ammunition and current expenses to every one who will join him on this expedition. The Kafir tribes, who reside on the San, Narai, and Chitral border, have been frightened at this news, and intend to wait on Umra Khan...

16. The latest reports from Peshawar state that the Kafirs lately made raids on Umra Khan's territories, in which they killed 12 Gujar boys and 5 levies of Umra Khan's. Mirak, a well known Kafir Chief, who was captured by Umra Khan (*vide* paragraph 11 of Diary No. 7, dated 27th March, 1892,) but released on professing himself a Muhammadan and promising to bring back some Kafir women, has refused to return from Kafiristan, where he has again reverted to the Kafir faith.

11th May, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 11th of May, 1893.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief

7.(b) The force of troops in Asmar under Ghulam Haidar Khan is about 3,500 strong. The Safi tribes of the Badil, Dewagal and Shorek valleys are making preparations to rebel against the Amir. They possess large numbers of breech-loading and muzzle-loading rifles of English and Kabul manufacture, and have managed to make up considerable quantities of cartridges from reeds. They have already sent off their cattle to Kund, a high mountain about two marches distant from these valleys, which contains springs, a few small pieces of level ground, and a large lake. The graziers of Kulman, Laghman, Durrah Nur, Pech, &c., always take their cattle in summer to graze on these hills where they build huts for themselves. The Kafir tribes also visit these hills for grazing, but have not yet moved up to them. Ghulam Haidar Khan is taking measures to send troops to punish the rebels and has spread a report that four regiments of infantry are coming from Kabul for this purpose.

10th July, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 14, dated the 10th of July, 1893.

Kafiristan

13. Surmal, a noted Kafir of Kamdesh, with 20 of his tribesmen, visited Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar. The latter treated them with kindness, and asked them whether they would like to take up their residence in Kattar and become Muhammadans, but they laughingly evaded the question, and were then dismissed to their own country.

(b) Three or four years ago Shamsheer, *alias* Nausher, Kafir, who was then a lad of 18 years of age, was captured in Kunar as member of a band of Kafir raiders, and was sold to Umra Khan for Rs. 160. Umra Khan made him a Muhammadan, and, after trying him as one of his orderlies and proving his qualifications as a good soldier and a loyal servant, appointed him Governor of Munda. Some of his relations who came down from Kafiristan have complained that they are being troubled by their Kafir fellow tribesmen, and, as Umra Khan directed them to wait a few days at Munda, rumours have been spread that he is contemplating an advance upon Kafiristan.

(c) Mirak, the noted Kafir, mentioned in paragraph 15 (b) of the last diary, is still infesting the road between Drosh, Ashrat, and the Lowrai Pass.

24th July, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 15, dated the 24th of July, 1893.

Umra Khan and Chitral

10. Rumours prevail in Chitral that Russians are inspecting all over the Pamirs.

(c) Amir-ul-Mulk (erroneously called Amin-ul-Mulk in paragraph 5 (a) of Diary No. 1 of 10th January, 1893), whose sister, the daughter of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, is married to Umra Khan, is receiving letters and verbal messages from Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk recommending him to return from Jandol to Chitral, but he refuses to comply with this advice. A few days ago Nizam-ul-Mulk sent his agent, Mir Nasib Ali, to Umra Khan with a Kafir girl and a Kafir boy as presents for the purpose of promoting friendship with Umra Khan, and of inducing him to persuade Amir-ul-Mulk to return to Chitral. The latter, however, still refuses to go, as he is afraid that Nizam-ul-Mulk would place him in confinement.

Kafiristan, Umra Khan, and the British Postal Service between Peshawar and Chitral.

11. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 7th July, 1893, states that Umra Khan has sent a letter to Mulla Najam-uddin, Akhundzada of Adda (now a refugee in Mohmand territory), intimating his attention [*sic*] of attacking the Kamozi Kafir tribes, and asking the Mulla to preach a religious war against these tribes, because, at the instigation of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, they come down *via* Asmar and commit bloodshed in Jandol territory. In compliance with this request, Najam-uddin did preach in Mohmand territory in favour of Umra Khan, but Mulla Khalil Akhundzada has preached against him.

12. Barkatulla and Akhun, the Jandol messengers, who lately brought letters from Umra Khan to the Commissioner of Peshawar, made the following representations in the name of Umra Khan:—

“It is a matter of much surprise that, although during the life time of Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, the post of the British Government between Bajaur and Chitral used to be carried by one or two runners, now, when British officers are in Chitral, and Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk has been established on the throne, an escort varying from 100 to 80 men is required for the post between Dir and Ashrit. If an escort of this strength were not furnished, the runners would be killed and the post would be plundered. The remedy is easy, and the difficulty can be settled by the conveyance of a warning to the Kafir tribes to refrain from disturbing the Lowarai Pass. I do not understand why the British officers and the Mehtar of Chitral, who receive reports about the misconduct of these Kafir tribes, take no measures to correct them. Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, is instigating the Kafir tribes to commit offences in Jandol territory, and they often go to visit him. Formerly Kafirs never came down from their country to commit raids in Jandol, but lately they have committed two outrages, *viz.*, one shortly before the ‘Iduz-Zuha’ (25th June, 1893), in which they killed two men with their wives and boys in a hamlet in the Miskini valley, and the other after the ‘Id’ festival, in which two men working at a mill in the same valley were murdered. Although I have a sufficient force in the Nasrat ‘ilaka’ to prevent Kafirs from raiding on Dir and Jandol by that route, these Kafirs find their way into Jandol *via* Asmar and the Tarpaman (Dawa Paiman) valley with the connivance of the Sipah Salar [سپہ سالار, Commander-in-Chief] (Ghulam Haidar).

(b) While, however, Umra Khan has spread rumours that, with the assistance of the Bajaur tribes, he intends to wage a religious war against the Kafir tribes who infest the Dir and Jandol ‘ilakas’, in his own Darbar he holds the following language:—

“Though these Kafir tribes have invariably been our subjects and tributaries, and the remnants of our forts still exists in Kafiristan and Nasrat, I am afraid lest my undertaking a religious war against them should offend the British Officers in Chitral, and bring about ill-feeling between me and the British Government.” The people of Bajaur, who are acquainted with Umra Khan’s habit of never spreading rumours beforehand of any war on which he is really bent, do not believe that he will advance on

Kafiristan, and are of opinion that his object is only to threaten the tribes, so that they may be frightened into good behaviour without recourse to actual fighting.

(c) Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar at Asmar, has sent a verbal message to Akram Jan (Governor of Nasrat on behalf of Umra Khan), warning him against causing any injury to the Kafir tribes. These tribes visit the Sipah Salar and are treated by him with consideration.

8th August, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 166*, dated the 8th of August, 1893.

Kabul. – Mr. Pyne [Sir Salter Pyne] arrived at Kabul on the 3rd, and was received by the Amir on the 4th of July. Mr. Pyne informed the British Agent that, in the course of his interview with the Amir, His Highness had stated that he believed the English wished to occupy Kafiristan, and that it was in order to prevent this that he had occupied Asmar. Mr. Pyne added that, if the Government of India announced their intention not to occupy Kafiristan, it would go a great way towards putting an end to the misunderstandings between His Highness and the British Government. On the 11th of July Mr. Pyne had a further audience of the Amir, after which he informed the British Agent that His Highness was much pleased with the result of Mr. Pyne's visit to India.

He has now sent a letter from the Amir replying to the memorandum handed to Mr. Pyne on his returning to Kabul, on the subject of different matters in dispute between His Highness and the Government of India. The letter is written in very friendly terms. His Highness repeats that he cannot give up Asmar; but states that he will not interfere with Bajaur, Swat or Chitral. He claims the right to deal with Kafiristan and settle its affairs; and, with regard to Waziristan, Gomal, Kakar territory and Chageh, he hopes that Government will preserve his honour and dignity. Mr. Pyne writes that the Amir is very well disposed and inclined to be reasonable at present, and that he is convinced His Highness really desires to settle these outstanding matters quickly and amicably.

The arrival of forty Kafirs at Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir is reported.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, is still at Asmar: and his present aim seems to be to win over Umra Khan to the Amir.

Umra Khan has replied (dated 17th June) to the Foreign Secretary's letter of 8th May, recommending him to meet Dr. Robertson, and warning him against attacking the Bashgal Kafirs, the subjects of Chitral. The Khan says that he cannot meet Dr. Robertson, as this would increase his difficulties in Bajaur, that the Bashgal Kafirs have been legitimate objects of jihad since olden times, that the Mehtars of Chitral have never complained in the past, and that his right to punish them is justified by the Kafirs' own behaviour. He re-asserts his claim to Narsat: and finally hints that the Government expects much from him and gives little in return.

In a later letter to the Commissioner of Peshawar (dated 29th June) he complains that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief has permitted the Kafir tribes to pass through Asmar, and commit offences in the Khan's territory, and that the Mehtar of Chitral has also sent Kafirs to do mischief within Jandol limits. He adds that he employs an escort of a hundred men for the Government post, but its safe transport is daily becoming a matter of greater difficulty (referring to the raids of the Kafirs whom the Government forbid him to attack), and that unless Government will arrange for the post being 'carried without difficulty between Dir and Chitral,' his subjects will desert their homes.

9th August, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 16, dated the 9th of August, 1893.

Kafiristan

10. The Kafir tribes who visit Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, from time to time are well treated and sometimes given presents. A few Kafirs, who lately made a raid on Shurtan in the Mamund country and killed two Mamunds, were captured by the Amir's sepoy, but Ghulam Haidar Khan set them free on the ground that the offence was committed beyond Afghan limits.

(b) Another Kafir party made a raid on some huts situated in a

ravine about 50 paces from the village of Dir, and killed 8 men of Muhammad Shah Khan, Khan of Dir. On the day of the Iduz-zuha (25th June, 1893) the country-people of Dir found three Kafir marauders prowling about, of whom one was arrested, but the other two escaped. The people of Dir and Jandol are of opinion that the raids committed by Kafirs in these territories are at the instigation of the Mehtar of Chitral.

Chitral

11. Umra Khan has, for the time being, accepted the Kafir girl and the Kafir boy who were sent to him as a present by Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk under care of Mir Nasab Ali (*vide* paragraph 10 (c) of the last diary), but he has written a letter to the Mehtar to the following effect:—

“Without any cause or reason the Kafir tribes are raiding in Jandol and Dir, and the road (between Dir and Chitral) is very unsafe. In the time of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk the road over the Lowarai Pass was safe even for single travellers, but now that road is so insecure that I am obliged to send an escort of 80 or 100 men with the post of the British Government. Such a state of things is inconsistent with your claims on me for friendship. If you wish to maintain friendly relations with me, stop the Kafir tribes from committing offences in my territory; but if you have no intention of prohibiting them, take back the Kafir girl and the Kafir boy you have sent me, and I will close the Chitral road to all convoys.”

No reply to the above letter has yet been received by Umra Khan.

5th September, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 192*, dated the 5th of September, 1893.

A deputation of Kafirs has been to Chitral to see Nizam-ul-Mulk and Captain Younghusband, and insisted on receiving a definite answer as to whether they would receive assistance from Chitral against Umra Khan, from whom they declared they were expecting an immediate attack. Captain Younghusband told them that they would get no help from Chitral this year; upon which they asked to be taken under British protection. Umra Khan has written to Jemadar Rab Nawaz Khan (News-writer in Chitral) asking him to have the raids by Kafirs stopped, and says that, if

this is not done, he must at once attack the Kafirs. Nizam-ul-Mulk is about to send for the Kafir headmen, and vigorously interdict raiding, and Captain Younghusband has sent a message to Umra Khan that he is much annoyed at the Kafir raids and the counterraiding of the Pathans, and that both he and the Mehtar are doing all in their power to stop them.

8th November, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 253*, dated the 8th of November, 1893.

Kashmir Frontier

It is reported that the Mehtar of Chitral and Umra Khan of Jandol are anxious to stop the mutual raiding between the Kafirs and the latter's men, and that Umra Khan has sent a message to the Mehtar, requesting an interview at Dir or Ashrath. Umra Khan is said to be collecting fire-arms and forming a regiment 1000 strong to be stationed at Minda, Mayar and Barwa.

The Kamdesh Kafirs have decided not to send the annual tribute of ghi to the Mehtar until they see if he recovers Narsat. They say that they pay tribute to the Ruler of Narsat not of Chitral. The Mehtar has declined to receive any Kamdesh Kafirs until the tribute is paid.

12th November, 1893. *Agreement between His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies on the one part, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, representing the Government of India on the other part*, dated Kabul, the 12th of November, 1893.

Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of India are desirous of settling these questions by a friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence, so that for the future there may be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follows:—

(1) The eastern and southern frontier of His Highness's dominions, from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.

(2) The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

(3) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur or Chitral including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Dawar. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh.

(4) The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated wherever this may be practicable and desirable by Joint British and Afghan Commissioners, whose object will be arrived by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

(5) With reference to the question of Chaman, the Amir withdraws his objection to the new British Cantonment and concedes to the British Government the rights purchased by him in the Sirkai Tilerai water. At this part of the frontier, the line will be drawn as follows:—

From the crest of the Khwaja Amran range near the Psha Kotal, which remains in British territory, the line will run in such a direction as to leave Murgha Chaman and the Sharobo spring to Afghanistan, and to pass half way between the New Chaman Fort and the Afghan outpost known locally as Lashkar Dand. The line will then pass half way between the railway station and the hill known as the Mian Baldak, and, turning southwards, will rejoin the Khwaja Amran range, leaving the Gwasha Post in British territory, and the road to Shorawak to the west and south of Gwasha in Afghanistan. The British Government will not exercise any interference within half a mile of the road.

(6) The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of

opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier; and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.

(7) Being fully satisfied of His Highness's good will to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India undertake to increase by the sum of six lakhs of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakhs now granted to His Highness.

H. M. Durand

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan

24th March, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 6, dated the 24th of March, 1894.

Kafiristan

5. The 'lashkar' (force) under Mir Agha Khan, maternal cousin of Umra Khan . . ., which consisted of about 400 men, advanced only one march beyond the Nasrat Valley and attacked the Kafir village of Gadardesh [Gawardesh], also called Gurdesh, which contains about 80 houses. The Kafir tribes offered a stout resistance, and, their position being a very difficult one, the 'lashkar' was obliged to return to Nasrat after severe fighting, in which 5 towers were destroyed and about 50 men of the Kafirs were killed and wounded. Umra Khan's force had 80 casualties. On receiving this news Umra Khan wrote to Shah Baba, the religious leader of Dir, and to his own brother, Muhammad Shah Khan, Governor of Dir, asking them to meet him in the Jaubatai valley to discuss a general crusade against the Kafir tribes.

10th April, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 7, dated the 10th of April, 1894.

Kafiristan

8. The following is a full account of the operations undertaken by Umra Khan against the Kafir tribe [the Kam] of Gurdesh (paragraph 5 of last Diary):—

The lashkar (force) consisted of the Upper and Lower Baraul levies, including 40 men armed with breech-loading rifles belonging to Umra Khan, and 20 rifles belonging to Sardar Khan (Khan of Bandi Baraul), son of the sister of Umra Khan's father. The whole force (about 325 men), which was commanded by (1) Sardar Khan, Mir Agha (maternal cousin of Umra Khan), and Gul Wali Khan, marched from Nasrat in the evening and reached Gurdesh at dawn, the distance between the two places being about 15 miles. It so happened that on that night, according to the custom of the country, the villagers had assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the death of one of their deceased notables by a dance and the use of stimulants, and they were told by their friends of the approach of Umra Khan's 'lashkar'. The Kafir tribes at once manned their towers and stoutly opposed the 'lashkar', inflicting on it much loss. Gul Wali Khan feared lest other Kafir tribes should furnish reinforcements to the villagers of Gurdesh, and he therefore ordered the whole 'lashkar' to retire with its killed and wounded and the property plundered by it, *viz.*, 3,500 goats and 70 or 80 cows and bullocks. The Kafir tribes went in pursuit of the raiding party as far as the bank of the Chitral river and recovered the whole lot of 3,500 goats. The 'lashkar' returned to Umra Khan with the plundered cows and bullocks. No men, women and children of the Kafir tribes were seized, though Umra Khan had given orders for such seizures. The villagers of Barikot, which is situated on the other side of the river opposite Nasrat, were formerly Kafirs, but became Muhammadans long since. As they are treated well by the Kafir tribes, they serve as escorts and guards to almost all visitors of Kafiristan; but on the above occasion they intrigued against the Kafir tribes and led Umra Khan's 'lashkar' as far as Gurdesh. About 40 or 50 men of Umra Khan's and six or seven men of the Kafir tribes have been killed and wounded in the above fighting, and Umra Khan desires to attack these tribes again after the 'Id' festival. Though Sahibzada Badshah Jan and the Kazi of Jandol and other friends advise him to refrain from such

operations pending the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan boundary, he is still inclined to advance on the Kafir country, saying that Lower Kafiristan has always been a dependency of Bajaur, and has paid poll tax [jizyah] on account of constant attacks made on it by the Bajaur Chiefs.

18th April, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 64*, dated the 18th of April, 1894.

North-West Frontier

Bajaur. According to information contained in a letter, dated the 5th March 1894, addressed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to the Amir, Umra Khan of Jandol, accompanied by a force of about 2000 Bajauris, 500 of whom were armed with breech-loading rifles and the remainder with muzzle-loaders and other local weapons, lately attacked the Kafiristan villages of Deh Shaikhan and Kuver Desh [Gawardesh]. The Bajauris, it is stated, managed to carry off some cattle from the former village and to capture and destroy a tower of the latter; but they were ultimately defeated by the Kafirs with a loss of 40 men killed and 20 wounded, the Kafirs having lost only 12.

The places named in the Sipah Salar's report do not appear to be marked on any map, and it is consequently not possible to say, even if the account be true, whether Umra Khan's force violated Afghan territory or not.

Umra Khan was, it is said, preparing to renew the attack; but the Amir's Sipah Salar sent him a letter, reminding him of his promise not to pass beyond the limits of his own territory, and warning him that, if he did not refrain from such depredations, he would be called to account.

The above papers were forwarded by the Amir to the Viceroy, with a request that the British Government would either themselves restrain Umra Khan from his predatory proceedings or permit His Highness to do so. A letter has accordingly been addressed to Umra Khan, informing him of the agreement come to between the Government of India and the Amir, in which His Highness has engaged not to interfere in Chitral and Bajaur; and referring to the report of the Khan's encroachment on Afghan soil. The letter warns Umra Khan that, if the report be true, he must

understand that the Government of India do not intend to screen him from punishment; and it requests him to give his own account of the hostilities reported by the Amir's Sipah Salar. The Amir has been informed of the warning sent to Umra Khan.

Accounts received in Peshawar differ somewhat from the Sipah Salar's report. They state that Umra Khan's cousin, accompanied by a force of 400 men, advanced one march beyond the Narsat Valley, and attacked a Kafir village containing about 80 houses; that a stout resistance was offered, and that after a severe fight in which 5 towers were destroyed and about 50 Kafirs killed and wounded, the Jandol force had to withdraw to Narsat with a loss of 80 men.

A message from Captain Younghusband, dated Chitral, the 18th March, referring probably to the same affair, reported that the Mehtar was very irritated at an attack which had been made by Umra Khan on Ustargaz [Gawardesh], a Kalash Kafir village [incorrect. A Kam Kafir village] near the opening of the Bashgal valley. This village, the Mehtar says, is tributary to Chitral. The greater part of the Kalash Kafirs live in the Mehtar's own territory, and the Kafirs of Ustargaz render greater allegiance to the Mehtar than those of Kamdesh. Umra Khan had also, the telegram states, sent twenty men nearly as far as Ashrath, which is distinctly Chitral territory, and had extorted tribute from Damirsar, one stage below Mirkandi, which also belongs to the Mehtar. The attack on Ustargaz was repulsed by the Kafirs, who killed sixty Pathans; the Pathans were led by the son of the Khan of Baraul. The attack having failed, Umra Khan's sepoy left Ashrath, carrying off sheep and ghi. At Captain Younghusband's request the Mehtar sent to the attacked villages to summon witnesses from whom, as well as from others, he obtained the above news. The witnesses said that Umra Khan, enraged that the attack did not succeed, determined to preach a jihad after the Ramzan. The Mehtar wished to strengthen his position on the frontier. Captain Younghusband replied to the Mehtar that, as his dominions had been invaded, he ought to do what he thought best to secure the safety of his frontier, but that the Government of India would be informed of what Umra Khan had done.

Information received from Asmar shows that the Amir's Sipah Salar has warned the troops stationed there to refrain from any

interference in Umra Khan's jurisdiction. The Sipah Salar has also advised the Kafirs to abstain from raiding in the direction of Kunar, Asmar and Dir.

Kashmir Frontier

The Kamdesh Kafirs have sent two hundred Kabuli rupees to the Mehtar of Chitral as compensation for the murder of Chitralis last autumn. The Madugal Kafirs have promised to send the daughter of their Chief, who was formerly betrothed to the son of Sher Afzal, to the Mehtar.

9th May, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 77*, dated the 9th of May, 1894.

News received by the British Agent in Chitral from a usually trustworthy informant in Jandol implies that the Amir brought about an agreement between the Chiefs of Bajaur and Nawagai through the medium of a Saiyid of the Pir Dastagir family who recently came from Baghdad to Afghanistan; also that the reconciliation will encourage Umra Khan to renew his attack upon Kafiristan. He is said to be greatly annoyed at his defeat in the recent encounter (pages 9–10 of last memorandum.) In reply to advice given him by his friends to refrain from operations against the Kafirs, he said that he did not see why the Amir or the British Government should object to his action; more especially as he wished, not to annex territory, but only to prevent the Kafirs from raiding on Bajaur.

A report received at Peshawar on the 21st April, stated that Umra Khan had sent a force under the command of his cousins, Abdul Ghani Khan and Abdul Majid Khan, against the Kamdesh Kafir tribes; and that the arrangements made in Narsat for supplies for this force portend that Umra Khan has no intention of recalling it till the Kamdesh Kafirs are sufficiently punished and reduced to submission.

8th June, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 11*, dated the 8th of June, 1894.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Kafiristan & Asmar

7. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 26th May, 1894, states that Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Sipah Salar, arrived

in the Kunar valley on Tuesday, the 22 May, 1894, with two infantry regiments of 1,000 men each and equipped with rifles with which British troops are armed. He has encamped at Chauki, and intends going on to Asmar after the settlement of affairs with the Safi tribe of Dewagal whose representative headmen he has sent for. He has opened communications with Umra Khan, calling upon the latter to explain why he had attacked the Kamdesh (? Bashgal) Kafir tribes and why he had built a fort in their country (Arnawai), and warning him that these tribes were under the control of the Amir, and if he (Umra Khan) interfered with their country, he would be punished – Umra Khan says in reply that Kafir tribes are under the Mehtar of Chitral and not under the Amir.

(b) There is friendship between Safdar Khan and Umra Khan. On the 25th May, Safdar Khan received a letter from Umra Khan, stating that he had built a fort in the Kamdesh country, that many of the Kafir tribes had submitted, and that he now desired to take revenue from them and make them Muhammadans.

(h) A deputation of the Kafir tribes arrived [at Chauki] *via* the Pech valley and Nashai [Nishei], and has represented to the Sipah Salar that, unless he protects the Kamdesh Kafirs against Umra Khan, all the Kafir tribes will submit to the latter. The Mehtar of Chitral has not been successful in inducing Umra Khan to desist from building the fort at Arnawai, and is therefore now willing that, instead of Umra Khan, the Amir may take possession of the country.

8. The latest reports received from Peshawar state that, after completing the Arnawi fort, Umra Khan has returned to the Nasrat valley, where he is collecting carpenters and blacksmiths with a view to building a bridge over the Chitral river and a fort at Barikot. The work on the Barikot fort was commenced on the 18th Zikad (= 22 May, 1894). The object of Umra Khan is to establish his authority in these places before the demarcation business is commenced, so that he may not be ousted when that business starts. When his Confidential Agent, Badshah Jan Sahibzada, was at Peshawar last month, Umra Khan wrote to him that, since his arrival in Arnawai from Jandol, the Kafir tribes had made several raids on his men and wounded one of them in the Shirgal valley. He has obtained reinforcements from his dominions for the protection of his forts in Nasrat and Arnawai,

more especially because Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, is encamped with the two infantry regiments above alluded to in the Dewagal valley.

12th June, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 103*, dated the 12th of June, 1894.

Bajaur. — The proceedings of Umra Khan of Jandol (*vide* memoranda for March and April) continue to attract the attention of the Amir and the Mehtar of Chitral, both of whom have again addressed the Government of India on the subject. Umra Khan recently put forward a claim to Asmar; and announced his intention to build a fort at Birkot in the Arnawai valley with the object of preventing Kafir raids on Bajaur. He is reported to have already put the construction of the fort in hand; to have placed a force of about 1500 men in its vicinity: and to have stored large quantities of supplies. When the fort is finished, he contemplates erecting a tower on the bank of the Chitral river and locating a guard there to protect the water supply. In consequence of these measures, the Amir's Commander-in-Chief has reinforced certain adjoining posts in the Narsat valley; and Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, alarmed at Umra Khan's supposed designs on Chitral territory, is strengthening his southern frontier.

It is hoped that during the demarcation of the Afghan boundary between Chitral and the Kabul river, the British Joint Commissioner will be able to meet Umra Khan and to settle matters in which the Khan's aims and pretensions may be at variance with the policy and engagements of the British Government.

Meanwhile, in reply to the remonstrance of the Government of India, he professes to have "ceased to punish the Bashgul Kafirs" and his agent states that the Khan has no intention to advance against them. According to reports received at Peshawar, Umra Khan does not appear to have abandoned his designs on Swat. . .

7th August, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 148*, dated the 7th of August, 1894.

Bajaur, &c.

Umra Khan has returned to Barwa after completing the forts on both sides of the river at Arandu. He is reported to have made a further encroachment on Chitral territory, having sent a party

to Damir, ten miles above Arandu, and forcibly taken from the people tribute hitherto paid to the Mehtar. Nizam-ul-Mulk has withdrawn his troops from the frontier, leaving a small force on watch at Darosh. The Kamdesh Kafirs, when bringing their annual tribute to the Mehtar, begged him to seek the aid of the British and expel Umra Khan from Narsat. Since the return of Umra Khan from Arnawai and the Narsat Valley, the Kafirs have committed a raid on the road between Arnawai and Dir and have killed six men. A report states that Umra Khan has detained some cases of medicines for the Chitral Dispensary, and refuses to let them go on.

Gilgit, Chitral, &c.

Amir-ul-Mulk, a younger brother of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who since the murder of Afzal-ul-Mulk by Sher Afzal, has been in Umra Khan's hands, has succeeded in making his escape and gone back to Chitral. Sher Afzal is still at Kabul, but is said to be continuing his intrigues in Chitral. . .

4th September, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 162,*
dated the 4th of September, 1894.

Kabul

The two 7" guns which the Government of India are presenting to the Amir are now complete with their carriages, &c., at Karachi, and are about to be sent on to Kabul *via* Chaman and Kandahar. An impending advance of Afghan troops upon Kafiristan from the direction of Badakhshan has been much talked of this summer. The names of the regiments detailed for the expedition have even been mentioned; but the recent Russian advance into Shighnan may cause the advance to be postponed for the present. In connection with the expedition from the Badakhshan side, it has frequently been reported that the Sipah Salar would co-operate from the Asmar direction; and Ghulam Haidar said, when taking leave of Mr. Udney on the latter's return to India on the 25th of August, that, if Mr. Udney was not likely to be shortly returning to take up demarcation, he (Ghulam Haidar) should go back to Asmar to resume his preparations for operations in Kafiristan.

3rd October, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 183,*
dated the 3rd of October, 1894.

Kabul.—

The Amir has acknowledged (27th August) the Viceroy's letter of 6th July, regarding the invitation of His Highness to England, by Her Majesty's Government. He expresses great pleasure at being invited, and states that he has for long had the wish to visit England; but he is unable at present to write a reply, because "the doings at the present time of the Indian Commissioners on the borders of Afghanistan, and the continual distress which they cause to the minds of the people of Afghanistan" perplex His Highness. He represents that undue notice is being taken of minute details, thereby causing the people to be despondent and raising difficulties about demarcation, which he urges should be speedily settled. When the boundary work is completed, the Amir says, he will send a reply to the invitation. He gives no indication as to what the nature of his reply will be: but it may be recorded that Sir Salter Pyne is still of the belief that His Highness intends accepting the invitation. The Viceroy, in reply, expressed regret to learn that the Afghan people had any misgivings as to matters on the frontier, and explained that there was no wish on the part of the Government of India to insist on minute points, but that the obstruction to the progress of demarcation work had arisen from His Highness not ordering his representatives to demarcate the boundary as laid down in the map attached to the Kabul Agreement [12th November, 1893], and that, unless the Amir supplied this map to his officers, it might be necessary to recall the British Commissioners. The Amir has accepted the nomination of Ressaldar Akram Khan, 9th Bengal Cavalry, for the post of British Agent at Kabul.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

The Kafirs of Kamdesh have surprised a guard of 12 men of Umra Khan's near Narsat, putting them to death and making off with their rifles.

Gilgit, Chitral, Indus Valley, &c.

A deputation of Kafirs from Bashkar [the Bashgul Valley] arrived at Mastuj about the middle of August, and asked the Political Officer to take their country under British protection. They stated that they had always been tributary to Chitral, and that they were now being oppressed by Umra Khan. Captain Younghusband, who returned to Mastuj on the 15th August, told them that he

was shortly going to Chitral, and would speak to the Mehtar on the subject, who would then send them a reply.

19th December, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 211*, dated the 19th of December, 1894.

Kabul

The two quick-firing guns, with carriages, ammunition, &c., complete, presented to His Highness the Amir on the part of the British officers of Sir Mortimer Durand's Mission, were despatched from Cossipore to Peshawar on the 15th of November.

No raids have been committed by Kafirs on Dir for some time past. A deputation of the Kamdesh and Waigal Kafir tribes, while on its way to visit the Sipah Salar at Asmar, was attacked in the Dewagal valley by the Safi tribes of that place; a few were killed and the headman taken prisoner. The Sipah Salar intends holding the Safis of the Pech valley responsible.

2nd January, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2*, dated the 2nd of January, 1895.

Gilgit, Chitral, Indus Valley

The relations between Umra Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk are becoming more and more strained. A kafila [قافلة, caravan] of rice which the Mehtar was getting up from Swat was seized, under Umra Khan's orders, by some of Sher Afzal's followers in Dir. There are at present about 60 refugee Chitralis sheltered at this place. The Mehtar is planning some means of retaliation. Umra Khan recently sent to the Kamdesh Kafirs, asking them to be his friends and offering to let them trade in Narsat. The Kafirs referred to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who advised them not to accept Umra Khan's proposal, and told them that, if they would oppose Umra Khan, he would give them every assistance.

6th February, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 24*, dated the 6th February, 1895.

North-West Frontier

Kunar valley – Khyber demarcation. –

The actual work of demarcation has not yet been commenced owing to the claims of the Sipah Salar to draw the line in a way

opposed to the intention of the Kabul Agreement [12th November, 1893]. According to the latter and the map attached to it, the Afghan frontier from Asmar northwards follows the Chitral river valley about 4 miles from the left bank of the river, as far as Chanduk, when it crosses the valley and river and proceeds along what was believed to be the southern watershed of the Bashgal basin cutting off the whole of the Bashgal valley from Afghanistan. In our maps the stream which joins the Chitral river has hitherto been shown as the "Arnawai or Bashgal," and believing the two names to be synonymous, a clause was inserted in the convention to the effect that the Amir would at no time exercise interference in Chitral, *including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley*. A further clause in the agreement said:— "The British Government thus agree to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanduk." The intention of this is clear; but unfortunately, local enquiry has shown that Arnawai and Bashgal are not the same. The former drains into the Kunar not from the west, but from the east. The Sipah Salar not only claims the valley on the east bank of the Kunar river up to Arnawai, which would necessitate the evacuation by Umra Khan of his forts at Sao and Nari, but also claims the entire Bashgal valley on the right bank, maintaining that Sir Mortimer Durand had arranged at Kabul that the Amir was to have the whole of Kafiristan, "to its last house."

The Commissioners failing to come to an agreement between themselves, have referred the question to their respective Governments.

6th March, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 45*, dated the 6th March, 1895.

Kabul. — The Amir replied on the 30th January to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter of the 17th January . . . regarding His Highness's proposed visit to England. He promises to give twenty days' notice before starting, but it is still uncertain whether His Highness's health will allow of his making the journey himself, or if he will send one of his sons in his stead. . .

On the 13th of February in public Darbar, the Amir informed those present that he intended going in person to England.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

In December, a party of Kamdesh Kafirs raided on a village of Dir called Sharungol, killed eight of the inhabitants, stole all their property, and escaped. Umra Khan is reported to have been much incensed at this raid and ordered the Hakim of Narsat to make reprisals.

Chitral, Gilgit, &c.

The situation in Chitral continues to give anxiety. It now seems quite certain that Amir-ul-Mulk, in murdering his brother, was instigated by the Sher Afzal faction and by Umra Khan, who saw for himself an opportunity for his own aggrandisement in the disturbance which must necessarily follow in Chitral. . . Amir-ul-Mulk is said to be a mere puppet in the hands of the Sher Afzal party, rather wanting in intelligence, and quite unfitted for the Mehtarship.

On the 24th of January, Mr. Robertson wrote to Umra Khan demanding an explanation of the presence of his forces in Chitrali territory, and requesting him to at once retire and so save himself from the consequences of the displeasure of Government. Under instructions from the Government of India, Mr. Udny and Mr. Robertson further addressed Umra Khan early in February, demanding an explanation of his proceedings. He replied to Mr. Udny on the 10th February that he came to assist and strengthen Amir-ul-Mulk and to combine with him for an attack on the Kafirs. Amir-ul-Mulk had opposed his friendship and acted in a hostile manner, and no alternative was left him but to do the same. He added that he would leave Amir-ul-Mulk alone if he was willing to make peace, and that he hoped his friendship with the British Government would remain unbroken. Umra Khan replied to Mr. Robertson in similar terms. The Amir has written to the Sipah Salar a letter telling him that he should not under any circumstances allow Umra Khan to interfere with Kafiristan, and authorizing him to use the troops in Jalalabad and Asmar if it becomes necessary to attack the Khan. Ghulam Haidar told Mr. Udny that he should unquestionably attack Umra Khan if he invaded the Landai Sin (Bashgal) valley.

Mr. Robertson suspects that the Sipah Salar is encouraging Umra Khan to commit himself finally, hoping that this will result in the

Amir being allowed to take the whole of Narsat and the Bashgal valley. Shortly before the assassination of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Lutdeh [Baragamatal] Kafir headmen arrived in Chitral with their annual tribute to the Mehtar. They reported that the Amir's officers were actively collecting supplies in Munjan, and that they feared this portended an Afghan invasion of Kafiristan in the spring. These same Kafirs paid a visit to the Assistant British Agent in Chitral, who received them kindly and gave them a few presents.

North-West Frontier

Khyber-Asmar demarcation. – The work of delimitation in the Kunar valley is still delayed, the situation having been rendered very difficult by the proceedings of Umra Khan in Chitral. The Amir has twice written to Mr. Udny, charging him with being responsible for the delay, claiming the whole of Kafiristan as belonging to Afghanistan, and requesting him to begin work and finish it as quickly as possible. The Government of India, having carefully considered Mr. Udny's reports, have come to the conclusion that the Amir may really believe that under the Kabul Agreement, the whole of Kafiristan does pertain to Afghanistan, and Mr. Udny has accordingly been authorized, rather than break off negotiations altogether, to concede the Afghan claim to the Bashgal valley. On the left bank of the Kunar river, Mr. Udny is authorized, as a very friendly concession to the Amir, to fix the Afghan boundary on the southern rim of the Arnawai valley. On the 21st February, Mr. Udny informed the Sipah Salar of the decision regarding the Bashgal Valley, and suggested that the survey party should start for the Bashgal Valley on the 25th. . .

9th April, 1895. *Agreement defining the boundary line from the Hindu Kush to the neighbourhood of Nawa Kotal*, dated Camp Nashagam, the 9th April, 1895–13th Shawal 1312.

For as much as, under Article (4) of the Convention concluded at Kabul on the 12th November 1893, between His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and Sir Mortimer Durand on behalf of the Government of India, we, the undersigned have been appointed by our respective Governments for the purpose of demarcating in concert the frontier of His Highness the Amir's dominions on

the side of India in this neighbourhood of Chitrar [*sic*] and Bajaur, it is hereby agreed as follows:—

(1) That on the western side of the Kunar river, this frontier will be the further or eastern watershed of the stream which in the idiom of Afghans is notorious and known as the Landai Sin pertaining to the limits of Kafiristan, and which in the Survey map is also written by the name of Bashgal, so that all the country of which the drainage falls into the Kunar river by means of this stream belongs, and will belong, to Afghanistan, and the eastern drainage of this watershed, which does not fall into the Landai Sin stream, pertains to Chitrar.

(II) That on the eastern side of the Kunar river, from the river bank, up to the crest of the main range which forms the watershed between the Kunar river and the country (lit. direction) of Barawal (Baraul of our quarter inch map. R. U[*dny*].) and Bajaur this frontier follows the southern watershed of the Arnawai stream which falls into the Kunar river close to the village of Arnawai, leaving to Chitrar all the country of which the drainage falls into the Kunar river by means of this stream, while the southern drainage of this last-mentioned watershed, which does not fall into the Arnawai stream, pertains to Afghanistan.

(III) That this frontier line, on reaching the crest of the main range which in this neighbourhood forms the watershed between the Kunar river and the country (lit. direction) of Barawal and Bajaur, turns southward along this watershed, which it follows as far as a point in the neighbourhood of the Nawa Kotal, leaving all the country draining into the Kunar river within the limits of Afghanistan and all the country draining towards Barawal and Bajaur outside the limits of Afghanistan; but beyond the afore-said point in the neighbourhood of the Nawa Kotal the frontier has not at present been demarcated.

(IV) That on both sides of the Kunar river this frontier, as described in the three preceding articles, for the most part requires no artificial demarcation, because it is a natural boundary following the crests of mountain ranges; but since at present inspection *in situ* is impossible, when the ground is examined on the spot, it is probable that in the places where these mountain ranges abut on the Kunar river from either side, demarcation by pillars for a short distance from the water's edge on both sides of the

river will be found desirable for the purpose of separating the boundary of Afghanistan from Arnawai pertaining to Chitrar and the limits of the Kafir country (lit., Kafiristan) of the Landai Sin from Chitrar. In that case these pillars will be erected along the line of the watershed described in the first and second articles of the present agreement, subject to any slight divergencies from this line which may be necessary to protect the local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

(V) That the frontier pillars, wherever considered desirable will be erected hereafter by an officer of the Government of India and an officer of His Highness the Amir acting in concert.

(VI) That these watersheds forming the frontier agreed upon as described in the first three articles of the present agreement, have been marked by a red line on the survey map attached to this agreement, which, like the agreement itself, has been signed by us both. In three places, *viz.*, (i) for a short distance from either bank of the Kunar river, (ii) in the neighbourhood of the Binshi Kotal, and (iii) in the neighbourhood of the Frepaman Kotal, this red line has been broken up into dots because the exact position of the watershed in these localities has not been ascertained with perfect accuracy; but wherever the watershed may lie the frontier will follow it, subject only to any slight variations from the watershed which may be considered necessary under Article (4) of the present agreement.

(VII) That, since on the map attached to the Convention (i.e., the Durand Convention. R. U[dnv].) the Arnawai stream was drawn on the western side of the river in the place of the Landai Sin [Bashgul] of the Kafir country (lit. Kafiristan) which has been decided to pertain to the Afghan Government, and, since after enquiry and inspection of the same it was clearly ascertained by the Survey party that the aforesaid stream is situated on the eastern side of the Kunar river, and falls into the river near the village of Arnawai, and that the drawing of it on the western side (of the river) in the place of the Landai Sin was a mistake, this Arnawai stream has (now) been drawn and marked on the present survey map in its own proper place, and that stream which was drawn in the Convention map on the western side of the river was the Landai Sin stream of the Kafir country (lit. Kafiristan) which has now been decided to pertain to the Government of

Afghanistan and to be included in the limits of Afghanistan. Accordingly in the present survey map it has been marked with the name of Landai Sin and has also been written with the name of Bashgal. Moreover, Sao and Nari and Birkot, and the village of Arnawai, were not written on the map attached to the Convention, (but) now in the new Survey map the names of all these four above-mentioned villages have been entered, the village of Arnawai being written on the Chitrar side of the boundary line, and Sao, Nari and Birkot on the side of the Government of Afghanistan.

2nd July, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 130*, dated the 2nd of July, 1895.

Kafiristan. – Reports have been received from various sources to the effect that a strong Afghan force under the command of the Sipah Salar has entered Kafiristan. There seems to be reason for discrediting the reports, which have probably arisen from the fact that the Sipah Salar has got together a large force near Asmar, and has given out that Kafiristan is his objective. Orders are said to have been received from the Amir for the construction of a good twelve-foot road from Asmar to Badakhshan, and that it is to be taken in hand at once.

5th July, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 81. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 13*, dated the 5th of July, 1895.

Asmar

4 (c) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 1st July 1895, shows that under the Amir's orders Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has summoned the residents of Pech and the Safis, and intends proceeding shortly to attack the Siahposh Kafirs of Kamdesh. His Highness the Amir has directed Muhammad Akbar Khan of Lalpura to join the Sipah Salar with all his levies. The Khan is making his preparations and has sent to Peshawar to get some stores.

(d) Supplies are being speedily collected in the Laghman and other ilakas, and are being despatched to the Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan at Asmar, who has left for the Kamozi [Katr] Kafiristan *via* Sao and Nari, and is expected to arrive there shortly.

25th July, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 81. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 14, dated the 25th of July, 1895.

Asmar

8 (a) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th July 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir wrote to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, directing him to wait until the receipt of further orders before sending troops against the Kafirs. It is said that the Kafirs hearing of this held a consultation among themselves and sent a petition to His Highness, saying that troops might not be sent against them as they were willing to make their submission. They added that the Sipah Salar should be sent to the country, where they would welcome him, and accept the faith of Islam. By the Amir's orders Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, accompanied by two infantry and one cavalry regiments and a few guns, proceeded to the Kafir country. They, the Kafirs, were pleased to make their submission to His Highness and agreed to become Muhammadans as promised before. The Sipah Salar is still there; and he has sent a few Kafiri elders to His Highness the Amir awaiting final orders from Kabul.

(b) On the 15th June 1895, the Salar sent a letter to Mulla Najam-ud-din of Adda asking him to reckon him one of his true disciples, and informing him that, as the Kafir country had come under the jurisdiction of the King of Islam and the Kafirs had invited him (the Salar) to their country where he intended to go and build mosques, he begged the Mulla to send his disciples to preach there. The Mulla of Adda replied that he had no concern in the matter.

(c) On the 15th July 1895, three sepoy's belonging to the Amir's regiments stationed at Asmar deserted and reached Peshawar *via* Bajaur. They say that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has left for Kafiristan with 5 regiments and one mule battery to construct the road there, and that supplies are being pushed on to Asmar from Jalalabad, Kunar, &c.

(d) News received from Nawagai and the Mohmand country shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who had started for the Kamdesh Kafir country, has been recalled by His Highness the Amir and has been ordered to stay at Asmar leaving the sappers and miners, &c., working on the road. Ghulam Haidar Khan has accordingly returned to Asmar. . .

29th July, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 81. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending 13th July, 1895 (Confidential).

23rd June. Sipah Salar and Kafirs.

It is reported that the Afghan Sipah Salar lately sent some 300 men to Birkot and himself proceeded to Sau. He then summoned a deputation of the Kafirs from Bashgal, half of whom sent their deputation. These were informed of the terms to be imposed by the Amir's Government on the Bashgal people. The deputation agreed to all the terms except that which enjoined their becoming converts to Muhammadanism. They said they would fight sooner than become Muhammadans, and with this reply went away to their homes.

20th August, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 81. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 16, dated the 20th August, 1895.

Kabul

3 (d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated the 15th August 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir has issued orders to all tribes living round about Kabul that any person from amongst them, who wishes to take service of his own free [will], will be enlisted for operations against the Kafirs, and he should attend before Shahzada Habibulla Khan at Kabul, who will have his name written down. The present orders are to enlist two new regiments of infantry. Whatever numbers of men are being enlisted by the Shahzada are sent on to the Sipah Salar. Many people have been taken by force out of their houses and despatched under a military guard. Shahzada Habibulla Khan has issued an order that, if any person declines to go, he will be dealt with severely. Fearing this order, every person selected for service goes without any complaint. The tribes that are living close to Kafiristan were told by the Sipah Salar that the Amir's orders for them were to receive supplies, &c., from the Government stores, and that they were to go ahead of the regular troops to fight the Kafirs. They have accepted the Amir's orders, and as they are coming in are being sent on.

(g) The Amir gave khilats and cash to the Kafirs, about 32 in number, who had embraced Islam and were sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar and permitted them to return to their homes.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5.(a). It is rumoured that levies from Laghman with Khassadars, about 1,000 men in all, have started against the Kafirs *via* Kirman, and General Taj Muhammad Khan has moved against them from Badakhshan.

The troops and levies who had attacked the Kafirs from the Laghman side were defeated with heavy loss after severe fighting and had to retreat to Ziarat Ghazi Baba, where they got no food for two days owing to the mismanagement of the Governor of Laghman. At first the Amir's troops had taken possession of three Kafir villages and had succeeded in killing many Kafirs, but, while attacking a fourth fort named Mangwa, they were stoutly opposed; the fight lasted for a day and a night, and resulted in the defeat of the Amir's troops with a loss of about 100 men. It is said two more regiments are coming from Kabul and a fresh attack will be made.

(b) Ghulam Haidar Khan is encamped at Sao with five regiments. Some of the Kamozi Kafir hamlets were attacked at night by some Khassadars under the instructions of the Sipah Salar. The Kamozi Kafirs, who are about 3,000 men in number, would not give in to the Sipah Salar and are ready to fight. He has been informed that some time ago these Kafirs were given rifles with ammunition by the British officers at Chitral, hence they would not surrender. The road is under construction, and people from Asmar and Lalpura are collecting to work on it at the demand of the Salar. It is said that, as soon as the tribal levies are collected, the Sipah Salar will move against the Kafirs. Meanwhile he is advising them to accept Afghan rule and to allow Mullas to preach Islam amongst them promising that, if they agree to this, he will set their prisoners at liberty and will restore their cattle, but the Kamozis will not listen and are determined to fight.

(c) Now that His Highness the Amir's troops have moved towards Kafiristan, there are only two regiments left at Asmar: one is the Kandari; the name of the other is not known. The road to Kafiristan is being constructed without opposition. It is reported that a second Afghan force consisting of four regiments and one battery has moved against the Kafirs from Kabul *via* the Kulman hill on the Laghman border. Some of the Kafir tribes

are reported to have come in to the Salar, others have kept away and there may be fighting.

(d) The people of the Kunar and Asmar valleys are reported to be in great trouble owing to requisitions for the supply of provisions for the troops engaged against the Kafirs, and for labour for the construction of the road.

(e) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan had sent a party of about 500 Khassadars to attack the Kafirs. They captured some 25 Kafirs and about 1,000 cattle, and brought them to their camp. Three Khassadars were wounded in the fight. Ghulam Haidar Khan was to reach Chanak on the 2nd August. Muhammad Karim Khan is encamped at Dana Darra in the Kamdesh country with two regiments. The Salar with three regiments and a battery was at Shankar (? Shingar), and was about to leave for Chanak. The wooden bridge over the Kunar river is being repaired and strengthened. Some tribal levies are also advancing against the Kafirs through the Shigal valley.

(f) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar is said to have attacked the Kamoz Kafirs with three regiments of infantry 12 days ago, and to have taken possession of their country. He has captured about 60 men and 40 or 50 Kafir women.

(g) Local levies from Laghman have assembled at Ziarat-i-Ghazi Baba in Kirman, and are awaiting the arrival of reinforcement from Kabul in order that an attack may be made upon the Kafirs.

(h) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent 40 Kafir prisoners to Asmar. The Kamdesh and Kamoz Kafirs have accepted the suzerainty of the Amir, but have refused to embrace Islam. The Sipah Salar, however, presses their conversion. There is a large gathering of Kafirs at Kamdesh, and a fight is likely to take place.

(i) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated the 8th August 1895, shows that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, who is now in the Kafir country, informed some of the Kafir elders who came in to him that he would send them to His Highness the Amir at Kabul, but they refused to go. On this the Sipah Salar despatched about 60 of their elders under an escort to Kabul. Seeing this the other Kafirs have stopped going in to the Sipah Salar.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has written to His Highness the Amir, reporting that the Kafirs, after holding a consultation

amongst themselves, have informed him that they are not willing either to give over their country to the Amir or become his subjects. The Sipah Salar also wrote asking for further troops being sent for operations against the Kafirs. The Amir has, it is said, despatched five infantry and two cavalry regiments and two batteries of artillery from Kabul to fight against the Kafirs by way of Kohistan.

As the Safis are residing close to Kafiristan, the Sipah Salar, by the Amir's orders, summoned a jirga of their Chiefs and elders, and after presenting them with lungis told them that His Highness's orders were for them to join the regular troops operating against the Kafirs, and asked them what were their wishes in the matter. They said that they were ready to obey the Amir's orders, but they would like first to consult those of their tribesmen who were living closer to the Kafirs in Chagharserai, &c., and then give a reply.

A fight is reported to have taken place between Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, and the Siahposh Kafirs, in which 20 men were killed on the Sipah Salar's side. The loss suffered by the Kafirs is not known, but the Sipah Salar succeeded in capturing six of their villages. In reply to the Sipah Salar's request, the Amir has informed him that more troops will shortly be sent to him. These troops have already left by way of Badakhshan to join the Sipah Salar. The Amir's orders are to attack the Kafirs from three directions, *viz.*, Badakhshan, Laghman and Asmar.

Mohmands

8.(a) The Sipah Salar has called upon Muhammad Akbar Khan of Lalpura to furnish 150 Khassadars for the Kafiristan expedition; and has warned him that, if he fails to comply, his allowance will be still further reduced. It is said he cannot collect so many Khassadars.

3rd September, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 178,*
dated the 3rd of September, 1895.

Kabul. – No new of importance has been received from Kabul during the month.

One month's pay is said to have been deducted from the whole

Afghan army this year, to meet the cost of manufacture of cannon and other arms.

Kafiristan. – No reliable news has been received of the recent proceedings of the Sipah Salar in the Kafiristan direction, but reports continue to circulate to the effect that Afghan troops have entered the Kafir country, and have met with opposition. The Amir's instructions are said to be that the Kafirs should be attacked simultaneously from Asmar, Badakhshan and Lughman. One report states that the force which marched from the Lughman side was defeated with great loss and had to retreat. Tribal levies are being collected to aid the Afghan regular forces; three thousand Khugianis are said to have already joined the Sipah Salar, as has also the Khan of Lalpura with a contingent of Mohmand levies. The Kafirs are gathering at Kamdesh, and it is expected that a fight will take place there. Several Kafir elders have been sent to Kabul. A good road is being made up the Bashgul valley. The Sipah Salar was at Sao, with a strong force, about the middle of August. The people of the Kunar valley are much distressed by the requisitions for supplies for the troops and for labour for the construction of the road.

6th September, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 82. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 17, dated the 6th of September, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

3.(a) News received shows that His Highness the Amir's troops are encamped in the country between Koi, Nari and the Kamdesh ilaka, and that the road is being made. The Kafir elders attended the Sipah Salar, consented to pay the usual revenue and requested him to withdraw his troops, but the Salar did not agree to this and replied that the troops must be allowed to pass through their country at least once. The Kafirs are not inclined to agree to this proposal as yet. Supplies are being collected from the Kunar and Kala (?) ilakas, and are being despatched for the Amir's troops engaged in Kafiristan.

(b) News from the Khyber states that the Sipah Salar has sent to Jalalabad all the cattle found in some Kafir forts captured by him. The Amir is very pleased at the successes of his army. Operations on a larger scale seem to be intended, troops are under

orders from Badakhshan, and carriage is being impressed at Kabul and Jalalabad.

11th September, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 82. *Translation of a News-letter from the British Agent at Kabul, No. 35, dated the 11th September to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.*

Sir, I beg to forward the news which I received during the week ending the 10th of September 1895:—

[On the 4th Sept. 1895] I have learned that, although the people of Kafiristan, residing near Indarab, Panjsher, and Nijrab have owned the suzerainty of the Amir, yet, those who reside near the Chitral border and higher up, do not tender their allegiance; and that the Amir is thinking of, and making preparations for, sending a military expedition to that country; and that orders will shortly be given for the despatch of the expedition.

5th Sept. 1895. . . A certain Mirza of the Amir's office secretly sent an anonymous letter to the people of Kafiristan, stating that the Amir was thinking of occupying their country and bringing them under his power; that they should hold themselves in readiness to resist His Highness. The letter was intercepted and sent to the Amir, who has given orders to trace the offender.

16th September, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 82. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 17th August, 1895 (Confidential).

20th July, 1895. — Assistant British Agent started for Shishi. . . Camped at Broz, 21st July, 1895. — Marched from Broz to Kesu. Received a visit from a party of Kafirs who asked for protection from Government and reported that a force of 1,000 Afghans had come to Birkot, and that the Sipah Salar was pressing the Bashgalis to become Muhammadans which the Bashgalis refuse to agree to.

25th July, 1895. — (1). Returned to Chitral. 2. A Kafir headman named Jana, resident of Ahmed Dewana, visited Chitral and informed the Mehtar that, owing to pressure from the Afghan Sipah Salar, the Kam people had sent a deputation to Lutdeh [Baragamatal] asking for help against the Afghans. The Lutdeh

people in reply told the deputation that it was difficult for them to join Kamdesh in a war against the Afghans coming up from Narsat, as the Amir's garrison in Minjan was similarly threatening to attack Lutdeh. The only thing to be done was to abandon their country and retire to the interior of Kafiristan.

28th July, 1895. – (1). The Afghans are said to have some 400 men at Birkot, a full regiment at Sau, and about 800 tribal levies at Nari, The Sipah Salar is at Vasangar, and communications between him and the Kam people are being exchanged.

Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 24th August, 1895 (Confidential).

Chitral

1. The Sipah Salar is said to be at Sau. He is having the road made from Birkot towards the Bashgal River, men having been put to work on it.

2. The Sipah Salar has sent the headmen of the different villages in Narsat to Kamdesh to persuade the people of that country to submit to the terms imposed by the Amir. The headmen have not yet returned.

Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 31st August, 1895 (Confidential).

Chitral

Syed Amir and Jumma Khan of Arandu have brought the following news:—

(a) Two Afghan regiments advanced about the 2nd August 1895 *via* the Birkot nullah to the Kamie Pass leading to Kamdesh and are encamped there. Some 2,000 labourers (Shirwanis of Spinghar) under their Khans and Sindani people of Asmar, Shal, and Shangar, &c., are employed making a road up the Birkot nullah.

(b) The Sipah Salar some days ago visited the mouths of the Bashgal valley with an escort of 32 horse and about 100 foot, returning from thence to Sau where he is encamped.

(c) There are two regiments of regular troops and a large number of tribal levies at Birkot. Those are to move forward when the road is ready about the 7th August. Flour and other supplies for the force were being hurriedly got ready.

(d) The three headman, Shaikh Muhammad Islam of Chanduk, Ghulam Nabi of Nashagam and Aib Khan of Birkot, who had

been lately sent to Kamdesh by the Sipah Salar returned four days ago (that is, 2nd August 1895) with 14 Kam headmen. They saw the Sipah Salar and asked to be excused from embracing the Muhammadan religion and from the road to their country being made, and offered to pay the same tribute to the Amir as they have been in the habit of paying to the Mehtars of Chitral. These terms, however, the Sipah Salar refused to agree to. The Kafir headmen are still with the Sipah Salar.

22nd September, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 22nd September, 1895.

26th August 1895. – (1) The Kamdesh Kafirs have sent messengers to the Mehtar. The messengers give the following news:—

(a) In their negotiations with the Sipah Salar, some of the Kafirs offered to become Muhammadans, but asked that only a few Mullas might be sent into their country to teach them the Muhammadan religion, that no troops should be sent into the country, and the Amir would accept the same tribute that they had hitherto paid to Chitral.

The Sipah Salar would not accept these terms, and told them that, besides embracing the Muhammadan religion and paying 1/10th of the produce as revenue, they must agree to roads being made through their country and to furnishing 120 men for military service and a few good-looking girls for the harem.

The Kafirs think these terms very hard and have decided to fight.

(b) The Afghan troops have advanced beyond Istargaz (Gourdesh). One Afghan sepoy has been shot dead by some Kafir scouts.

(c) A Sheikh and two Afghans having gone to Kamdesh as envoys, the Kafirs sent the Sheikh back, but kept the two Afghans.

(d) The Kafirs keep sending messengers to the Mehtar to try and get his assistance and supplies of powder and bullets. They also ask permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. The latter question having been referred by the Mehtar to the Assistant British Agent, he was informed that there was no objection to him granting such refuge.

(2) Azar Khan, a resident of Utzun, has come in and told the Mehtar that Akram Jan, the headman of Nari, lately sent some

men to their grazing grounds with the object of capturing their cattle. The Utzun people had however already removed their cattle, and Akram Jan's men failed in their object and went back. He says he was informed by Sir George Robertson that Utzun was in Chitral territory and was under the Mehtar of Chitral, and begs that the Afghans may be prevented from interfering with them.

1st October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Kabul News-Letter* No. 38 from Muhammad Akram Khan, Lieut.-Colonel, British Agent, Afghanistan.

28th Sept. 1895. (*Authentic News*)

In accordance with the request of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar, one infantry regiment, one resala, and one battery of guns have been sent to the aid of the troops which are engaged in the Kafiristan expedition. It is understood that the Sipah Salar has reported that a very large number of Kafirs have collected together to resist the Afghan troops; and that they are really a brave and valorous people. He has also reported that five of the forts belonging to the Kafirs have been seized, and that during these operations a Kafir village consisting of 50 houses was captured and burned down.

1st October, 1895.

It is reported that three lakhs of rupees, loaded on seventy ponies, have been sent to Kafiristan to meet the expenses of the expedition.

2nd October, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. *Letter No. 190*, dated the 2nd of October, 1895.

Towards the end of July a party of Kafirs came to the Assistant Political Officer in Chitral, and asked for protection against the Afghans, who were advancing up the Bashgal Valley, and pressing the Kafirs to become Muhammadans. The Kafirs are ready to pay revenue and make their submission to the Amir; but they still refuse to allow the Afghan troops a free passage through their country. News of what is actually occurring is difficult to obtain and untrustworthy.

4th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 7th September, 1895.

Kafir News

17 August 1895. – A deputation of some Lutdeh [Baragamatal, Katr tribe] Kafirs arrived in Chitral with a customary tribute of 20 baltis (one balti = $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers) of *ghi* for the Mehtar. They said that as yet the Sipah Salar had not advanced into the Kamdesh valley, but that the Afghans were busy making a road up the Birkot river.

The Sipah Salar has been sending messages to the Kam Kafirs to the effect that Kafiristan has been given by the British Government to the Amir, and threatening to punish them unless they come in and give in their submission. The Kam people consulted the Lutdeh and other Kafirs, and it is reported that the Kafirs are divided as to what to do, some being in favour of resistance and others of submission. It seems probable that some 8,000 Kafirs of Kamdesh, Mujash, Madugal and Veron will oppose the advance of the Afghan force. The Wai and Katwar Kafirs have so far not joined the league.

The deputation now came from Lutdeh has for its object the obtaining of help from the Mehtar and the British Government against the Afghans, and the prevention of the latter's advance into Kafiristan.

19th August, 1895. – News came to-day that Istorgat (the Chitrali name for Gourdesh [Gawardesh]) had been occupied by the Afghan forces. The Lutdeh Kafirs who were here got the news first and were so unhappy at hearing it that they began crying.

12th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday the 12th October 1895.

Movements of Afghan Forces Against Kafiristan

6th October 1895. – Shukr Shah, Chitrali, reports that the Sipah Salar is said to have again started to attack Kamdesh; also that the Amir's forces are said to have attacked Kafiristan from the Laghman side and captured one fort.

2. Ajdar, Zondra of Oyon, having lately sent men into Kafiristan, his men have returned and bring the following news:—

- (a) The Amir has disapproved the action of the Sipah Salar with regard to his having accepted Rs. 1,000 as tribute from the Kam people; so the money has been returned.
- (b) The Afghan General at Faizabad has sent two Kabulis accompanied by two Tajiks of Singlich to the Kafirs of Lutdeh, with a message advising them to submit to the Amir and become Musalmans and, in case of their refusing to do so, to warn them to prepare for war with the Amir's troops. The Lutdehchis have sent a message through Krui Gumara, who lives at Bumboret, to the Mehtar saying that, if they are not helped by him, they must submit to the Amir as they cannot stand against him alone.
- (c) The Amir lately sent a force in the direction of Ramgul in Kafiristan, which force attacked and took a Kafir fort. The Afghans lost 800 and the Kafirs 400 men.
- (d) The Sipah Salar has sent a message to the Kam people advising them to embrace the Muhammadan religion.
- (e) The Kam Kafirs lately sent men to ask the Lutdehchis to come to their help, as they were about to be attacked by the Sipah Salar. The Lutdehchis refused, saying they would wait in their own country, and if attacked from the lower side (the south) they would fight, but if attacked from the Munjan side [i.e., the north] they would have to submit, as they could not withstand an attack from that direction.

Movements of Afghan Troops

8th October, 1895. – Some men recently sent down to Arandu under the Mehtar's orders have returned, and report that they saw three parties of Afghan troops from the Birkot camp, numbering in all some 200 men, marching up the Bashgal stream towards Istargaz (Gourdesh).

9th October, 1895. – Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, has arrived in Chitral and reports as follows:—

- (a) The Afghan General at Faizabad, under orders from Kabul, sent 6 Singlich men to Lutdeh with a message to the Lutdeh people to come to him and make their submission to the Amir, and adding that he had never worried them in any way or prevented their intercourse or trade in the Badakhshan provinces of the Amir. The Lutdehchis accordingly sent a deputation con-

sisting of Nili Rai, son of Kan, brother of Mara, a headman of Lutdeh, Shangnu Latkari of Lutdeh, and a Shui man, accompanied by a slave girl as a present, to the General at Faizabad.

(b) The Amir has ordered the Sipah Salar to give back the tribute money which he lately took from the Kam people, saying he wants Kafiristan, not money.

(c) Pashai is a Kafir State one day's journey from Ramgal. The Amir sent a force and attacked it, with the result that one of the three Pashai forts has been captured by the Afghans. Three hundred Kafirs were killed and one thousand Afghans.

(d) The Ramgul Kafirs have been called upon by the Amir to become Musalmans. They have refused to do so and have sent two men to the Lutdehchis proposing an alliance and mutual help in case either were attacked.

Afghan News

11th October, 1895. – Kazi Shah Muhammed, Agent of the Khwaja of Munjan, brings the following news:—

(a) The Afghan authorities in Badakhshan are having the following roads made –

1st. – At the head of the Munjan valley from a place called Kairk some six miles south of the village of Talli to the Veron Pass, a distance of one day's march. The Munjan people are working at this road.

2nd. – At the foot of the Munjan valley from near Mian Shahr through the Ulf ravine towards Lutdeh, which is one march distant.

(b) Large quantities of supplies are being brought in to Munjan and stored there, it is believed, with a view to invading Kafiristan.

(d) An Afghan General with a force has lately arrived at Charikar from Kabul. It is believed he is proceeding against the Kafirs either *via* Panjsher or Badakhshan.

(e) The Lutdeh Kafirs have sent some headmen and a slave to the Afghan General at Faziabad. . .

14th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 14th October 1895.

Chitral

29th August, 1895. – British Agent [of Gilgit, Sir George Scott Robertson] arrived at about 9 a.m. . .

1st September, 1895. –

Kafir News

3. British Agent [Robertson] interviewed the Lutdeh headmen. The latter said their country belonged to Chitral and to Government, and for that reason asked for help against the Afghans. They said that hitherto the Kam people had failed in making the Sipah Salar agree to anything short of absolute submission, that the other Kafir States were watching to see what the Kam people would do, and that the rest of the Kafirs would probably follow the example of the Kam people, and that half the latter were in favour of submitting to the Amir, and the other half opposed to it; that Waigal had sent all their headmen to the Sipah Salar and submitted; and that some of the Ramgulis had also become Muhammadans; they asked that if they were defeated they might be permitted to emigrate to Chitral territory and settle there. British Agent told them their country had never belonged to Government, and advised them to send their headmen to the Sipah Salar and come to terms with him. They were also told that, in case of their emigration to Chitral territory, the Mehtar would no doubt give them refuge.

4. An Arandu man arrived with the news that the people of Kamdesh had submitted to the Sipah Salar, the Afghan force having reached Kam.

2nd September, 1895. – The Darbar for the installation of Shuja-ul-Mulk as Mehtar took place at 5:30 p.m. on an open space outside the main gate of the Chitral Fort. . .

Kafir News

3rd September, 1895. – B. Chora, Kafir of Kam, brought news that the Kam people had submitted to the Sipah Salar and had agreed to pay him Rs. 1,000 annually as revenue, and that an Afghan Colonel had gone into Kamdesh to collect this revenue. The Sipah Salar leaving some 60 men at Gourdesh had withdrawn with the main body of his force from that place to Birkot. The road-making in Bashgal Valley has been abandoned by the Afghans; the road up the Birkot river is however being made.

Though the Sipah Salar has withdrawn from Gourdesh, the Kafirs are of the opinion that he means to return with a large force and occupy the country.

13th September, 1895.—

(2) It is reported that the Sipah Salar has, since his return from Gourdesh, been encamped at Birkot, and that his men are busy making roads into Kafiristan. The delay in advancing further on the part of the Sipah Salar is said to be that preparations are being made by the Amir for a simultaneous advance from different directions into Kafiristan.

Kafir News

18th September, 1895.—

(1) Mirza Nabi and Begi, two Chitralis, lately came from Arandu, report that all the Sipah Salar's force, except three regiments, has been withdrawn to Lower Narsat, &c.; only three regiments remain with the Sipah Salar at Birkot.

The Kam people have paid Rs. 1,000 to Sipah Salar.

A party of Afghan troops from Birkot goes every morning up the Birkot ravine as far as the foot of the pass and returns to camp in the evening.

(2) Shukur Shah, Chitrali, states that the Sipah Salar has stationed some 40 men, Sheikhs from the Narsat valley as garrison of the fort at Ishtorgat (Gourdesh).

20th September, 1895.—

(1) Shukur Shah, Chitrali, brings the following news:—

The Sipah Salar lately sent four men, Syed Rasul, Kabuli, Muhammad Rasul, Shighali, and two others, up the Birkot ravine into Kafiristan to reconnoitre the roads. When these men arrived at a place called Ishpai, whence roads lead to Kam, Mujashi [Kaštá] and Wai, a party of Kafirs, who were in ambush there, attacked and killed them, taking away their arms, *viz.*, two Martini and two Snider rifles. On the Sipah Salar receiving news of the occurrence he ordered it to be kept secret, and directed 50 Afghan soldiers from Bailan to proceed at once *via* Nawa Kili up a ravine, which leads to the head of the Ishpai ravine. The latter are supposed to have been men of the tribes either of Wai or Mujashi.

Russian and Afghan News

(2) Panj Shambe, Zebaki, was lately sent to Shighnan to bring news; he went as far as Shakhdarra and started on his return journey from thence about the 15th September. He reports as follows:—

(k) There are 500 Afghan troops in Munjan and 400 in Zebak. When Panj Shambe passed through Zebak, the latter troops were preparing to march to Munjan, the rumour being that the whole 900 would shortly operate against Kafiristan.

Kafir News

23rd September, 1895.—

(1) Syed Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, brings the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar commenced his operations against the Kafirs by sending two regiments up the Birkot ravine. With these regiments were a large number of Spenghi Shinwaris and Narsat-Asmar men, who were employed on making the road. The road was made as far as Buda Pakat and then abandoned, and the force withdrawn. The Sipah Salar then arrived in person at Birkot, and with a large force and two guns moved up the Bashgal Gol (valley), and encamped the first day at Vens in Istargat or (Gourdesh). Thence he moved to a place called Damni beyond Chinar Gol. Here he established his head-quarters. Two regiments were sent on by him to a place called Kashrotal, 5 miles further up, and a road was made to that place. The Kafirs of Kamoz (i.e., Kamdesh and Madugal), who were guarding the road fired on the Afghans, who returned the fire. The Sipah Salar, on hearing of it, got angry and gave strict orders to his people not to fire even if fired on by the Kafirs.

The Sipah Salar then sent messages to the Kafirs, asking them to come and see him. The Kafirs accordingly sent the following headmen: Astor, son of Latkam Chandlu, Tani Sundra [of] Bilashe Dhare [clan], Azar, son of Diwan Malik, Chara, son of Ara Malik, Badal, son of Kazan, and Mirag [of] Gurikach [Gut-ketchdari or Gutketch clan], with 18 followers, to the Sipah Salar. These on seeing the Sipah Salar said that they would agree to everything except conversion to Muhammadanism, and to the making of roads through their country. The Sipah Salar replied

that they would not be forced to become Muhammadans, nor would roads be made if they did not wish it. The Kafirs then agreed to pay Rs. 1,000 as tribute from Kamdesh, Madugal, and Mujashi [Kaštá], and to send a deputation of headmen to Kabul. The Sipah Salar told the Kafirs that they need not be afraid, but if they wished to, might fearlessly send their flocks to graze in Narsat, and that the Afghan Government would be responsible for any losses they suffered there. He told them to bring things freely for sale in the Afghan Camps, and said they would receive good prices for everything.

After this, the Sipah Salar returned to Birkot, which he has made his permanent head-quarters. Everything – supplies, bazar, &c., – has been moved from Asmar to Birkot. The Afghan troops have been lodged in the houses of the villagers at Birkot, and the latter have been told to build new houses for themselves.

Akram Jan, with 40 Sheikhs, has been left in charge of Istargat or (Gourdesh), but he will shortly be withdrawn, the place being then given to Mer Jan Merag Dhare [Mir Jan of the clan of Merak], who has offered to become a Muhammadan. For this he has been exempted from all taxes or tribute.

The Lutdeh people also sent a deputation to the Sipah Salar offering to pay tribute, but he refused to take it, and told them they would be dealt with by the Afghan authorities in Munjan.

Epidemic in Badakhshan

27th September, 1895. –

E. (1) Some epidemic is said to have broken out in Badakhshan from which many people are dying. The Afghan troops in Zebak, Munjan, &c., are also suffering much from the disease, and the expedition against the Kafirs may have to be put off in consequence.

18th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. Copy of Telegram No. 3999 F. From the Foreign Secretary, Simla, To the Resident in Kashmir, dated 18th October, 1895.

See Chitral Diary received with your 4610, 7th October, and previous diaries. The Kafirs are now Amir's subjects. It is very undesirable that they should be permitted or encouraged to hope

for refuge in or assistance from Chitral which should observe strict neutrality as between Kafirs and Afghans.

Addressed to Resdt., Kashmir and repeated to Asstt. British Agent, Chitral.

23rd October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 19, dated the 23rd of October, 1895.

Operations against the Kafirs

6.(a). Report from Asmar states that a few days ago the Kamdesh Kafirs attended upon the Sipah Salar and told him that they were willing to accept the suzerainty of His Highness the Amir, King of Islam, on condition they were not compelled to accept Islam, and that no road should be made through their country. The Sipah Salar told them that the King of Islam wanted the road and not revenue, and that they had better consult their clansmen again.

(b) An extract from Khyber Political Diary shows that it is stated that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, wrote to His Highness the Amir from Kafiristan, stating that he had located some of his troops in the places lately conquered by him, where he thought there was necessity to do so, and they have been ordered to live in tents as a temporary measure. As the winter was coming on, he solicited permission for construction of huts for their residence. His Highness informed the Sipah Salar that he could build the huts wherever he thought it proper to do so. Under the Amir's orders masons, carpenters, &c., have been despatched from Kabul for this work.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Sao and Nari. The Kamoz Kafirs have surrendered and allowed Mullas to preach among them. They have also agreed to pay such revenue and jizya as may be fixed by His Highness the Amir. The Sipah Salar has sent their jirga consisting of 25 elders to Kabul, and expects further instructions from His Highness the Amir. A jizya at the rate of Rs. 18 per head per annum has been announced to them, but the Kafirs consider this amount to be altogether excessive and quite intolerable.

(d) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and the other officers engaged against the Kafirs have received orders from His High-

ness the Amir to stop taking any further action against them and to arrange to locate the troops during the approaching winter in a position where they may escape the severity of the season. Most of the tribal levies are to be disbanded and allowed to return to their homes.

23rd October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Kabul News-Letter* No. 41, dated the 23rd of October, 1895.

20th October, 1895. – I hear that a slave-boy in the Amir's service told the Amir with regard to the expedition sent against the Siahposh Kafirs that they go into the hills during summer, and in winter they come down from the hills on account of the heavy snow and bitter cold; that it would be advisable to wait for some time and to send the expedition when they come to live in the plains. I have also heard that the Amir approved of the above suggestion and sent orders to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, to do the needful at the time when the Kafirs come down to the plains.

22nd October, 1895. . . I learn that the Amir addressing Sardar Jan Muhammad Khan said:— “I am informed that a large number of British Indian troops have assembled in Chitral, Bajaur and Swat; and that large quantities of provisions will be stored in those places; that the British Government will strongly fortify the pass through which the Russians can come to India. In that case, after the termination of the Kafiristan business, it is incumbent on us also to strengthen our frontier in those quarters, so that the Russian troops may not make improper encroachment upon Afghan territory.”

28th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Gilgit Political Diary* for the week ending the 28th October, 1895.

Chitral – Kafir News.

9th September, 1895. –

(1) Gomura, a headman of Lutdeh, brings the following news:—
 (a) The Afghan General at Fiazabad lately sent two men to the Lutdehchis, calling on them to come to Faizabad and make their submission. The Lutdehchis refused to go saying they were prepared to fight if their country was invaded.

(b) The Kafirs think the Sipah Salar, who is at Asmar, will not invade Kafiristan this year.

(c) The four Afghan spies reported in a previous diary as having been killed by Kafirs at Ishpai are said to have been killed by Gachara, son of Bahadur of Madugal. The Kam people called on him to pay blood-money to the Sipah Salar or to make his peace in some other way, but Gachara told them to mind their own business.

29th October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 20, dated the 29th October, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5.(a) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 22nd October 1895, shows that the Kafirs have made their submission to the Amir, and that Hakims and Kazis are being appointed in their country. They have agreed with the Sipah Salar to give sufficient men to raise an infantry regiment. It was rumoured in certain places in Ningrahar that, on the return of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol would be appointed Governor of Kafiristan and that Badakhshan will also be placed under his charge.

(b) It is reported that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan had invited certain leading men of the Kafirs to Barikot to give them 'khilats', but that they refused to accept his invitation, and said they would not change their religion and abandon their liberty for the sake of such trifling presents.

The Sipah Salar is anxious to build barracks for the troops stationed at Barikot during the coming winter. He has sent orders to the people of Kunar and Ningrahar to collect 40 'kharwars' [one *kharwar* equals 80 Kabul *seers* or 565 kg.] of salt at Barikot.

(c) The Amir is said to have issued orders to the Sipah Salar for the construction of cantonments at Barikot, as its climate is suitable to the Kabulis in the Amir's army. This cantonment, if built, will secure the safety of the Kafiristan-Badakhshan road.

(d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 22nd October 1895, shows that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, is at present in Kamdesh. In accordance with the Amir's orders, the Kafirs have agreed to the appointment of Hakims in their country

and to pay revenue. Barracks are being built in Kamdesh and road-making is going on. Five infantry regiments, two batteries of artillery, and 1,500 tribal levies will be kept in Kamdesh until further orders, while the Sipah Salar will also remain at the place. (e) Two infantry regiments and a battery have been ordered by the Amir to remain in readiness to march against the Kafirs in the direction of Panjsher, but this force has not yet started for its destination.

1st November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 21, dated the 1st of November, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5.(a) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 1st November, 1895, shows that it is reported that the Sipah Salar is at present encamped at Bukote [Barikot?] and that no fighting has lately taken place between him and the Surkhposh Kafirs. The Sipah Salar had sent Hakim Ahmad Jan, Peshawari, to Gardesh [Gawardesh] Fort to hold a jirga with the Kafirs. He brought with him 20 of their headmen with Rs. 1,000 and 50 men and women slaves, and produced them before the Sipah Salar. The Kafirs said that they have agreed to become the Amir's subjects and to pay the usual revenue, provided that they are not converted. The Sipah Salar told them that he would refer their case for His Highness the Amir's orders.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Birkot near Nari. The Kamos Kafirs have submitted, and roads and posts have been built in their country. The Kafir jirga sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar has not returned.

2nd November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 2nd of November, 1895.

2. Sayad Shah Darya of Lutkho arrived in Chitral on the 23rd October and gives the following news:—

(a) The Afghan General at Faizabad has been told by the Amir that he will shortly be joined by a force from Kabul, and that he is in the meantime to concentrate at Munjan all the troops in his district, and when joined by the Kabul force to invade Kafiri-

stan from the Munjan side, while the Sipah Salar will attack the Kafirs from the other side.

(b) The above-mentioned force from Kabul was then at a place three marches from Munjan. It consists of four regiments.

(c) The Amir has also ordered that no terms shall be accepted from the Kafirs short of absolute submission and conversion to Islam. He has prohibited the killing of Kafir children under seven years of age, but no Kafir above that age will be shown any mercy who refuses to embrace Muhammadanism.

(d) The storing of supplies, &c., at Munjan is nearly completed.

(e) The roads which were being made for the force to advance are now ready.

30th October, 1895. –

The Arandu people give the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still encamped at Birkot.

(b) There are no Afghan troops now at Istorgat (Gourdesh). The place is held by Mer Jan and other Kafirs friendly to the Amir.

(c) At Birkot there are eight Afghan regiments – six regulars and two irregulars. There are also some 800 regular cavalry. Amongst the regulars my informants only knew the names of three regiments, *viz.*, the Sufi Regiment, the Ardal Regiment, and the Sappers Regiment.

(d) There are some 3,000 transport ponies in the Sipah Salar's camp; also 200 camels and 2 elephants.

(e) There are four guns: one of these is a 'pechi top'. (I give original vernacular words. Some kind of screw gun appears to be meant. C. F. Minchin [Assistant British Agent, Chitral]).

(f) Some fifty Kafirs are in the camp and are given food from the Sipah Salar's own kitchen. Amongst them are the following headmen:—

Kana Mali Damu

Palik Demu, son of Chandlu

The son of Dechon Malik

Shili Chandlu

Mirag Chandlu

Tani Malkan's brother

(g) Some six days ago the Sipah Salar sent Murad Khan, headman of Birkot, accompanied by a confidential man of his own, to Bashgal with orders for the Kafirs to send down 80 headmen

who would be sent to the Amir. Should these headmen fail to come in he would invade Kafiristan. The general impression is that, whether the Bashgalis send these headmen or not, their country will before long be invaded, and that if the headmen come in they will be seized.

(h) There is a large bazar at Birkot for the benefit of the troops.

(i) The Sipah Salar has had a large house built for himself, and nearly a thousand huts have been made for the sepoys.

The above is news supplied by the headmen of Arandu. I myself looked at the Afghan Camp from the top of one of the towers of the fort lately built at Arandu by Umra Khan. The camp is about one mile distant across the river. It is about half a mile square and neatly laid out, with parade grounds in the centre. The camp consisted of half tents and half huts, the tents were evidently being taken down as the huts were built, as the camp presented a motley appearance of tents and huts dotted about. Birkot, where the camp is, is about two miles below the mouth of the Bashgal stream. At the mouth of the Bashgal stream is an Afghan advanced post of perhaps some 200 men in shelters made of branches of trees. Just opposite this advanced post is a rope bridge across the Bashgal stream made, so I was told, by the Afghans. I could see no signs of the large number of cavalry horses and transport ponies referred to in (c) and (d) above, but the south-western corner of the camp was not visible, owing to a hillock intervening from Arandu, and they may have been picketed there.

As regards (g), I understand that another two days would either see the submission of the Kafirs or an Afghan advance into Kafiristan. As regards (i) I should say that for 'a thousand huts' 400 should be read. There appeared to be about 400 huts and 400 tents from the distance from which I saw the camp.

3. The Arandu people declare that they have been called upon by the Sipah Salar to pay revenue for their lands on the left bank of the Arandu stream, the Sipah Salar declaring that the Arandu stream is the boundary between Chitral and Afghan Territory. Some 3/4 of the land of Arandu lies across the stream.

2nd November, 1895.—

3. Abdul Hamid, a leading man of the Khwaja of Munjan, brings the following news:—

- (e) There are 400 Afghan soldiers in Zebak under a Captain and 400 in Munjan under a Subedar.
- (f) Supplies are still being brought in to Munjan from all parts of Badakshan and stored there.
- (g) The roads leading to Veron and Lutdeh from Munjan were lately being made. Owing to snow having fallen, however, the work had to be abandoned.
- (h) The Lutdeh Kafirs have given in their submission to the Afghan authorities in Munjan. They were, however, told that the Amir intended to occupy their country.

4. Mehrab of Ayun, a foster relation of the late Mehtar Amir-ul-Mulk, had lately sent one of his servants to Kafiristan. The man went as far as Lutdeh, where he remained a few days and then returned. He reports as follows:—

The Lutdeh Kafirs in response to repeated messages from the Afghan general at Faizabad, sent Nili Ra, brother of Mara, headman, with a good-looking girl to the General to make terms. The General ordered Nili Ra to stay at Faizabad, until he (the General) got instructions from Kabul regarding him, and advised Nili Ra in the meantime to induce the Lutdeh people to come in and make their submission.

5. Lalif, Tajik, now residing in Chitral, lately went to Lutkho. He has returned to Chitral and reports —

- (a) A son of Khan, a headman of Lutdeh, with 5 other men also of Lutdeh, went about the 15th October to the Afghan General at Faizabad to declare their loyal feelings to the Amir's Government and to pay their respects to the General.
- (b) Four men of Lutdeh went the other day to Munjan as spies: three of them were captured by the Afghans, the fourth made his escape. It is not known how the Afghans treated the three spies captured.

14th November, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 1 C,*
dated the 14th of November, 1895.

Chitral

Deputations of Kafirs continue to come in to Chitral to seek the aid of the Mehtar, and to obtain permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. Instructions have been sent to the Political Officer in Chitral that, as the Kafirs

are now Afghan subjects [marginal note by someone in the Foreign Office: *When did this begin?*], it is very undesirable that they should be permitted or encouraged to hope for refuge in, or assistance from, Chitral, which should observe strict neutrality as between Kafirs and Afghans.

The Kamdesh and Kawardesh [Gawardesh] Kafirs are said to have submitted to the Amir and paid a fine of three thousand rupees. All Kafirs have been prohibited under penalty of death from taking supplies to, or visiting, Chitral under any circumstances whatever. The new road which the Sipah Salar is constructing has reached Kamdesh limits. A permanent bridge has been built over the Chitral River at Narsat; and barracks are being constructed at Birkot. One regiment of cavalry, one of infantry and a battery of artillery have been sent from Kabul to strengthen the force in Kafiristan.

16th November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 16th of November, 1895.

13th November, 1895.—

(1) Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, who left his home seven days ago, brings the following news:—

(a) As the Kagalwat and Pura Ghusht Passes leading from Lutdeh to Rumbor and Bumboret [Kalash Kafir valleys] respectively in Chitral territory are closed now, he had to travel *via* Kam [territory], Mer[grom], Istorgat [Gawardesh] and Ursun into Chitral. The Shui Pass leading from Lutdeh into Lutkho in Chitral owing to heavy snowfall has become difficult to travel over.

(b) The deputation of Lutdeh headmen, who went lately to Faizabad has not returned yet. Seven days ago the Lutdeh Kafirs sent two more men towards Faizabad to bring news of the deputation.

(c) The Veron [Parun] Kafirs tendered their submission to the Amir last year and agreed to pay tribute to His Highness. So they are in peace, and this year they have sent no deputation to Faizabad.

(d) The Waigal Kafirs also submitted to the Sipah Salar, Ghulam Haidar Khan, last year, and since then they have been keeping aloof from joining the other Kafir States.

(e) The Sipah Salar had lately called upon the Kam Kafirs to send some 80 headmen to Birkot to make their submission. As the Kam people are afraid of the Sipah Salar seizing all their headmen if they send them in large numbers, and then attacking their country, they have sent only two headmen, named Ota [Uta] and Shayuk, to pay their respects to him.

(f) About 20 days ago Kana Malik Demi [Kan Malik of the Demi clan], one of the principal headmen of Kamdesh, of his own free will, became a convert to Islam in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot. He has said to the Sipah Salar that, unless the Kam people send in all their headmen and submit to the Amir thoroughly in all matters, he may be given a force and he will occupy Kafiristan for the Kabul Government.

(g) The fort at Istorgat (Gourdesh) is held by Mer Jan, a Bashgali headman formerly converted to Islam, on behalf of the Afghan Government. When Kori passed through Istorgat, Mer Jan told him he (Mer Jan) had orders from the Sipah Salar to seize any Lutdeh Kafirs who should attempt to travel *via* Istorgat to Chitral, adding, however, that he did not care to carry out those orders. Mer Jan has been advising the Kam people not to send their headmen in large numbers to Birkot, as he suspected that they will be seized by the Sipah Salar.

(h) Ill-feeling prevails between the Kamozi and Kustozi [Kaštá] Kafirs: the former accuse the latter of having induced the Sipah Salar to come to Birkot and to threaten attack on Kamdesh. The Kustozi Kafirs throw back the blame on the Kamozi people, saying their own internal feuds and discord have brought about the move of the Afghan Sipah Salar to Birkot, &c. The Kustozi Kafirs are consequently thinking of abandoning their present homes and moving to their original country called Mujash [Mujash is the Chitrali word for the Kaštá people], which is one day's journey to the west of Veron and close to Katwar.

(i) The Kam headmen in their last interview with the Sipah Salar told him that, if their country was invaded by the Afghan Government, they would fight, and when overpowered will burn their houses, kill their flocks, and move to Madugal; thence, if worsted, to Lutdeh, and thence, if necessary, will take refuge in Katwar, Ramgal, and in Chitral. The Sipah Salar told them, the British Government being friends with His Highness the Amir, they would not be allowed to take refuge in Chitral.

(j) Badur, headman of Madugal, having lately visited the Sipah Salar at Birkot, was told to go back to his country and come again bringing with him the other headmen of Madugal. When Kori passed through Madugal the other day, Badur with two other headmen of Madugal was preparing to start for Birkot.

(k) An Afghan General with six regiments has arrived in Panjsher and is located one day's journey from the Mulim Pass, which is at the head of the Ramgal Valley. This pass being closed by snow now, it is believed that in the spring this force will attack Ramgal from that side.

Ramgal consists of 60 forts. Kinigal is the last fort at the foot of the Ramgal Valley in the direction of Lughman. Last summer the Afghans sent a small force of local men from Lughman and took the fort of Kinigal by assault: 100 Afghans were killed and 200 Kafirs of Kinigal. The Afghans then made arrangements for holding the fort permanently, but before they could carry out their arrangements a Kafir force of eighteen thousand Ramgalis attacked them and drove them out of Kinigal. The Afghans are now stationed at a place some 20 miles from Kinigal in the direction of Lughman. This road to Kinigal will be open for another month, and if the Afghans do not advance against Kinigal now, they will have to put off their advance til next spring.

14th November, 1895.—

(1) Ajdar, a Chitrali resident of Ayun, sent a man of his, named Sheikh, some 14 days ago into Lutdeh. Sheikh having come back brings the following news:—

(a) Sheikh interviewed Mara, chief headman of Lutdeh. The latter complained of the Mehtar's behaviour in having deserted them in their time of need and left them to the tender mercies of the Afghans. He added that his people had now through necessity submitted themselves to the Amir and that henceforth they will have to obey the orders of the Afghan Government. He then told Sheikh that no more Chitralis should visit their country as they would have to seize them to please their new masters. Mara then stated that he had lately sent his brother with a deputation of Lutdehchis to the Afghan General at Faizabad, that the deputation had been detained there, that, as the pass leading from Lutdeh to Badakhshan had become closed now by snow, he hoped they would pass the winter at any rate in peace, and

added that his people were inclined to become Mussalmans only if they were sure that after their conversion they would not be made prisoners.

(b) It was said in Lutdeh that the Afghans have made a good road from Munjan to Veron and have been carrying their supplies to that place, the General at Faizabad intending to move a force into Veron shortly.

(c) The Ramgal Kafirs have retaken the fort which the Afghans had lately taken from them.

(d) The Ahmad Diwana Pass [between the upper Bashgul Valley and Badakhshan] is closed by snow. The Lutdehchis have been entertaining fears of being attacked this winter by the Afghans over the Gohar Pass, which is close to the village of Para Bek in Lutkho (in Chitral territory).

(e) When Badur, headman of Madugal, lately visited the Sipah Salar at Birkot, the latter gave him Rs. 100 cash and a gold lungi as a reward.

(f) The Sipah Salar lately sent some money presents for the headmen of Kamdesh. The common people came to know of this, and the result was a serious quarrel broke out between them and all the headmen, the former threatening to expel the latter from the country, saying that the Sipah Salar should send money presents for them (common people) also, and that if this was not done the headmen should give back the bribes they had received. The quarrel ended after the money was sent back by the headmen.

(g) The Sipah Salar lately sent some Narsatis to Kamdesh to call in the Kam people to send in 80 of their headmen to him for salam. A jirga was held by the Kam Kafirs; at the same time they heard that Kana Malik Demi [Kan Malik of the Demi clan], one of their principal headmen, had become converted to Islam. The jirga assembly after much discussion decided that the following of their headmen, *viz.*, Ota [Uta], Tali Mal Kan, Astan, Mali Malik, Azar Kan, Sha-yuk, Diwan Ia, brother of Mirag, Chara, Chandlu, Ara Kan, Dumu Malik and Shit (Šit is a Katr name, not Kam) should go to the Sipah Salar at Birkot and represent that all the Kam people agree to become Mussalmans, but that they could not agree to the occupation of their country by Afghan troops, adding that the Amir should not insist on

making roads and carrying daks through their country. The Kafir deputies were further told to represent that, if they (Kam people) were hard pressed, they would abandon their present homes and become fugitives, their nation having twelve times before this had to leave their homes and move to new countries.

The Kafir deputies on being interviewed by the Sipah Salar stated everything mentioned above and even offered to furnish men for military service if the occupation of their country were not insisted on. The Sipah Salar after hearing their representations informed the Kam deputation that it was absolutely necessary that they should allow roads being made through their country and the carriage of daks between Asmar and Badakhshan. The Kafir deputies have sent men to report all this in Kamdesh.

(h) The Sipah Salar is having a fort built at a place called Matragal, near Chinar Gol inside the Bashgal Gol.

24th November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week Saturday, the 23rd November, 1895 (Confidential).

21st November, 1895.—

(1) Lieutenant B. E. M. Gurdon, D.S.O., Assistant British Agent, Chitral, arrived in Chitral to-day. The Mehtar with his headmen went out to Lenik near Danin to receive him.

(2) A telegram was received from Colonel Hutchinson, Commanding in Chitral, Drosh, reporting news given him by the Acting Governor, Drosh, to the effect that Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Afghan Sipah Salar, had captured the villages of Istorgat [Gawardesh], Darigam, Piwat and Sirak in Kamdesh territory. The news requires confirmation.

22nd November, 1895.—

(1) A telegram was received from the Officer Commanding, Chitral, Drosh, reporting that the Acting Governor of Drosh had asked him if Kafirs taking refuge in Chitral territory should be allowed to remain, and saying he had told the Drosh Governor to give refuge to Kafirs, but to disarm them without any further molestation.

The Officer Commanding was informed of the orders of Government contained in Foreign Department telegram No. 3999, dated

the 18th October 1895, directing that Kafirs should not be allowed to take refuge in Chitral territory. The Mehtar also was asked to inform the Governor of Drosh and other border officials not to allow Kafir refugees to enter Chitral territory.

23rd November, 1895.—

(1) Four Salarzai traders, who left Arandu four days ago, have arrived in Chitral and report that when they were at Arandu the Afghan Commander-in-Chief had moved from Birkot up into the Bashgal Gol, and rumours had reached Arandu that the Afghans had captured Kamdesh. This news requires further confirmation.

26th November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 22, dated the 26th of November, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) It is reported that His Highness the Amir has directed General Mir Ata Khan, Herati, to march with his two regiments against the Kafirs *via* Kohistan, and has ordered Colonel Muhammad Umar Khan to lead his regiment against them from Indarab *via* Panjsher. They are to carry on operations against the Kafirs during the coming winter.

(b) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 8th November, 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir has written to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, that he should keep Khassadars in Kafiristan in place of regular troops, and in accordance with His Highness's orders the Sipah Salar is enlisting fresh men and is supplying them with pugris, posteens and rifles, so that they may in time be able to take the place of the regular troops.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Birkot communicating with the Kafir elders who come to him for consultation. The road from Sao to Birkot is in good order, and the Kafir Jirga which has been sent to Kabul has not yet returned.

(d) The Amir has sent orders to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to settle Kafir affairs soon, as His Highness said Sardar Habibulla Khan would like to see him at Jalalabad on his arrival there.

(e) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th November 1895, shows that, under the Amir's orders, Ghulam

Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, informed the Kafirs that a road leading towards Badakhshan will be made through their country. The Kafirs were annoyed to hear of this, and many of them went back to their homes and declined to attend again before the Sipah Salar. The latter has sent a report of this to His Highness the Amir.

28th November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Translation of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan's letter to His Highness the Amir of Kabul*, dated the 10th of Jamadi-us-sani, 1313 H = the 28th November, 1895.

After compliments. – By the grace of God and by Your Highness's good fortune, Kamuz [Kam] and Kastur [Kaštá] in Kafiristan have been conquered; and the assemblage of Kafirs, who were in Mandagal have also been defeated; and the above village has been occupied by our victorious troops. As I have blocked the road on this side against the flight of the Kafirs, they have now gone to Kantuz [Katr], whence they intend to proceed to Chitral. In Kantuz, there is a short route from the top of the Lutku [Lutkho] Pass to Chitral, and although there is a great deal of snow in the way, yet they can cross it. The British officer appointed to Chitral has given assurances to the Kafirs, advising them to fight one battle or two battles, whatever they are able to do, and then come to Chitral, where they would be given a place for residence and maintenance. The Kafirs were delighted on receiving the happy tidings, and are going to Chitral. These are the facts which I have reported to Your Highness.

If Your Highness desire and permit me to write to the British officer in Chitral asking him not to allow the Kafirs to enter Chitral, I will do so. Otherwise it is as Your Highness pleases, and I shall act in accordance with Your Highness's order.

30th November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 30th November, 1895 (Confidential).

26th November, 1895. –

(2) A Kafir of Ursan (A Kalash Kafir village belonging to Chitral) named Azar arrived in camp and brought the following news:—

(a) On the 20th November, Basti, one of the Kafir headmen who had gone to visit the Sipah Salar, was murdered by an Afghan in the middle of the camp. The remaining Kafirs complained to the Sipah Salar, who at first promised them blood money and then told them they might return to their villages. He changed his mind eventually and refused to let them depart.

(b) On the evening of the same day 400 Shinwaris and Shigalis under Akram Jan, the headman of Narsat, and 300 more Shinwaris with Mer Jan (the Kam headman recently converted to Islam) were quietly sent off into the Bashgal Gol with orders to seize Darigam and Piwat, two Kam villages above Istorgat. Early in the morning of the next day both these parties reached their destination and occupied the villages. Akram Jan's party killed 5 Kafirs named Kamarak, brother of Azar Malik, Somra, son of Malik Basi, and his son, and two goat herds whom they found in a goat house on the Istorgat side of the Darigam village. In Piwat also one Kafir was killed. The villagers of Darigam and Piwat on finding out the approach of the Afghans set fire to their houses and fled, leaving five hundred cattle behind.

(c) At the same time as Akram Jan and Mer Jan started, a large force of Eljaris (irregular levies), accompanied by Tuti Sheikh of Chandak and Kana Malik Damu (a Kam headman who recently embraced Islam), were sent off up the right bank of the Bashgal Gol with orders to occupy Kamu. These also succeeded in capturing Kamu without any fighting. All the Kafirs of Kamu, Kam[desh] and Mujash [Kushtoz] managed to run away with their families, flocks and cattle in the direction of Madugal after they had set fire to their houses, grain, grass and other property. They are now at Madugal, but they have sent off their women, children with flocks and cattle to Lutdeh.

(d) The Sipah Salar got a letter from Akram Jan from Kam [territory] reporting what had happened, and immediately on receipt of it started with a force. He is camped at a place called Darigam Nisar, and is having the road there made.

(e) Sixteen Ursan men and women (Kafir subjects of the Mehtar of Chitral) were at Mer[grom] and Kam[desh] on visits to their relations, when the Afghans captured those places, and their friends are in much anxiety about them.

27th November, 1895.--

1.(a) Said Amir Shah, a headman of Arandu, reports that he was in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot when the Kafir named Basti Guri Katch [Basti of the Gutketch clan] mentioned above was murdered by the Afghan prisoner: Said Amir Shah happening to talk to the Kafirs was arrested by the Afghans on suspicion of being a spy from Chitral, and was set free after the Sipah Salar had left Birkot for Kam.

(b) Said Amir confirms the news given by Azar and reported above, and adds that the Sipah Salar had given strict orders to the force he sent up against Kamdesh that they should on no account fire on the Kafirs even if the latter fired. No fighting took place. The Kam headmen in the Sipah Salar's camp were kept in ignorance of the movements which had been undertaken against their country, and so the Kamdesh people were quite unprepared to resist the Afghans. They could do nothing but run away.

(c) The Kafir headmen in the Birkot camp, who had been made prisoners before the Sipah Salar started for Kamdesh, became converts to Islam at Istorgat Nisar, and they sent messages to those of their countrymen who had fled to Madugal, advising them to return to their homes in parties of 40 or 60 men at a time, and to submit to the Afghan Commander-in-Chief.

(d) The Kamdesh people have not as yet accepted this advice and are talking of fighting the Afghans, should they advance to Madugal.

(e) The road between Darigam Nisar and Piwat Nisar is very bad, and consequently the Afghans have not been able to send up supplies for their force in Kam. The sapper regiment is busy making the road.

(f) The road from Kam to Madugal is very bad. It goes through a very narrow defile, the hills on both sides of it being covered with snow.

(g) Said Amir, when he was lately at Birkot, counted the huts and tents. He reports there were 1,500 huts and 1,100 tents. The Afghan force at Birkot consisted of the following regiments: Sapper Miner Sufi, Ardal, Urdu, Kandahari, Uzbeki and Herati. All except the last two, which consist of only 500 men each, con-

tain a thousand fighting men each. There are also four small breech-loading guns.

(h) The following Kafir headmen became Mussalmans lately: Ota [Uta], Din Malik, Kamdin, Somra, Kazan Badil, Dawan and brother of Badil Mirag, &c.

(j) The Kustoz or Mujash Kafirs having made a secret compact with the Sipah Salar have kept aloof from the Kam people and are quietly living in their homes. They promised the Sipah Salar that when he captured Kam they would all become Muhammadans.

30th November, 1895.—

(1) A Chitrالي named Nangawar has just come from Arandu and reports the following:—

(a) Akram Jan, with the Eljaris of Shinwar and Shigal and the Narsatis and two incomplete regiments, is located at Kam[desh]. The Sipah Salar himself with five regiments is camped at Kamu.

(b) The Kafirs lately attacked the Afghan camp in Kam[desh] at night and killed 24 Eljaris, 4 sepoy and four bandsmen. Their heads which had been cut off by the Kafirs have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Asmar.

4th December, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 84. Translation of a Letter from His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies, to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 16th of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1313 H., corresponding to the 4th December, 1895.

After compliments.— I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that, as in these days I considered it expedient to arrange and settle the affairs of Kafiristan, I appointed regular and irregular troops to proceed from all sides to that mountainous country; and I ordered the senior Commander-in-Chief, Ghulam Haidar Khan, to proceed there from Asmar and induce the Kafirs, who are subjects of the God-granted Government, to tender their allegiance and obedience, and to introduce among them the laws of Government and other regulations applicable to them as subjects. He has therefore visited these people with the necessary troops, treating leniently every tribe who tendered their allegiance,

but he chastised and disgraced those who, through their folly and ignorance, rebelled and followed a wrong path.

I have now received a letter from the Sipah Salar from Mandagal in Kafirstan, making certain complaints against the British officer stationed in Chitral. He writes that the officer in the course of his proceedings instigated the Kafirs to fight, and also assured them that after their defeat and flight they could come to Chitral, where they would be given a place of residence and maintenance. On the strength of this assurance the fugitive Kafirs go to Kantuz [Katr territory] and thence to Chitral.

I send herewith a copy of the Sipah Salar's letter for Your Excellency's information, so that Your Excellency may become aware of the unfriendly attitude of the officer in Chitral, and issue the necessary orders directing him to regard such hostile proceedings between the two friendly and united Governments as improper, and to keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there; but that they remain in peace and quiet in their own native places.

The Sipah Salar, after chastising the foolish among the Kafirs, will reassure and settle them down in their proper places, so that they may duly recognise the laws and their position as subjects, and live in peace and comfort.

7th December, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent at Chitral* for the week ending Saturday, the 7th of December, 1895 (Confidential).

3rd December, 1895.—

1. Nur Muhammad and Roziman, two Chitralis, who were lately sent to Arandu, have returned and bring the following news:—

(a) The Afghans having advanced from Kam [territory] against [the] Madugal [tribe], a severe fight took place between them and the Kafirs. The Afghans are said to have lost 200 Eljaris and the Kafirs' losses amounted to 180. None of the regular Afghan regiments took part in this fighting. The result of the skirmish was that the Afghans had to retire to Kam [territory].

(b) Of the two headmen (of the party lately converted to Islam), who had gone to Madugal to induce their countrymen to return to their homes and submit to the Amir, one was killed and the other returned without being able to obtain any answer.

(c) Owing to the difficult nature of the country, the Afghan forces are necessarily much scattered and exposed to night attacks. The Kafirs attack the Afghan posts every night and destroy the portions of the road constructed by the Afghans during the day.

(d) The Kafirs lately set fire to a house in one of the Afghan posts. The occupants of the house who were some Narsatis were all burnt to death.

4th December, 1895.— News has come from Lutkho that some Kafir refugees from Lutdeh [Baragamatal] have arrived in the village of Bogosht in the Lutkho district of Chitral. Men have been sent by the Mehtar to find out the truth of this report and to send away any Kafirs who may have taken refuge in Chitral territory.

7th December, 1895.—

2. (a) Dawagar Khan and Lalik, two Chitralis, have brought news from Lutkho to the effect that about 200 Lutdeh and Kam Kafirs with their families and flocks have arrived at Bogosht in the Lutkho district of Chitral. Mara, their chief headman, is with them. The Assistant British Agent again asked the Mehtar's advisers to issue orders that the Kafirs should not be allowed to take refuge in the valley.

(b) The Afghans have taken Madugal, the Kafirs having abandoned it after burning their houses.

(c) All the fighting men of the Kafirs are now holding the Sranu Darband, which is at the foot of the Lutdeh valley in the direction of Madugal.

3. Sher Muhammad, a Chitrali, who has come up from Arandu, confirms the report that Madugal has been captured by the Afghans. Thirty-seven heads of Afghans, who were killed in the recent fighting at Madugal, have been sent down by the Sipah Salar towards Asmar. Many Kafirs also are said to have been killed.

9th December, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 23, dated the 9th of December, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4. (a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has again collected local levies from Ningrahar and Laghman and intends sending a fresh expedition against the Kafirs, who are now blockaded by snow and have no chance of escape. It is rumoured that another officer has also been appointed by His Highness the Amir to conduct the operations against the Kafirs in conjunction with the Sipah Salar. The Amir appears to be very anxious to extend his sway and rule to the very limits of the newly demarcated boundary with the British Government as far as the limits of Kashgar [Chitral].

(b) Fresh attacks have been made upon the Kafirs from all sides. General Ata Khan, Sardar Nur Ali Khan, sons of Sardar Sher Ali Khan, Kandahari, and Wakil Saifani have attacked them with their regular forces and levies from the Panjsher side, the son of Sardar Hassan Khan with a few regular regiments and some 4000 levies from the direction of Laghman, Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan from Berkot [Barikot] in the Asmar ilaqa and General Saiyid Shah Khan from Badakhshan side. The Kafirs are in great trouble and have agreed to pay up 'Jezya' (or poll-tax); but the Amir wants them to open the road from Panjsher to Badakhshan which passes through their country. To this the Kafirs would not agree.

Wakil Saifani is said to have sent a leading Kafir Malik to His Highness the Amir with his report about the news. The rumour that the Amir was enlisting new troops – one man out of every four men in his ilaqa – is authenticated. These men have been employed for the Kafiristan expedition.

(c) An extract from Khaibar Political Diary, dated 22 November 1895, shows that with the Amir's permission Sardar Habibulla Khan has despatched two infantry regiments from Kabul to Kafiristan to relieve those serving there, who have orders to return to Kabul.

(d) Information received on the 30th November 1895 shows that the Amir's troops have conquered the country lying between Berkot and Gawardesh; that a Kafir Jirga headed by Wata and Mirak, elders, attended upon Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan at Berkot and presented a cash nazarana [نذرانه, religious payment or offering] of Rs. 1,000 before the Salar, who placed them all under surveillance and ordered his troops stationed at Gawar-

desh to attack Kamdesh and its neighbouring hamlets. This resulted in the capture of Kamdesh, the Kafirs of which place submitted and embraced Islam. It is also rumoured that owing to some rudeness on the part of Wata and Mirak, the Kafir elders, the Sipah Salar killed these men with his own hand. The Amir's troops had to suffer great hardship in conquering the country between Gawardesh and Kamdesh as the road was very difficult.

(e) The Amir has changed his intention of annexing the conquered villages of Kafiristan. The only thing he now wants to be done is to convert the Kafirs to Islam, to realize 'Jezya' from those who live in the interior of the country and so will not embrace Islam, and to construct and open the road to Badakhshan as quickly as possible.

(f) An extract from the Khaibar Political Diary, dated 30th November 1895, shows that it is reported that the Kafirs made a night attack on one of the Amir's posts located in their country and killed and wounded a number of the Khassadars. Hearing of this the Sipah Salar despatched two infantry regiments under the command of a Colonel to punish the Kafirs concerned in the attack. The Sipah Salar has sent a report of this to His Highness the Amir and stated that until the return of the Colonel noted above, he will remain in the Kafir country.

Asmar

5. News received from Asmar shows that only one regiment is now left at Asmar, the rest of the troops there having moved to Berkot to join the Sipah Salar. These troops are to operate against the Kafirs in the middle of winter when the Kafirs will have no way of escape owing to the heavy fall of snow in their country.

14th December, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 14th December, 1895 (Confidential).

10th December, 1895.—

2. News was received from Lutkho that the Bashgal Kafirs, about 900 in number, who had come into Lutkho, had been sent away by the Mehtari officials.

3. The following news was received from Chitral:—

(a) Some 200 Kafirs of Lutdeh [Katr tribe], Kam [tribe] and

Madugal [tribe] have arrived in Bumboret *via* the Kagalwat Pass. On receiving this news the Mehtar's Diwan Begi at once sent orders to Mehtarjao Ghulam-i-Dastgir and the Charvelo of Ayun, directing that the Kafirs should be turned out of Chitral territory.

(b) The Afghan Sipah Salar has arrived in Madugal and has issued orders for his advance guard to occupy the Lutdeh [Katr] country by next Friday.

(c) The Bashgal Kafirs who are assembled in Lutdeh have sent a message to the Sipah Salar, requesting that he should withdraw his forces leaving only one regiment in Kafiristan, promising on this being done to submit to the Amir's authority. The Sipah Salar in reply asked them to send in their headmen to him to discuss the matter. The Kafirs fearing lest the headmen should be arrested have not complied with the Sipah Salar's orders.

(d) Large quantities of supplies are being sent from Asmar to Kamdesh for the use of the Afghan force there.

(e) At Istorgat [Gawardesh] there are 60 Afghan sepoy. At Birkot there is a force of 3,000 Afghans lately arrived from Asmar.

(f) The Afghans are having all roads leading towards Chitral from their different camps closely watched.

1. *12th December, 1895.* – Adina Beg, a Tajik of Kuran in Badakhshan, who arrived in camp brought the following news:—

(c) The Afghans having lately assembled a large force in Panjsher are now said to have moved up the Safed Chihr Nalla which leads into the country of the Gabarak Kafirs. This nalla is situated somewhere between Panjsher and Periyān, and the road through it into the Gabarak country is very difficult.

1. *13th December, 1895.* – 2. News has come from Chitral that the Kafirs who had arrived in Bumbaret (*vide* entry No. 3 (a), dated 10th December 1895) have been sent back by the Mehtari officials.

14th December, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of a letter from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan of the Kabul Agency, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.* dated the 14th of December, 1895.

12th December, 1895. – During the recent fighting in Kafiristan, it is understood that 10,000 Kafirs were killed by the troops under

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan; and that the casualties among the Afghan troops amounted to about 600 men.

Some regiments will be sent to reinforce the troops engaged in Kafiristan; but the regiments have not been selected as yet.

18th December, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 222*, dated the 18th of December, 1895.

Kafiristan

The Amir has ordered the Sipah Salar to return the money taken as tribute from certain sections of the Kafirs. It is apparently His Highness's intention to insist on the whole country being converted to Muhammadanism. The Sipah Salar with his force is said to be settling down for the winter at Birkot and constructing roads. The Afghan troops have been lodged in the houses of the villagers, and the latter have been told to build new houses for themselves. Roads are also being constructed towards Lutdeh from the head of the Munjan valley by the Badakhshan authorities. The simultaneous advance into the country from Badakhshan, Lughman and the Kunar valley will probably not take place till next year. The Amir has forbidden the killing of Kafir children under seven years of age, but no Kafir above that age will be shown any mercy unless he agrees to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

It is announced in the Danish newspapers that a Danish expedition is being organized by private enterprise with the aim of penetrating into and exploring Kafiristan from the north through Russia and across the Pamirs and Hindu Kush. The expedition, whose aims are said to be purely scientific, geographical, ethnological and botanical, expects to start from Denmark in January next, and has received assurances of the friendly interest of the Russian Government and been promised the assistance of the Governor-General of Turkistan.

20th December, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 24*, dated the 20th of December, 1895.

Ningrahar and Jalalabad

3.(a) It is reported that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is coming shortly from Birkot to Jalalabad, and that His Highness

the Amir is also coming there. The exact date of His Highness's arrival there is not however notified.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Sipah Salar, is still encamped at Birkot, and the Kafirs are being encompassed on all sides by the fall of heavy snow on this mountain.

(b) A man, who has just arrived from Pughman [Laghman?], states that it is too cold in Kafiristan for the Amir's troops to carry on any operations there. The troops are constantly troubling the Kafirs and prey upon their cattle. The Kafirs living in the interior of the country cannot help their co-religionists against the Amir's troops now for fear of being exposed to heavy snow during the winter.

(c) Information received shows that General Ata Khan and Sardar Nur Ali Khan had written to His Highness the Amir that from Panjsher the Kafir hills had all been covered with snow, and that it was very difficult, if not quite impossible, for the Afghan troops to advance any further into their country, but that next spring would be the most appropriate season for an attack when the road will also be completed easily. The Amir wrote back in his own handwriting that the Kafirs were like hill-birds, whom it will be most difficult to subdue during the spring season, and that it will be very advantageous to carry on the operations at this season of the year.

(d) News received shows that General Taj Muhammad Khan advanced against the Kafirs with his troops from the direction of Badakshan and entered the Kafir country. The Kafir elders of Kamozi and Kamdesh on being thus taken by surprise came to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and asked for an asylum; whereupon the Sipah Salar promised to help them and proceeded to their country with their consent and took possession of it without opposition. The Afghan troops from Badakhshan and Birkot have not joined and the Kafirs, who perceive their danger, make night attacks on Afghan camps. Guns are said to have been fired at Jalalabad in honour of the victory.

Asmar

5.(a) Reports have been secretly made to His Highness the Amir by certain News-writers at Asmar that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar

Khan is in secret correspondence with the British Government through the Political Agent at Chitral. Similar reports were made to His Highness before, but the Amir did not believe them. He has now, however, deputed two of his trusted Mirzas to Asmar and Mirza Ghulam Muhammad and Faruk, two well-known Uzbek Mirzas, to Chitral to make secret enquiries there and report the matter.

(b) It is rumoured in the Mohmand ilaka that the Amir has allotted Asmar to Umra Khan, who is still treated by His Highness with every consideration.

21st December, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 21st of December 1895 (Confidential).

17th December, 1895.—

(2) Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, arrived in Chitral and reported that Lutdeh had been taken by the Afghan Sipah Salar. The Darband called Sranu on both banks of the Lutdeh [Bashgul] stream, being held by the Kafirs of Kam, Madugal, and Lutdeh, was attacked by a party of Afghan Eljaris, accompanied by Akram Jan. These succeeded in dislodging the Kam and Madugal Kafirs from the Darband [در بند, narrow valley, canyon] on the left bank of the stream, and advanced so far as to threaten the line of retreat of the Lutdeh men. The result was that about 20 (twenty) Lutdeh Kafirs were shot while attempting to escape. After this defeat all the Kafirs tendered their submission to the Sipah Salar and offered to become Mussulmans.

The whole of the Kam and Mujash have become converted to Islam. The Lutdehchis too are coming in in small parties to Kam[desh], where the Sipah Salar is now encamped and are being converted to Islam. The Sipah Salar has proclaimed a general pardon to all Bashgalis who fought against his Government, and has agreed to send an officer with only 100 men into Lutdeh to arrange on the spot the conversion of the people to the Muhammadan religion. The Sipah Salar has further told the Lutdehchis, to whom he has given khilats and shown greater favour than to the Kam people, that he will not send any force now into their country, adding, however, that in the spring he

will send two regiments through Lutdeh to Munjan in Badakhshan. Kori further stated that the Sipah Salar was much pleased to hear that the British authorities in Chitral had turned back the Kafirs who had taken refuge in Chitral territory.

(3) A Chitrali servant of Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, having returned from Arandu, confirms the news given by Kori, and states that on one day alone one thousand Kafirs were converted to Islam.

18th December, 1895. – A letter has been received from Shahzada Lais, the Maulai Sayad of Zebak, now living in Arkari. In it the Sayad mentions having heard from a trustworthy source that the people of the villages below the Chitral Fort have been sending news to the Afghan Sipah Salar.

28th December, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent at Chitral* for the week ending Saturday, the 28th December, 1895 (Confidential).

22nd December, 1895. –

(2) Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, reports that news has been received from [the] Bashgal [Valley] to the effect that the Sipah Salar has had three masjids [مسجد, mosque] built in Kamdesh. The Sipah Salar is camped in Madugal and has issued orders to the Lutdehchis that beyond Madugal in the direction of Lutdeh the road should be made by them. The Afghans have made a very good road from Birkot to Madugal. Wafadar Khan further reports that every week 5 or 6 Bashgalis are sent down by the Sipah Salar to Narsat, but it is not known for what purpose.

25th December, 1895. –

(2) Muhammad Latif, Badakhshi, reports that the people of Chitral have lately been sending news and messages to the Sipah Salar. A Mulla of Dyon is said to have lately visited Bashgal for this purpose.

(3) Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, reports that two Chitralis, residents of Chumr Khun and Dyon, are said to have gone to the Sipah Salar in Bashgal with intriguing messages.

26th December, 1895. –

(1) Muhammad Latif, Badakhshi, reports that the people of Chitral have of late been sending messages to the Afghan Sipah

Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, asking him to invade Chitral. The majority of the people are said to be taking part in this conspiracy. [In a Minute Paper dated 4 February, 1896, Sir William Lee-Warner comments on the above reports in these terms:]

“The evidence of Pro-Russian feeling increases.

An unusual dearth of news about the Kafirs. All this [*sic*] is reported this week is the erection of 3 Masjids in Kamdesh, the progress of the road to Madugal and beyond, and the weekly despatch of 5 or 6 Bashgalis to Narsat for an unknown purpose. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, I fancy.”

28th December, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Translation of a News-letter from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, Kabul Agency, to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 28th December, 1895.*

After Compliments. – I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news, which I have received during the past week:— On the 25th December 1895, a man gave His Highness the happy tidings of the conquest of Kafiristan. His Highness bestowed on the man Rs. 100 and a gold embrodered ‘lungi’.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has reported to His Highness that through His Highness’s good fortune he has conquered Kafiristan, that three hundred Kafirs, with some property, have been taken prisoners, and he asks for His Highness’s orders. He has also added that the above Kafirs are desirous of embracing the religion of Islam. His Highness has ordered that the Kafirs should be sent early to His Highness’s presence, so that they may be converted at Kabul, the capital of Islam.

Commandant Naim Jan has been ordered to get ready three hundred suits of white clothes, for the use of the Kafirs on the occasion of their conversion.

His Highness has been highly delighted at the prospect of the Kafirs embracing Islam. Mulla Awais-ud-din and the other Kafirs, who are employed in the Royal Artillery, have been ordered to receive the Kafirs and bring them on to Kabul with every honour and distinction. Their expenses from Jalalabad to Kabul will be defrayed by the Government treasury.

24th December. – His Highness has ordered that a jewelled khilat with an Arab horse should be presented to Sipah Salar Ghulam

Haidar Khan; and that all the troops at Jalalabad should be supplied with warm clothes.

It is reported that the casualties among the Afghan troops during the Kafiristan war amounted to about 300 men; while the number lost by the Kafirs was very large.

3rd January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Telegram No. 10 From the Resident in Kashmir, To the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral*, dated the 3rd of January, 1896.

It appears from your Diary you have been inducing Mehtar to expel refugee Kafirs from Chitral. The Government of India's orders against holding out hopes of assistance or asylum to Kafirs do not mean that refugee Kafirs are to be hunted out of Chitral. You should give no encouragement to refugees, but those who come should not be turned out. At same time measures should be taken to prevent refugees using Chitral territory as base of operations against Amir or his troops. Please act accordingly and acknowledge receipt of this telegram.

4th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 4th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

30th December, 1895.—

1. Jan Gul, a Bashgali Sheikh of Rumbor (in Chitral territory), having returned from Bashgal, gives the following news:—

(a) At Istorgat [Gawardesh], Akram Jan told him that all the Bashgalis who have left their homes should return before the spring, adding that they need apprehend no kind of harm.

(b) The Sipah Salar is camped at Madugal. He has sent an officer with 300 men to Lutdeh to convert the people of that district to Islam.

(c) Several Masjids have been built by the Afghans in Bashgal.

(d) The Sipah Salar has had a bridge built across the Bashgal Ugh river, near its junction with the Chitral river, opposite the village of Arandu. It is rumoured in the camp that the Afghans will make a road up the right bank of the Chitral river as far as the Dorah Pass.

2. The Mehtar sent Wafadar Khan to the Assistant British Agent with the following report:—

“The man, Jan Gul (mentioned above), saw the Sipah Salar lately at Madugal, and was told by him that a letter had come from the Amir, saying there were certain Kafir tribes in Chitral territory right up to Lutkho and ordering him (the Sipah Salar) to convert these also to Islam. The Sipah Salar asked Jan Gul to ascertain what the feelings of the Mehtar and his subjects were towards the English, and added that the English had swallowed up all the Muhammadan States like a dragon. Jan Gul was told to see the Mehtar secretly and to ask if he will be pleased if the Amir made a road up the right bank of the Chitral river right up to the Dorah Pass. The Sipah Salar finished by saying that the right bank of the Chitral river was within the Afghan boundary, and that he did not understand why the English were taking the trouble to build a fort within the limits of the Amir’s territory. With reference to the above, the Assistant British Agent told the Mehtar’s advisers not to take any notice of such foolish lies, and added that it was extremely improbable that the Sipah Salar really sent such a message.

3. Roziman, a Chitrali, brings the following news from Arandu:—
- (a) About 700 Bashgalis have been brought into Narsat under orders of the Sipah Salar. Some people say there is scarcity of food in Bashgal, so the people have been brought down to Narsat where supplies can be had in plenty. Others say that these Bashgalis have been brought down to settle permanently in Narsat.
 - (b) Large quantities of supplies loaded on camels are continually being taken up to Madugal.
 - (c) It is said that the Sipah Salar is expected to come down to Birkot in 4 or 5 days’ time.
 - (d) Three Afghan soldiers have been sent into Lutdeh to convert the Kafirs of that country to Islam.

3rd January, 1896. — Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, brings the following news:—

- (a) Thirteen days ago an Afghan officer with 300 soldiers left Madugal for Lutdeh. They converted the people of the following villages to Islam: Poshtam [Pul-i-Rustam], Chopi [Chapu], Hala-gul [Owlagul], Badamuk, Lutdeh [Baragamatal], Shitgol, Apsai, Shui and Posigam. The party also visited the following passes, *viz.*, the Taluksa Pass leading to Munjan, the Sudram Pass leading to Verdu and the Dogabda Pass leading to Munjan. Three

days ago they returned to Lutdeh travelling *via* Shui, Apsai and Shitgol.

(b) The Sipah Salar is disarming all the people of Bashgal. Four hundred matchlocks and several hundred knives, swords, bows and arrows have been taken from the Lutdehchis alone.

(c) The Sipah Salar has taken as hostages from the Bashgalis a number of the headmen's sons and has sent them to Kabul to study in the schools there, *viz.*, 60 from Lutdeh, 60 from Kam, 20 from Madugal and 20 from Mujash [Kaštá].

(d) The Sipah Salar is in Madugal. He has told all the Bashgalis that in future any double dealing on their part will be punished severely, and that they will have to serve him loyally and zealously in all kinds of undertakings.

(e) The Darband of Sanan (wrongly spelt in previous diaries as Sranu) situated between Madugal and Lutdeh, is held by 100 Afghans under Akram Jan. Up to this place the Afghans have made a very good road.

(f) Large quantities of supplies have been collected by the Afghans in Madugal.

8th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 1, dated the 8th of January, 1896.

Kabul News

(d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 2 January 1896, shows that Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol, has been appointed Naib Sipah Salar of the Army in Kabul. . .

(h) The Amir appears to have told his courtiers on one occasion that, as the British Government had proved faithless to his predecessors, the former Amirs of Afghanistan, he had devised the plan for opening a shorter and easier road from Peshawar to Badakhshan for the Russians, by which a man could travel from Peshawar to Badakhshan within six days, and that though the British Government had also opened a new road through Chitral, it was not as easy as the Kafiristan route.

(i) The Amir is said to have mentioned it to his private Darbaris that his ambition for the conquest of Kafiristan was due to his desire of enlisting a few Kafir regiments, as he said the Kafirs were, as a rule, a loyal and brave people and would make good

soldiers. The Amir said that the Kafirs had proved themselves possessed of energy and courage.

(l) It is said that Muhammad Ali Beg of Saighan (?), *alias* Wakil, who was formerly in the service of Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan and was a year ago invited by His Highness the Amir to Kabul, has been given the rank of a Brigadier, and has been despatched to Kafiristan *via* Panjsher at the head of a body of tribal levies. He was granted a sword and a khilat by His Highness at his departure.

(m) Recruiting is going on at Kabul. One man out of every four men is required to enlist. Even artisans are not exempted from this liability, and the people are consequently in great trouble.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) Supplies are being collected at Basawal for the Afghan troops engaged against the Kafirs. The Sipah Salar had asked Malik Sultanai, Musa Khel of Mitai, to send 200 men to Kamdesh to assist in constructing the road, but before he could comply with the orders, he was turned out of his village and had to flee towards Kunar. The Salar has written to His Highness the Amir that it is impossible to open the Kafiristan road without the use of gunpowder, and that he should therefore be supplied with some good powder.

(b) The Governor of Lughman has collected local levies in the Lughman ilaka, taking one man out of every three men in his ilaka, has fixed their wages at Rs. 2 per mensem with free ration, and has sent them against the Kafirs *via* Daru-i-Ghazi Baba along with some regular troops from Lughman.

(c) News received shows that the Kamdesh Kafirs, who have been lately subdued by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, are being converted to Islam, and that Afghan troops from Badakhshan are also to join the Sipah Salar shortly. The tribal levies with the Salar are going to be replaced by new comers.

(d) A letter received by Naranjan Das, brother of Ram Singh, from Kabul, brings news of the conquest of 29 Kafir forts by Afghan troops and the conversion of the Kafir residents of these forts to Islam. The letter also reports the arrival of 700 camels at Kabul laden with plundered property, and that the Amir boasted of the conquest, saying that the Kafirs were independent for

2,000 years, and that it was he who had reduced them to submission.

(e) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 2 January 1896, shows that owing to the severe winter much sickness is reported to be prevalent among the troops located in Kafiristan. Many soldiers have been despatched to Kabul for treatment. By the Amir's orders Sardar Habibulla Khan has sent several doctors to treat the sick soldiers in Kafiristan.

(f) Latest news received from Kafiristan shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Gawardesh. Two Afghan regiments are stationed at Birkot, and 500 Khassadars headed by Sher Khan, Khattack, are at Mori.

The Amir's Agency at Peshawar

(f) It is rumoured that the British Government gave to Sardar Nasrulla Khan [son of Amir Abdur Rahman, brother of Habibulla] 10,000 rifles and 1,800,000 cartridges which have reached Peshawar. . .

8th January, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 4*, dated the 8th of January, 1896.

Kafiristan. – The Kafirs are gradually recognizing the impossibility of holding out against the Afghan forces. Several sections have made their submission, and others are expected to follow suit. The Sipah Salar's men have attacked the Kam Kafirs and captured many of their villages. A serious conflict is reported to have taken place on the Afghans advancing on Madugal, the loss on both sides being very heavy. In the end, the Kafirs fled, after setting fire to their villages. A great many Bashgal Kafirs, who fled into the Lutkho valley, were compelled to go back by the Mehtar's officials. Others from Lutdeh, Kam and Madugal, who fled over the Kagalwat Pass into Chitral, have also been sent back. Instructions have been sent to the Political Officer in Chitral that, while the Kafirs must be prevented from using Chitral territory as a base of operations against the Amir's forces, it is not intended that those Kafirs who escape into Chitral before the Afghan troops should be driven back. The Sipah Salar's force has been increased by two regiments sent from Kabul.

The Amir has written to His Excellency the Viceroy, complaining

that the British officer in Chitral had instigated the Kafirs to fight, and promised them a refuge in Chitral if defeated. His Highness requests that the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side may be strictly closed, "so that not a single Kafir may go there, but that they may remain in peace and quiet in their own native places." The reply to be sent to the Amir is under consideration.

11th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Translation of Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan's News-Letter addressed to the Foreign Secretary, Government of India, No. 2, dated British Agency, Kabul, the 11th of January, 1896.*

After compliments. – I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news. . .

7th January, 1896. –

The portion of the Kafiristan country, of which the conquest was entrusted to Muhammad Ali Beg and Commandant Muhammad Siddik, has been completely conquered, and about five thousand Kafirs have been sent to Kabul, and His Highness has settled them in Kohistan, ordering the officials to grant them free as much land as they will require to support themselves. They have been furnished also with new clothes at the expense of the State.

The Kafirs who were sent by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kabul, under the charge of Mulla Ghias-ud-din, have been converted to Islam, and sent to different districts of Afghanistan; and while they are in an unsettled condition, they will be fed and clothed by the State. His Highness has released another batch of forty prisoners in honour of the glad tidings received about the conquest of Kafiristan.

Some Kafirs have reached Panjsher *via* Nijrao, but as they have refused to embrace Islam, His Highness has ordered them to be brought to Kabul.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has written to His Highness the Amir that, in most of the houses of the Kafirs, he found valuable articles of furniture, &c.; that the circumstances pointed to their being rich, and enquired whether he could search the houses of all the Kafirs, or simply restrict his operations to the houses of those who were killed. His Highness has ordered that, far as possible, no indifference should be exercised in the matter

(*sic.*), and that the things which have already been collected should be sent for His Highness's inspection.

His Highness has heard reports about the bravery of Commandant Muhammad Sadik Khan, brother of General Amir Muhammad Khan, and his conducting efficiently the warfare in Kafiristan. His Highness after praising him a good deal, ordered that on his return he should be made a Colonel.

11th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 11th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan News

2. Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal of Nagar having come in to see the Assistant British Agent reported that (a) five Kam headmen have been arrested and put in chains by the Sipah Salar; (b) a number of sons of different Bashgal headmen have been taken as hostages to be sent to Kabul.

3. Jehan Khan, headman of Jinjirit, reports that the Afghans have built a bridge over the Bashgal-Ugh near its junction with the Chitral river, and have located a guard of some 20 men on the left bank of the Bashgal stream close to the bridge to prevent Bashgalis going towards Chitral.

4. Kori, son of Gumara, a Lutdeh Kafir, who has taken refuge in Chitral, came to the Assistant British Agent and expressed the wish to become a Mussalman. The Assistant British Agent replied that Kori might please himself as regards his religion.

5. Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal reports that several Bashgalis came into Drosh lately and were converted to Islam at their own request.

6. Some Bashgalis who lately visited Nagar told Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal that the Sipah Salar is thinking of coming to Ursun (this is in Chitral territory) to convert the Kafirs of that nala to Islam.

8th January, 1896.—

1. Said Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, came in and gave the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has sent down all the people of Kamdesh into Narsat and settled them as follows:—

The Demu Dari tribe at Palasgar, the Sukidari tribes at Chunduk, the Bilashe Dari tribe at Sau, the Ota [Uta] Dari tribe at Lut Narsat, the Garak Dari tribe at Pasangar and Birkot. [For 'tribe' read 'clan'.] The reason given by the Sipah Salar for this move is that the Kam people having destroyed all their crops have no food-supplies to live upon in Kamdesh.

(b) The sons of 60 Kam headmen have been taken as hostages by the Sipah Salar. These are still being kept in his camp.

(c) The following headmen of Kam have been put in chains by the Sipah Salar, because they treacherously attacked and killed Afghan sepoys after the fighting was over.

Mirag, son of Lat Kam, Chandlu Otadin [Utadin], brother of Ota [Uta] – Gazmara, son of Mirag – Patluk Sanra [Sunra] – Palyuk Demu Malding – Nilyara, son of Torag Mirag's sister – Khani Khan Otadori [i.e., of the Utadari or Uta clan] – Shili Chandlu Garak Dori [of the Garigdari or Garig clan].

(d) All the Mugashi [Kaštá] people have been allowed to remain in their homes at Mugash [Kuštoz] and Darin [Dungul].

(e) The people of Madugal have been told by the Sipah Salar to live in the Lutdeh district [Katrgul, the upper Bashgul Valley], their houses in Madugal being wanted for the use of the troops during the winter.

(f) The Sipah Salar has gone with a large number of regular troops to Lutdeh [Baragamatal]. The Lutdehchis were frightened at the news of his approach, but he assured them that his only object was to visit the pass at the head of the Lutdeh valley and to fire some guns there.

(g) The Lutdeh people have been called upon to give as hostages either 60 sons of headmen or 100 sons of common people.

(h) All the Elgori force [الجارى, irregular levies, militia] in Bashgal has been sent back by the Sipah Salar to Birkot. Also three guns.

(i) All the Bashgalis have been deprived of their arms. These, it is said, will be broken and used for making chains.

(j) All the people of Bashgal who remained in their country are perfectly safe in their persons and property. Those who fled the country and have not returned have had their property confiscated. The amount of livestock confiscated is said to amount to 1,000 cows and 2,000 goats.

(k) The Sipah Salar has informed the Lutdehchis that, when he goes back this month, he will leave no troops in their country.

Only a few mullas will be left to teach them the Muhammadan faith. One regiment will garrison Madugal, and Mullas will also be stationed in the Mugash [Kaštá] villages.

(l) Mergan, a converted Kam headman, has been given the village of Istorgat in jagir, and also 40 cows as a reward.

(m) Akram Jan has been given three slaves from the family of a Kam man who had previously murdered his nephews.

(n) The Gujars of Narsat, owing to the settling of Kam people in that district and the consequent want of pasture grounds for their cattle, have been told by the Sipah Salar to move up to Kam and settle there.

(o) One Ali Muhammad Khan, a Bashgali Shaikh, residing in the Bomboret nala of Chitral, happening to be in Birkot about the time of the Sipah Salar's advance against Kamdesh, was imprisoned by the Afghans. He lately petitioned the Sipah Salar that he was a Chitrali British subject. The Sipah Salar had him set free and allowed him to go back to his home. When coming away he was told by the Afghan authorities that he was set free, because he was a Chitrali subject of the Government. The Sipah Salar also said that he had come to know that many Bashgali subjects of the Amir were still being kept in Chitral territory, and that he was much annoyed in consequence. Ali Muhammad Khan was told to speak to the Chitral authorities on the subject, and to ask that the Bashgalis might be sent back in the same way as he was sending back Chitral subjects.

Note.— It appears that about 150 refugee Kafirs are now residing in Chitral territory. In former diaries it has been stated that the Assistant British Agent asked the Mehtar to turn back Kafirs seeking to take refuge in Chitral territory. These instructions were only given with a view to discouraging Bashgalis from entering Chitral in large numbers. It was understood that individual refugees who had special reasons for fearing to return to their homes would not be driven out. [An official of the Foreign office – apparently W. Lee-Warner – has made this marginal note: “A very unusual note in a Diary. We only want facts in Diaries.”]

2. The Resident in Kashmir's telegram, dated Sialkot, the 3rd January, relating to the treatment of Kafir refugees, was received. Steps were at once taken to give effect to the instructions contained therein.

Kafiristan News

10th January, 1896. —

(f) Khanjara [a Chitrali who returned from Singlich and Dash-i-Rubat in Zebak] also heard a report that the Afghans had advanced from the Panjsher side and attacked the Ramgal Kafir country. They captured six of the Ramgal Forts. Subsequently the Ramgulis attacked some Afghan Eljori posts at night and killed a number of them. Three thousand troops have been sent from Kabul to reinforce the troops moving against Ramgal. The Afghan General Commanding the Force operating against Ramgal sent 300 men to destroy the Kafir idols.

(g) From Munjan 200 Afghan sappers have been sent to repair the road lately made in the direction of Veran [Parun].

(h) The Afghan Commander-in-Chief on reaching Lutdeh found two Senglich men there. They informed him that ten of their comrades had been killed by the Lutdehchis. They had been sent last autumn by the General at Faizabad to induce the Lutdehchis to submit to him.

The Sipah Salar sent these two men to Faizabad. He is extremely annoyed with the Faizabad General for having sent these men, and for not having done anything in the way of preventing the Lutdeh fighting men from joining the Kamdesh people.

2. A Chitrali, named Zori, brings news from Arandu to the effect that —

(a) All the Afghan troops in Bashgal are returning to Birkot. Small garrisons are being left in Lutdeh, Madugal, and Kam.

(b) There are only 60 sepoy at Istorgat.

(c) The Sipah Salar has received orders to return to Kabul at once. He will take with him 10 Bashgali headmen and 60 sons of headmen as hostages.

15th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Kafir Refugees*.

The telegram of 18th October 1895 was sent with reference to a 'diary' entry of 26th August (forwarded to Sec[retary], Political & Secret Dept. in letter No. 4018 F dated Oct. 23, '95) to the following effect. "The Kafirs keep sending messengers to the Mehtar to try and get his assistance and supplies of powder and bullets. They also ask permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. The latter question having been

referred by the Mehtar to the Assistant British Agent, he was informed that there was no objection to him granting such refuge."

The entries marked in the accompanying diaries show how this telegram was understood and acted upon.

The order that refugees were to be allowed to enter Chitral but not to use it as a base of operations against the Amir's troops was sent from Calcutta by Barnes on or about Dec. 28th.

16th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Telegram No. 140*, dated Sialkot, the 16th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

From – H. S. Barnes, Esq., Resident in Kashmir

To – The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

With reference to the endorsement from the Foreign Department, No. 45 F., dated 6th instant, I have the honour to enclose, [for] the information of the Government of India, a copy of the telegram I sent to the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral, on the subject of asylum to refugee Kafirs. I enclose also a copy of Lieutenant Gurdon's reply.

[See entry for the 3rd of January, 1896 for Resident's telegram to the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral. Gurdon's reply follows:]

Telegram dated 8th January 1896.

From – The Assistant Political Officer, Chitral

To – The Resident in Kashmir.

Your telegram No. 10 of 3rd January regarding refugee Kafirs. I have noted your orders.

18th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 18th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

12th January, 1896. –

2. A Lutdeh refugee Kafir came in to Chitral and told the Mehtar that he wished to become a Mussalman.

13th January, 1896. –

1. Dost Muhammad, a messenger from Mehtarjo Shah Afzal of Nagar, arrived with the following news: –

- (a) The Sipah Salar has returned from Lutdeh [Baragamatal] to Kam[desh].
- (b) At Lutdeh the Sipah Salar married the daughter of Ghazab Shah, the chief headman of that place.
- (c) The Afghans have taken 180 sons of influential men of Lutdeh as hostages.
- (d) The Sipah Salar when at Lutdeh fixed Rs. 7,000 as the amount of revenue to be paid by the people of that district.

14th January, 1896. —

(d) The Sipah Salar is angry with Tuti Sheikh, headman of Chunduk, it having transpired that he advised the Mujashi [Kaštá] people to help the Kam men in resisting the Afghan invasion of their country.

2. One Khush, a resident of Jinjeret in Chitral, brings the following news:—

- (a) Three days ago the Sipah Salar left Kamdesh on his way to Asmar.
- (b) All the Afghan troops in Bashgal are being withdrawn to Birkot.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has ordered the principal men of Lutdeh to come into Birkot, and learn the Kalima [الله، the word, i.e., "There is no God but God and Muhammad is his prophet."] and receive khilats.

3. Ghotali, a servant of Mehtarjao Shah Afzal of Nagar, brings news to the effect that the Sipah Salar received a letter, announcing the defeat of a detachment of Afghan troops at the hands of the Ramgal Kafirs. He started at once in the direction of Asmar, taking with him a few prisoners and a large number of hostages.

15th January, 1896.—

1. Shukr Muhammad, a Chitrali, having returned from Narsat, brought the following news:—

(a) On the 12th instant the Sipah Salar arrived at Birkot on his way to Asmar. He brought down with him 180 hostages — 120 being the sons of the headmen of the various tribes, and 60 being influential members of the Janadari tribe [Jana clan] of Lutdeh. The Sipah Salar also brought down his newly-married wife, the daughter of Ghazab Shah, headman of Lutdeh, with 5 slave-girls.

(b) The Sipah Salar received congratulatory messages and presents from the headmen of the Salarzai tribe and Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini. It was rumoured in the Afghan camp that the people of Bajaur were sending messages to the Sipah Salar, imploring him to occupy Bajaur.

(c) Shukr Muhammad further heard a rumour to the effect that the Amir was coming to Jalalabad, and that Ghulam Haidar Khan had been summoned to meet him there.

(d) On arrival at Birkot the Sipah Salar received a salute of 24 guns.

(e) Some Bashgali Sheikhs, amongst them being the son of Davan Malik, a Kam headman, lately went to Arandu. The Sipah Salar called them back, and at the same time sent a message to the headman of Arandu, asking him not to allow any of his subjects to enter Chitral territory. The headman replied that in such matters he would act as ordered by the authorities in Chitral.

(f) Nearly all the Afghan troops have been withdrawn from Bashgal, only 60 sappers have been left to finish the road in Kamdesh. These have reported to the Sipah Salar that they cannot continue work owing to the intense cold.

16th January, 1896.—

1. Kori, a Lutdeh Kafir, brings the following news:—

(a) The Afghans lately sent a force *via* Katur, a place situated on the bank of the Ramgal river, against the Ramgal Kafirs, and succeeded in taking two forts. One of these forts was afterwards surprised and burnt by a large force of Ramgalis, the greater part of the Afghan garrison perishing in the flames.

(b) The Sipah Salar, when leaving Lutdeh, told the people of that place that he would come back in the spring and go through Bashgal to Badakhshan. He further said that many Afghans had been killed in the fighting against Ramgal.

(c) The old Bashgali converts in the Sipah Salar's camp have told the Lutdehchis that they need have no fear of being troubled any more by the Afghans, as the Sipah Salar was going to undertake an expedition against Ramgal. It is said that the operations against Ramgal, if undertaken in the winter, will be carried out *via* Katur [Katar] and Gambir [Gemir] (places situated in the Ramgal Valley) [correction: Katar and Gambir, or Gemir, are

located in Tregam, North-West of Chagaserai]. If the operations are postponed till the summer, the Afghans will advance *via* Kam, Veron [Parun] and Katwar [Kti].

(d) The road constructed by the orders of the Sipah Salar in Bashgal has now been completed up to the Dogabda Pass which leads into Munjan.

(e) The greater portion of the Afghan troops have evacuated Bashgul, only 200 men with an officer being left to garrison Madugal.

20th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84.

The Situation in Afghanistan.

[a news-clipping inserted in vol. 84, *Letters from India*.]

Sir T. Salter Pyne, C.S.I., arrived at Dover on Saturday by the Indian mail *via* Brindisi and Bombay, having left Kabul on November 24th. . . A representative of Reuter's Agency met Sir Salter, and in the course of an interview obtained some important information regarding the situation in Afghanistan and on the subject of Anglo-Afghan relations. Reuter's representative having pointed out the various statements made during the past few weeks regarding the Ameer's intentions in respect of Kafiristan, Sir Salter replied:—

“Until my arrival in India the other day I have been absolutely ignorant of what has been said in the English Press, as during the past six months I have seen only one or two papers. Therefore I know nothing of what has been said here on the subject of Kafiristan. I can, however, tell you what the Ameer personally said to me. His Highness, in the course of a three hours' discussion on that country, explained that he was absolutely within his rights in making Kafiristan an integral part of Afghanistan instead of leaving it in its present condition. Kafiristan is a danger to Afghanistan situated as it is. It has for years past been the object of the Ameer to consolidate his country with its now well-defined boundaries and to centralize his power. After the lapse of many years the Ameer has completely subjugated the Shinwaris, the Turkestan people, the Ghilgais, and the powerful Hazaras (these being the last to fall under subjection), and there are now only the people of Kafiristan for him to deal with in order to establish

absolute tranquillity and security within his prescribed dominions. In explaining quite recently this question to me, the Ameer said – and I think it important to quote his own words – “There are no trade routes allowed by the Kafirs through their country, I wish to open trade routes through it. For this I have several reasons. First, in case of complications arising from a source from which there is always a possibility of danger, I wish to be able to push my troops rapidly through Kafiristan instead of being compelled to fight my way through. Secondly, Afghanistan proper is essentially a sterile country of mountains and stones. The valleys of Kafiristan are fertile and well-watered, but, owing to the animosity existing for generations between the Afghans and the Kafirs, they yield no results. This is very detrimental to the Kafirs, who are one of the poorest races in the East.”

The Ameer further explained to me that valleys, hundred of miles long and many miles wide, remained barren owing to those feuds. Continuing, His Highness remarked:– “My intentions are only for the good of these people, not for their evil. See now what are the Kafirs? Poverty-stricken. Can they be worse off? I want to raise them. For years past you know how many of these people have come to Kabul and have embraced Islamism, and have received presents of clothes and money. I do not want to make these people Mahomedans by force. What I do want is for them to acknowledge my rule. As a follower of the Prophet I cannot make them Mahomedans unless their hearts are so disposed.”

Sir Salter continued:–

“The Kafirs cannot remain in their present isolated position, owing to changes in the Afghan frontier and in the Ameer’s policy in the interests of Great Britain. From a political point of view Kafiristan is a very weak spot, owing to possible complications, and would stand very much in the way of the Ameer being able to help Great Britain if required to do so, or in the event of Great Britain extending practical assistance to the Ameer.”

Asked what preparations were being made in Kabul for the invasion of Kafiristan, Sir Salter replied:–

“The preparations, if any, were so insignificant that in Kabul very little was known about them. As I passed through Jellalabad in the beginning of December I was told upon good authority that the Kafirs had succumbed with little or no bloodshed. Ghulam

Haidar Khan, the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, had been in Kafiristan for some time, but with a by no means extensive force, the Kafirs being a badly-armed and weak race. . .”

In conclusion, Sir Salter remarked:—

“In Kabul we have reached the full capacity of the present cartridge machinery. We turn out 10,000 Martini cartridges, and 10,000 Snider cartridges daily, two field guns per week with all equipments, and 15 rifles a day. Quick-firing guns are produced at the rate of two a week, and a plant for making time and percussion fuses is in full work. A gunpowder plant has been sanctioned, and I shall arrange for it during my brief stay in England. . . My workshops now cover an area of one-third of a mile long by 200 yards wide. . .”

23rd January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Kharita*, No. 5
P.O., dated Fort William, the 23rd of January, 1896.

From – His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India

To – His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

After compliments. – I have received Your Highness’s letter, dated the 16th of Jamadi-us-sani, 1313 H. (corresponding to the 4th of December 1895), forwarding a communication from Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan regarding affairs in Kafiristan.

The Sipah Salar writes that “the British officers appointed to Chitral have given assurances to the Kafirs, advising them to fight one battle or two battles, whatever they are able to do, and then come to Chitral, where they would be given a place for residence and maintenance.” Your Highness asks me to issue orders directing my officers to regard such hostile proceedings between the two friendly and united Governments as improper, and to keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there. So far as concerns the first part of the Sipah Salar’s statement quoted above, I can assure Your Highness that it is not true. My officers have never advised the Kafirs to resist the Afghan troops. In August last, some Kafirs came to Chitral and asked the Mehtar for permission to take refuge in his country if defeated by Your Highness’s forces, and the British Political Agent told the Mehtar

that there was no objection to his granting such refuge. On this coming to my knowledge, I caused the Political Agent to be informed that strict neutrality as between Kafiristan and Afghanistan must be observed. The Political Agent has not held intercourse with any Kafirs except those who have actually run away from Your Highness's troops, and those Kafirs who have crossed into Chitral territory have, as far as possible, been disarmed.

At the same time, Your Highness will understand that I cannot undertake to watch the Kafiristan-Chitral frontier and prevent defeated Kafirs from crossing into Chitral limits, nor can I instruct my officers to expel any Kafirs who do take refuge in the country. My officers have been instructed to do what they can to prevent refugees from using Chitral as a place in which they can make preparations for attacking Your Highness's forces; and as far as possible, I will cause such refugees to be disarmed. When however it came to my knowledge that Kafirs had in their flight entered Chitral territory, I took steps to let it be known that they should not be expelled the country.

Your Highness will I am sure see that in this I am actuated by no unfriendly feelings. Your Highness has, under similar circumstances, claimed as much latitude of action and your representations have been accepted. You will remember that, when the Russian Government complained that a large number of Uzbegs had fled to Russian territory from Afghanistan, Your Highness, writing on the 7th Safar, 1310 H., to His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, said – "When the people rebel and fight with my troops and then inevitably run away in some direction, what could my leading officers do with the rebels in such a case?" And "as regards the men who flee from Russian territory and come to my country, what do the Russians say about it? Such things have often occurred." And again Your Highness in the same letter wrote of your Uzbeg subjects who had fled from Maimena: "should they run away I would also not demand them from any king who may be in my neighbourhood, and I would never make any complaint also if the said king has not incited them; and I shall never allow any misrepresentation to seize my mind."

Your Highness has thus clearly stated your opinion that there is no cause of complaint against a Power which receives refugees from another State, if that Power does not incite them to hostile

acts. I accept this opinion and my officers will act in accordance with it. I trust in this way suspicion of unfriendly action will be avoided.

23rd January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 2, dated the 23rd of January, 1896.

Kabul News

(3) A large jirga of Kafirs has reached Kabul. Faramurz Khan, a Kafiri lad in personal attendance on His Highness the Amir, has been appointed to look after the entertainment of these Kafir elders. They are treated with great liberality by His Highness the Amir, who has ordered that their manners and customs should be noted and reported in writing for his information. The Amir takes interest in enquiries of this sort.

(r) Letters received by merchants in Peshawar confirm the news of the appointment of Umra Khan of Jandol as Naib Salar. He is now in high favour with the Amir, and is consulted in almost all important State matters. In reply to a second request made by Umra Khan to be deputed against the Kafirs with some troops, the Amir said that he wanted to send him to Kunar and Asmar, but that the Government of India would not allow him to do so, and that he must therefore wait for some time yet to come.

(s) News from Kabul shows that camels were being impressed in Kabul for the carriage of magazine and stores to Kafiristan *via* Panjsher for the troops engaged against the Kafirs.

Operations Against the Kafirs

2.(a) The Sipah Salar is said to have settled the Kamdesh Kafir affairs. Most of the Kafirs have fled to Chitral; some have surrendered to the Sipah Salar. These Kafirs had requested the Salar to allow them to keep possession of their lands, but the Salar told them that His Highness the Amir's order was to replace them by the Gujars of that country. A few of them headed by Juna Tak and Surmal, elders, left to represent their case before His Highness the Amir.

The troops engaged against the Kafirs asked the Sipah Salar to give them a share in the plundered property. To this the Salar

replied that he would refer the matter to His Highness the Amir. The heads of all the Kamdesh Kafirs, who lost their lives in the encounter, have been cut off and sent to Kabul on camels as a trophy to be presented to His Highness the Amir.

(b) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th January 1896, shows that His Highness the Amir has written to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, to prepare a complete list, giving the number of men, women and children in Kafiristan, also the number of animals owned by them. His Highness also wants to know what their land produces, and what the aggregate value of these may be yearly. The Sipah Salar is making enquiries about these matters secretly.

(c) One Amir Mohd., who has just come from Laghan [Laghman?], states that the Kafirs of Paron [Parun] have somehow or other received help in arms from some neighbouring tribe, but that it was not clear who had supplied them with weapons; that a detachment of the Amir's troops advancing against the Kafirs perished by the fall of an avalanche.

(d) Some eight days ago Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan sent a letter to Mulla Najm-ud-din of Adda to the effect that, as the whole of Kafiristan was almost conquered and the Kafirs had embraced Islam, he (the Mulla) was requested by the Amir's direction to come to Kafiristan for some time and preach among the Kafirs. The man who brought the news says that the Mulla excused himself on the ground of illness.

(e) The Kafirs continue acts of hostility by night. Mullas who know their language have been sent to preach among them and efforts are being made to convert them to Islam.

(f) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 7th January 1896, shows that under the Amir's orders, General Sayad Shah, the Wakil of Shighnani, with two infantry regiments, together with the tribal levies from Ghorband, Panjsher, Inderab and Khanabad have proceeded to join the Sipah Salar in operating against the Kafirs. Many Barakzai officials have also been sent to Kafiristan. The distribution of ammunition and supplies has been placed in their hands. Special runners have been engaged to convey daily news of the events going on in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir.

(g) A Laghmani, who reached Peshawar on the 13th January

1896 from Kafiristan, states that parties of Kafirs were coming to the Sipah Salar and received presents, but that they hesitated about conversion to Islam. He further stated that operations had come to a standstill, but that the road was under construction.

(h) Reports received state that the local levies sent against the Kafirs by the Governor of Laghman suffered much loss from heavy fall of snow in the Kafir country, and that many of them lost their lives on that account. The commandant of these levies is also seriously ill and has been brought back to Laghman.

(i) Trustworthy information received shows that His Highness the Amir has sent Rs. 40,000 worth [of] 'lungis', &c., to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to be distributed among the Kafir converts who embraced Islam. The Amir has also expressed his desire of enlisting 10,000 Kafir converts, whom he is anxious to arm with Henry-Martini rifles now coming from England. The Amir has instructed the Sipah Salar to choose smart men out of the Kafirs for military employment. These Kafir regiments are to be named 'Jadid-ul-Islam'.

(j) A deputation of the Kafir elders is said to have attended on the Political Officer, Chitral, to request him to make a recommendation on their behalf to the Government to save them from the oppression of His Highness the Amir.

(k) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 7th January 1896, shows that His Highness the Amir has directed Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, that, as soon as he finished road-making in Kafiristan, he should have materials collected for constructing rest houses for travellers all along the road passing through Kafiristan to Badakhshan.

(l) Information received shows that Hakim Ahmad Jan, a Peshawari, who accompanied Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kafiristan as Aide-de-Camp, has been appointed Governor of the conquered portion of Kafiristan by His Highness the Amir on the recommendation of the Sipah Salar, and that he is shortly to take over charge of his duties.

(e) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has promised to remit Government revenue to the Safis of Pech and the Shinwaris of Shigal, on the condition that they made the road to Badakhshan *via* Kafiristan. They have agreed to this and the work will soon be begun.

24th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 24th of January, 1896.*

After Compliments.—

The Amir has issued orders that food and raiment should be supplied gratis to the prisoners of Kafiristan who have arrived at Kabul until they can make their own arrangements.

About 6,000 prisoners have arrived at Charka under the escort of Commandant Siddik's men, i.e., the inhabitants of Panjsher, but the Amir has not as yet given orders as to the place where they are to be settled.

Many wooden images have been brought for the Amir's inspection. They represent deceased Kafirs, among whom the custom is that when a Kafir dies his relatives carve his image. The image is kept in the house to look at occasionally in memory of the deceased. Both the men and women of the Siah Posh Kafirs go either stark naked or are clad in black rags, but it is compulsory that the men and women should have a black cloth round the head.

The Amir has given orders to the troops and the rayiats to go to Kafiristan, and to punish those who may have interfered with places already conquered. This order has been sent to the Commanders-in-Chief of Turkistan and Jalalabad. They will all assemble in Panjsher.

Kafirs who are made to embrace Islam cannot pronounce the 'Kalema' properly, but they do it in such a way that the tutor himself does not understand it. When it is taught them a second time even they do not pronounce it clearly.

The Hakim of Jalalabad sent an application for leave stating that for the last 10 years he had no leave, and that he had private affairs to attend to. The Amir sent an answer to the effect that on account of the Kafiristan war, His Highness is unable to get a capable man to work for him in his place.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent 4,000 Kafirs to Kabul. A fight took place between the Amir's troops and the Kafirs near a place called Warkhakir, and nearly 400 men on the Amir's side were killed. The troops are suffering much on account of

snow-falls; hundreds of men are dying. At one fall the snow is six feet or more deep.

25th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 25th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

19th January, 1896.—

1. Two Bashgalis of Lutdeh were converted to Islam of their own accord in the Chitral Masjid.

2. Shahpat Ali, a messenger from Shah Afzal Mehtarjao of Nagar, brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still at Birkot. He has sent half of his troops towards Asmar, the other half remaining at Birkot.

(b) A Janadari of Lutdeh [i.e., a member of the Jana clan of Baragamatal], who came up from Birkot to Nagar, reported the spread of an epidemic in the Afghan camp; 90 men are said to have died in one night.

(c) The Khan of Nawagai is said to have occupied a place called Mitai belonging to the Amir of Afghanistan. The Sipah Salar on hearing this left Bashgal for Birkot, as he thought the Nawagai Khan had taken this aggressive measure at the instigation of the English Government.

20th January, 1896.—

1. Munwar Khan, headman of Jinjerit near Drosh, brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is said to have liberated all the sons of the Bashgal headmen whom he had brought down to Birkot. Some say he set them free, because a Mullah told him that having become Mussalmans they could not be made slaves. Another version is that he did so under orders received from Kabul.

(b) Many Afghans in the Birkot camp are said to be dying from an epidemic which has broken out there.

(c) Many Bashgalis are said to have embraced Islam in the villages Damer and Arandu.

23rd January, 1896.—

1. A Chitrali of Dyon brings the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has set free all the Bashgalis whom he had brought down to Birkot as hostages.

(b) The Sipah Salar has left Birkot with the greater part of his force and gone towards Asmar.

(c) A small number of troops under an officer have been left at Birkot.

1st February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 1st of February, 1896 (Confidential).

26th January, 1896.—

(1) Ghairat Khan, Mullah of Chitral, having lately visited Narsat, reports the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still at Birkot. He has put off his journey towards Asmar.

(b) There are 10 Kam headmen, prisoners in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot.

(c) It is said the Sipah Salar has sent two regiments from Birkot in the direction of Asmar, their destination being Mitai, a place in the Mamund country, which has lately been occupied by the Khan of Nawagai.

27th January, 1896.—

(1) A Chitrali, named Haidar Khan of Kari, has brought the following news from Arandu:—

(a) There is no epidemic now in the Afghan camp at Birkot.

(b) The Sipah Salar having postponed his departure for Asmar is still at Birkot.

(c) The Sipah Salar has sent 3 regiments from Birkot towards Asmar. At Birkot now there are 3 full regiments and 2 half regiments.

(d) The 8 Kam headmen, who were prisoners at Birkot, have been sent with the 3 regiments towards Asmar.

(e) About 120 Bashgal hostages are still in the Afghan camp at Birkot.

(g) The Khan of Nawagai lately attacked and set fire to a village called Mitai, belonging to the Amir of Afghanistan. The Sipah Salar has now sent 3 regiments there.

28th January, 1896.—

(1) Kori, a Kafir refugee, reports the following news:—

(a) About 50 sappers, who had been left by the Sipah Salar in

Kamdesh to carry on the work of repairing the road, have gone back to Birkot. They say that road-making is impossible at this time of the year owing to the severe cold.

(b) There are no Afghan troops in Bashgal now.

(c) One of the Kam prisoners, named Nili Rai, has been set free by the Sipah Salar, he having paid a fine of 2 slaves and 6 sheep. Three Kam prisoners, named Mirag, son of Lal Kam Chandlu, Kani Kan, son of Paluk Dami Malik, and Otadin [Uta Ding], brother of Ota [Uta], have been sent towards Asmar by the Sipah Salar.

(d) It is said that the Sipah Salar lately wrote to the Amir, suggesting that His Highness should visit Jalalabad, and saying that he would go there to receive him taking with him many Bashgali hostages. The Amir wrote in reply that the majority of the hostages should be set free, and that it would be sufficient if the Sipah Salar brought with him 10 Bashgali headmen.

The Sipah Salar has again written to the Amir, stating that he considers it desirable that all the Kafir hostages now in his camp should be taken to Jalalabad.

5th February, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 30,*
dated the 5th of February, 1896.

Kafiristan

A telegram from Chitral, dated the 27th January, states that the operations against the Mujash [Kaštá], Kamdesh [Kam], Madugal and Lutdeh [Katr] Kafirs are practically at an end, and that the majority of the Afghan troops have returned towards Birkot and Asmar. Most of the Kafir hostages have been set free and allowed to return to their homes, and apart from their being converted to Islam the people do not seem to have been oppressed.

The Amir's Sipah Salar has returned to Asmar.

The Amir impressed on his Generals the importance of pushing on the operations during the winter, as the Kafirs are, he said, – “Like hill birds whom it will be most difficult to subdue during the spring.” His Highness appears to have resolved upon a complete conquest of the country, the disarming of the inhabitants, and their submission to Islamism. He has ordered a census of the population and an assessment of the land produce. The

heads of all the Kamdesh Kafirs slain in battle have been cut off and sent to Kabul on camels as trophies for the Amir.

In a diary for the week ending the 11th January, the Political Officer noted that there were then about 150 refugee Kafirs in Chitral, and he explained that his request to the Mehtar to turn back Kafirs seeking refuge was only given with a view to discouraging refugees from entering Chitral in large numbers, but that it was understood that individual Kafirs who had special reasons for fearing to return to their homes would not be driven out. The Political Officer has since reported that he has taken steps to carry out the orders of Government to the effect that, while no encouragement should be given to Kafirs to take refuge in Chitral, those who do so should not be turned out; and that Chitral territory must not be used as a base of operations against the Amir or his troops.

In writing to the Viceroy on the 4th December, the Amir, while professing an intention to treat with justice and leniency all those Kafirs who may tender their allegiance, complained that a report had reached him that the Political Officer had instigated the Kafirs to fight, and promised them residence and maintenance in Chitral in the event of their defeat; and His Highness asked the Viceroy to put a stop to such proceedings and to 'keep the road of escape to the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there.' The Viceroy has replied that there is no truth in the report made against the Political Officer, but that he cannot issue the orders desired by the Amir. His Excellency quoted the Amir's own words to show that, in a similar position, His Highness would not consider himself bound to act in the way he requested, and had admitted the right of one Power to give shelter to refugees from another so long as they were not incited to hostile acts. The attitude which the Political Officer in Chitral is to hold in respect to Kafir refugees has been explained to His Highness.

The Amir has sent Rs. 40,000 worth of lungis, &c., to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to be distributed among the Kafir converts who have embraced Islam. The Amir has also expressed his desire to enlist ten thousand Kafir converts, whom he is anxious to arm with Henry-Martini rifles now coming from England. His Highness has instructed the Sipah Salar to choose smart men out

of the Kafirs for military employment. These Kafir regiments are to be named 'Jadid-ul-Islam'.

The Danish expedition into Kafiristan has been abandoned.

5th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Letter No. 24 of 1896. Government of India, Foreign Department, Secret/Frontier*. Fort William, the 5th of February, 1896.

To the Right Hon'ble Lord George F. Hamilton, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, We have the honour to forward copy of correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan regarding the treatment of Kafir subjects of His Highness seeking refuge in Chitral.

2. The Amir's representation appears to be chiefly directed against any inducement being held out beforehand to his subjects to resist his troops, and to hope for either assistance in so doing, or refuge and protection if unsuccessful. In this His Highness is within his rights, and although we were able to assure him that the Political Officer in Chitral had not acted in the manner which had been represented of him, we ourselves had sent instructions to him to observe neutrality in the matter of the Amir's operations against his Kafir subjects.

3. The Amir, however, in his letter asks us to "keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there," and in replying to this request we considered it desirable to speak plainly regarding our objections to issuing any such orders. We were able to quote the Amir's own words to show that in a similar position he would not consider himself bound to act in this way. His Highness would consider it wrong to incite a neighbour's subjects by promise of refuge to stand against the forces of their sovereign, but he would not feel bound to refuse to receive them when defeated and put to flight, or to turn them back. He has been told that we also will neither attempt to stop his subjects from escaping into Chitral, nor drive them out when they have taken refuge there.

4. In the enclosures of this letter, as detailed in the accompanying list, we include extracts from the periodical diaries received from the Political Officer in Chitral. These give various items of intelligence which we have from time to time received regarding

the Amir's proceedings, which do not seem to be unfairly conceived or harshly carried out. If the people submit to the authority of Kabul, and do not oppose the Amir's plans of opening roads through their country, they will apparently be treated like the rest of the inhabitants of His Highness's domains. In view of the interest which is taken in these proceedings, we have required telegraphic reports to be sent, and we shall continue to keep Her Majesty's Government informed of the progress of events and of the information received regarding the treatment accorded to the Kafir people by the Amir's officers.

5. There was at one time reason to apprehend that the instructions given to the Political Officer in Chitral had been misapprehended, and that Kafir refugees were being expelled the country. The extract from the latest diary received states that this is not the case. [Marginal note: "It *was* the case." A. C. L.]

We have the honour to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

[Victor Alexander Bruce, Ninth Earl of] Elgin [and Kincardine. Viceroy and Governor-General of India.]

[Field Marshall Sir] Geo[rge] S. White [Commander-in-Chief, India.]

[Sir] Alexander Edward Miller [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir] H[enry] Brackenbury [Supreme Council]

[Sir] C[harles] B[radley] Pritchard [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir James] Westland [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir] J[ohn] Woodburn [Supreme Council]

5th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *List of Enclosures in Despatch No. 24, Secret/Frontier*, dated the 5th February, 1896, from the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

1. Extract from the Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 22nd of September, 1895.

2. No. 3999 F., dated the 18th October, 1895. Telegram to the Resident in Kashmir.

3. 4th December, 1895. Letter from His Highness the Amir, enclosing letter from Ghulam Haidar Khan.
4. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 7th of December, 1895.
5. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 14th of December, 1895.
6. Extract from the Peshawar Confidential Diary, No. 24, dated the 20th of December, 1895.
7. Extract from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 21st of December, 1895.
8. No. 140, dated the 16th January, 1896. From the Resident in Kashmir . . . forwards copy of the telegraphic correspondence with the Political Officer at Chitral regarding the treatment of Kafir refugees in Chitral.
9. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 4th of January, 1896.
10. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 11th of January, 1896.
11. Letter from the Viceroy, dated the 23rd of January, 1896, to His Highness the Amir.

8th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 3, dated the 8th of February, 1896.

Jalalabad – Ningrahar

7 (a) Muhammad Khan, a servant of Sahibzada Muhammad Yunis, who reached Peshawar by the last kafila [caravan], reports that the Amir will come to Jalalabad in a few days.

(b) Camels are being impressed in Jalalabad and the Kunar ilakas to carry supplies to Kafiristan and Asmar. The people are in great trouble owing to the constant demand for carriage and supplies.

Operations Against the Kafirs

9.(a) Reports state that Parou [Parun?], the strongest fort in Kafiristan, has lately been seized by the Afghan troops, and that the conquest of Kafiristan is now complete. The Amir is much pleased with the conduct of General Taj Muhammad Khan, Commanding the Badakhshan troops, and Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, both of whom will be rewarded very liberally.

The city of Kabul was illuminated on Thursday, the 16th January 1896, in honour of the conquest of Kafiristan.

[We are now involved with two different Commanders named Ghulam Haidar Khan. The senior Sipah Salar whose actions we have been following thus far is now designated Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, *Charkhi*; the other is referred to as Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, *Orakzai*.]

(b) Reports received from Khyber state that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, Sipah Salar, has sent a number of gold idols and a large amount of gold coins found in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir. The Sipah Salar has reported to the Amir that he had heard from several of the elders of that place that many more golden idols and golden coins were hidden in certain places, and that he would try to unearth these, and when found send them to Kabul. The Sipah Salar is building temporary sheds for the troops and tribal levies, as without these it is impossible to exist there in the winter season. Many of the troops and levies are at present living in caves.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, is said to have sent 1,500 Kafir prisoners to Kabul with 100 camel loads containing presents of different kinds for His Highness the Amir.

(d) Information received from Kabul shows that the services rendered by the other Sipah Salar, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Orakzai, in the late Kafiristan expedition, have not met with the Amir's approval, and that no reward has been given to him. The services of Generals Mir Ata Khan, Taj Muhammad Khan, Mir Ali Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan and Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, the senior Sipah Salar, are to be rewarded by the Amir. Hakim Ahmad Jan and Sher Khan of Lachi (in Kohat) are also to receive rewards for their services in Kafiristan. Orders on the subject are expected to be issued after the 'Nauroz' [نوروز, New Year's day].

(e) Wakil Saifani, who was put in charge of a body of Afghan troops sent against the Kafirs from the Panjsher side, succeeded in capturing some 200 Kafirs. These Kafir prisoners were sent on to His Highness the Amir at Kabul.

(f) In the recent fighting between the Afghan troops and the Kafirs some Henry-Martini rifles were seized by the Sipah Salar. On reports being made to him that the rifles had been lent to the

Kafirs by the British Government, the Sipah Salar rebuked the men and told them that they had no concern in State affairs and sent on the rifles to His Highness the Amir.

(g) News received from Jalalabad shows that, under the Amir's orders, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, Sipah Salar, has taken about 100 of the leading Kafirs as hostages, and these men with their families will shortly be brought to Asmar. From here they will be sent on to Kabul, where they will be kept until further orders.

The Sipah Salar also intends returning to Asmar shortly; all operations have now ceased in Kafiristan.

(h) The final report submitted by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in the handwriting of Hakim Ahmad Jan of Peshawar about the recent operations in Kafiristan was laid before His Highness the Amir on the first Shaban 1313 (17th January, 1896). The report gave a detail of the operations and of the conquest of the country from Birkot to the limits of Shighnan, and stated that a few outlying small glens remained, the occupation of which could be effected after the [winter?].

8th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 8th of February, 1896 (Confidential).

4th February, 1896.—

(1) Shukar Shah of Siu brought the following news from Arandu:

(a) A Chitrali resident of Lutkho is said to have gone to Birkot with a letter for the Afghan Commander-in-Chief. It is not known who the letter was from.

(b) The Sipah Salar has sent away all his troops towards Bailam, only two half regiments remaining in Birkot with him. The Sipah Salar himself being unwell could not leave Birkot immediately.

5th February, 1896.—

(1) Nangawar, a Chitrali, brought the following news from Arandu:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is arranging for an expedition against the Wai Kafirs to proceed shortly through the Bailam nulla.

(2) Sher Malik, a Kam Kafir, just come up from Damer, reports that the Sipah Salar is arranging for an expedition to start through the Bailam nulla against Waigal.

7th February, 1896. – Abdullah, a converted Kafir of Lutdeh, reports as follows:—

(a) Mara, a headman of Lutdeh, has been ordered by the Sipah Salar to call back his sons, Kan, Chandlu and Latkan [Lutkam] from Bumberet (in Chitral territory) to Lutdeh. Mara refused to comply with the Sipah Salar's order.

15th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant Political Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 15th of February, 1896 (Confidential).

9th February, 1896.—

(1) Mukarrab Khan, Chitrali, reports the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has gone to Asmar.

(b) Nearly all the Bashgali hostages being ill, they have been left at Birkot.

(c) Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir has taken Jandol.

(d) Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini has fled towards Nawagai.

(e) Umra Khan having gone *via* Kandahar on a pilgrimage to Mecca, has sent three horses to Jar in Nawagai territory.

13th February, 1896.—

(1) Khush Muhammad Khan of Sin brings news from Narsat:—

(a) The Afghan Sipah Salar has left Birkot with nearly all his force and gone to Asmar. He has left 500 men at Birkot.

(b) The Afghans have started making a new road on the left bank of the Kunar river through Marawara opposite Pech. The people of Marawara, having opposed the making of the road, three Afghan regiments have been sent to punish them.

(c) The Sipah Salar has taken all the Bashgali headmen and hostages to Asmar.

22nd February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 22nd of February, 1896 (Confidential).

17th February, 1896.—

1. The following information was obtained from the Sipah Salar's men:

(a) In the expedition to Bashgal the Afghan casualties amounted to 40 men. The Kafir loss amounted to 180 men.

- (b) Akram Jan has been appointed Governor of Bashgal in recognition of his services during the Bashgal campaign.
- (c) All the Lutdeh headmen except Mara have been allowed to return to their homes. Mara has been taken to Asmar.
- (d) One hundred and eighty hostages from the Kustaz [Kaštá], Kamož, and Kamtaz [Katr and Kam] tribes of Bashgal have been taken to Asmar. It is said that the Amir intends to have these men instructed in the precepts of the Muhammadan faith before allowing them to return to their country.
- (e) All the Kamož [Kam] people have been removed from Kamdesh and settled in the different villages of Narsat. The Sipah Salar intends to keep them there for three years.
- (f) The Afghans have captured several forts in the Ramgul country. The Sipah Salar is now thinking of commencing operations against Waigal and other Kafir districts.

18th February, 1896.—

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Rumbor came in and brought the following news:—

- (a) The Afghans have taken fifteen forts in the Ramgul country. The Kafirs lost many men, and the majority of the inhabitants of Ramgul have now fled to another Kafir State, called Kulam.
- (b) The Sipah Salar has allowed all the Lutdeh headmen except Mara to return to their homes. He lately sent a message to Lutdeh saying he intended shortly to attack Waigul, Veron, and Katwar, *via* Shegal, and informing the Lutdehchis that he wished them to attack the abovementioned Kafir districts from the direction of Lutdeh.
- (c) Eighteen Mullas have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Lutdeh to remain amongst the people of that country and to teach them the precepts of Islam.

19th February, 1896.—

2. Afdar, resident of Oyon, has brought the following news:—

- (a) The Sipah Salar sent a large force from Asmar against the Waigal Kafirs. When this force reached Chigharserai, 60 Wai Kafirs came in to pay their respects. The Afghan Commandant sent them to Asmar to the Sipah Salar who has placed them in custody. The Sipah Salar then sent orders to his advanced guard

to proceed at once to Waigul, and he was preparing himself to leave Asmar to join the expedition.

(b) One hundred and thirty Shaikhs or converted Bashgulis from the villages of Istorgul [Gawardesh], Birkot, Sau, Darin, Bailam, and Asmar, have been armed with rifles by the Sipah Salar and sent to Chigharserai under command of Tuti Shaikh of Chunduk.

(c) All the Bashguli hostages are in the Afghan camp at Asmar. They are well treated by the Sipah Salar. Two of them are said to have died.

(d) The garrison at Birkot now consists of two Afghan regiments, each 500 strong.

(e) Before leaving Birkot, the Sipah Salar sent twelve Mullahs to Bashgul to teach the new converts how to keep the fast during the Ramazan. Every fourth month these Mullahs will be relieved by a fresh lot.

(f) Jana, brother of Mara, headman of Lutdeh, is in great favour with the Sipah Salar, because he keeps Ghulam Haidar Khan fully informed of everything that takes place in Bashgul. Mara's request to be allowed to return home was refused by the Sipah Salar on the ground that his 3 sons were still hiding in Chitral territory. Mara sent 3 men to his sons who are living in the Bomboret Gul with a message that they should return to Lutdeh. His two eldest sons however refused to comply with his wishes.

20th February, 1896.—

2. Said Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, brought the following news:—

(a) At Birkot, there are 500 Afghan troops and 4 'pechi' guns.

(b) On arrival at Asmar the Sipah Salar held a Darbar and gave khilats to all the local headmen. In the Darbar he announced his intention of proceeding against Waigul.

(c) After halting at Asmar for four days the Sipah Salar, accompanied by his whole force, a large number of local headmen, the Bashguli hostages, and a force of Eljaris who volunteered for active service under Rustum Khan, Khan of Shali, started for Waigul; 500 men were left at Asmar.

(d) Two messengers of the Afghan Sipah Salar who had lately been sent to Pech are said to have been burnt to death by the

people of the upper Pech country. The Sipah Salar has announced his intention of conquering Pech, Waigul, and Veron within a period of one month.

(e) The Sipah Salar when at Asmar received a letter containing news of the occupation of Ramgul by an Afghan force which had been recently sent from Kabul. Severe fighting and considerable loss of life on both sides is said to have taken place. Two thousand Ramgul Kafirs were made prisoners and sent to Kabul. The majority of the remaining inhabitants are said to have run away to neighbouring Kafir districts. Large quantities of grain and a considerable number of live stock fell into the hands of the Afghans.

3. Nang Awar and Sharafat Khan, two Chitralis who have returned from Narsat, bring the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has left Asmar and gone towards Chighar-serai.

(b) There is a garrison of 1,000 Afghans now at Birkot.

(d) The Amir is expected to visit Jalalabad soon. The Afghan sepoy at Birkot and Palasgor will shortly proceed to Jalalabad to pay their respects to the Amir, who is said to have also issued orders for the Sipah Salar to proceed to Jalalabad accompanied by all the troops who took part in the Bashgal campaign.

22nd February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 22nd February, 1896.*

After compliments. — I beg to give below the news which I received during the last week:—

On Wednesday the 19th February, the Amir went to the Hall of Audience only to look at the soldiers who have returned from the recent Kafiristan Campaign, and when all had made their obeisance to His Highness, he spoke in kind terms to every one of them as below:— “The God-granted Government has received first class help from you. All your friends, the English nation, and the Empress of India, are pleased with you. I am also greatly pleased with you. May God and His Prophet be pleased with you.

Kafiristan is the country which gave a lot of trouble to the Kings of India and Afghanistan, but nobody could conquer it. Even Amir Timur could not. This act of bravery was reserved for Amir Abdur Rahman to be performed through you. You have shown great valour in this campaign. Bear in mind that the Czar of Russia is your bitter enemy. Some day it will be necessary for you to stand up against him." Everybody present corroborated what the Amir said and added:— "We and our sons are ready to sacrifice our lives for Your Highness's service." After a short conversation the Amir told the men:— "All of you take rest in Sherpur. I will entertain you for a few days."

The Amir has given orders to supply the soldiers, numbering nearly 5,000 men, with food, charcoal and fuel from the State, until they are given leave to depart. General Amir Muhammad Khan will supervise the arrangements in connection with the entertainment, &c.

Many of the Kafirs have been employed as labourers in the different factories.

20th February, 1896.— The Amir has sent the Kafirs numbering 6,000 who were assembled in Panjsher to different parts of Afghanistan to settle down in those places. They will cultivate lands under the supervision of the Maliks.

Twenty-two Kafir boys, under 10 years of age, have been kept in Kabul as pages for outside work.

By the order of the Amir, the Kafirs, who have embraced Islam, and their wives and children have been supplied with a shirt and a pair of trousers each.

The Amir has bestowed a khilat consisting of a chogha and a lungi on each of the inhabitants of Panjsher who had joined the expedition against the Kafirs. These men number nearly 5,000. The Amir after addressing in kind terms the people of Indarab and praising them for their valour, conferred on them khilats. They number 7,000 persons and are now staying at Sherpur. They waited on the Amir on Friday last.

All the men who fought against the Kafirs and who are 12,000 in number, received a silver medal each on Friday evening. The Maliks and Sadbashis [صد باشی, non-commissioned officer in charge of 100 men] received gold ones equal in size to the Kabul rupee and 1/100th of an inch thick, with inscriptions as below:—

Amir Abdur Rahman Kabul Service Afghanistan

On a secret report made by the Kotwal [کوٹوال, Chief of Police] that Malik Amir Muhammad of Panjsher had not supplied provisions properly to the troops, the Amir sent for the Malik, reprimanded him and made him return the medal he had received. All the men who went to fight are yet in Kabul.

24th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Letter from Sir William John Cuningham, Secretary in the Foreign Department, to Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary in the Political Department, India Office, dated the 24th of February, 1896.*

Confidential

Calcutta

24th February, 1896.

My Dear Lee Warner

I regret I could not at once answer your confidential letter of the 24th January about the wording of the Viceroy's official telegram of January 22nd relating to Kafir refugees. I had not until today an opportunity of referring to all the papers. Meanwhile, and apparently before any question on the subject has been put, the Secretary of State will have received the secret despatch 24 of the 5th February enclosing extracts from the Chitral diary of the week ending the 11th January which contains the information on which the telegram was based. I must confess that the note at the end of the paragraph (o) of entry for the 8th January does not specifically say that "refugees have not been driven out" though it appears to me that this is the inference which Lt. Gurdon intended should be drawn.

On the other hand I do not see in the entries to which you direct my attention 'circumstantial reports of violent expulsion'. One entry says 'news was received from Lutkho that the Bashgal Kafirs about 900 in number, who had come into Lutkho, had been sent away by the Mehtari officials' the other is that the Mehtar's Dewan Begi sent orders directing that some 200 Kafirs who had arrived at Bumboret should be turned out of Chitral territory. It is I believe doubtful whether in either case any expulsion took place.

There is also this to be remembered as to the two points mentioned at the end of your letter, (i) the Amir always had access to other valleys than Bashgal and is making other roads than

the Bashgal Valley road. We hear of Bashgal operations because that valley is nearest to Chitral territory. (ii) the overthrow of the balance of Muhammadan power in those regions equally overthrows the possibility of a combined Muhammadan jahad against the Kafirs.

The Kafirs excite sympathy and we must deal with facts; there is much however in Robertson's Kafiristan report to shew that they deserve very little.

Yours very sincerely

[Sir] W[illiam] J[ohn] Cuningham

[note by W. Lee-Warner]

The questions asked in January have been solved by the information which crossed my letter. This letter may be put by. It may be helpful if further questions are asked. W. Lee-Warner

The letter shows a certain amount of anti-Kafir *animus*.

A. L. 16 March, 1896

27th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 4, dated the 27th of February, 1896.

Kabul News

(v) Recruiting is still going on at Kabul. Kafirs are also enlisted in the army which is being enlarged.

Lughman

4. Reports received state that Wakil Khan, Saifani, who had been to Kafiristan with the Amir's army, returned to Lughman with some 4,000 Kafirs, of whom he sent about 1,000 to Kabul and made over the rest to the Governor of Lughman to take care of them. The Governor is said to have dispersed them among different villages of his charge.

Operations Against the Kafirs

7.(a) Reports received state that about two hundred Kafirs have, owing to the tyranny and oppression of the Amir's officials, deserted their homes and crossed over to Chitral, where they wish to take shelter under the British Government and avoid forcible conversion to Islam. Mosques are being built in Kafiristan and Mullas are preaching the doctrines of Islam. Food and clothing are given by the Sipah Salar to those who seek Islam, but volunteers are said to be few.

(b) Reports from the Khyber state that orders have been sent by His Highness the Amir directing Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, to construct posts and huts in the newly-acquired Kafir country. The Sipah Salar is collecting materials, and as soon as the snowy season is over he will begin work, employing chiefly the Kafirs as labourers. His Highness has informed the Sipah Salar that he intends sending Habibulla Khan to see the Kafir country. Large convoys of camels laden with stores are about to leave Kabul for Kafiristan.

(c) The Amir is said to have issued orders that 1,000 families of nomad Safis from Tagao with 1,000 nomad Lughmani families and 500 families of 'Kuchis' [کوچی, nomads] from the Panjsher hills, should be sent to Kafiristan and settled there. That they should be required to reclaim land and cultivate it, and that no revenue will be levied from them for the first year.

(d) News received through the Amir's men at Peshawar shows that a book giving details of the operations held against the Kafirs, the history of their clans and tribes, the names of their chief villages and leading men, and the terms finally accepted by them was sent by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kabul to be presented to His Highness the Amir. The book is in verse (an example that might be followed with a view to shorten official correspondence) composed by the Sipah Salar. The Amir, who appears anxious to have copies of it distributed in the whole of the Punjab, is said to have gone through it himself, and has ordered it to be printed and published at Peshawar.

(e) Reports from the Khyber state that, owing to the intense cold prevailing in the Kafiristan hills, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has returned from there and is now said to be two or three marches beyond Asmar. All operations in that quarter have ceased for the present.

Asmar

8.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has returned to Asmar with his forces and is making preparations for a journey to Kabul, where he has been summoned by the Amir to furnish him with a detailed account of Kafir affairs in person. He is to reach Kabul before the 21st March 1896, when the Nauroz festival (new year's day) will be celebrated and honours conferred upon deserving

Afghan officials as usual. It is believed that costly khilats will be granted to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sardar Sherindil Khan, Governor of Khost, General Taj Muhammad Khan, Governor of Badakhshan, Mir Abu Talib, Dabir-ul-Mulk, Sardar Nur Ali Khan, son of Sardar Sher Ali Khan, Khandahari, and the officials who accompanied Sardar Nasrulla Khan to Europe. It is also stated that dinners will be given to all military officers and medals awarded to the troops engaged against the Kafirs.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is ill. He will take leave if he does not recover soon.

(c) News received shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has come down to Asmar, and has left his troops behind him at Birkot and Gourdesh.

Kunar Valley

9. (a) Men coming from Bajaur bring news of the intended visit of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Pashad in the Kunar valley and of the preparations made by Saifulla Khan, the Hakim, for his reception. Five hundred Kafirs are also coming with the Salar to accompany him to Kabul.

(d) Local levies from Kunar valley, who had been to Kafiristan with Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, have returned to their homes.

29th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Minute Paper No. 24, Secret Department*, dated the 29th of February, 1896.
Subject: Kafiristan; Treatment of Kafirs in Chitral

The enclosures now put forward as official documents are parts of the diaries already received with the omission of a few passages as to sending of, and treatment of Kafirs in Kabul.

As between the Government of India and the Amir no answer could be more discreet and 'soft' so as to turn away wrath. The Amir cannot answer it, and cannot renew his complaints.

If the despatch is ever printed the public may criticise it as taking a stand not on the high ground of British principles but of Afghan usage. Having taken that ground we can go further, for we can feed and give money to the Kafir refugees in British territory, as the Amir gives presents to the murderers of its home. I venture to

suggest that the Gov't of India might presently be told to relieve the necessities of the Kafir refugees in Chitral. – W. Lee-Warner.

2 March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 2nd of March, 1896.*

1st March, 1896. –

The Amir is thinking of appointing a Hakim of Kafiristan, but he has not as yet been able to select any. The place of residence of the Hakim [حاکم, sub-governor] will be behind Pamkan. The place is stony. All those Kafirs who have embraced Islam will be made to settle there. The other Kafirs who are in Kafiristan will also be transferred to that place.

By the Amir's order many Kafirs have been and are being employed in the factories. They are made to work hard, and the men who superintend their work give them instructions by means of signs, because they do not understand the Kafiri language.

The Amir has issued strict orders that none of his subjects, whether high or low, should be allowed to keep the Kafirs as slaves, and that slave dealing among them is strictly forbidden. The Amir has issued orders that at Shaftal, through which one can go to Russian territory, a cantonment should be established; that 8 or 10 regiments consisting of the Kafirs and 2 regiments formed of the Kabulis should be placed there; and that the officers of the Kafir regiments should be Kabulis, who will have to prove that they belong to good families.

The Amir sent for all the sepoy and the military officers who went to Kafiristan with the expedition, inspected them and gave medals to the men, and medals and khilats as well to the officers. His Highness has also issued orders to give promotion to the officers.

4th March, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. Letter No. 42, dated the 4th of March, 1896.

Kafiristan

In reply to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter referred to on page 6 of the last journal, declining to close the road into Chitral against

Kafir fugitives, His Highness merely writes – “What Your Excellency says is correct. If no harm results there is no room for any objection.”

The Amir's Sipah Salar has sent in his final despatch to His Highness describing the events of the recent campaign against the Kafirs.

Orders have been given that those places which have not been subjugated are to be attacked after the Nauroz (21st of March). The headmen of the adjoining country were summoned to Kabul to receive instructions and carriage has been impressed in the Jalalabad and Kunar districts to convey supplies to Asmar and Kafiristan. The Sipah Salar has already left Asmar with a force to attack the Waigul Kafirs, and a force sent from Kabul has occupied Ramgul and sent a number of Kafir prisoners to Kabul. Mullas have been deputed to preach Islam in Kafiristan.

According to information brought to Chitral from the Afghan camp by a Kafir refugee, the Amir directed the Sipah Salar to release all Kafir hostages with the exception of 10 Bashgali headmen. The Sipah Salar however, appears to have suggested to His Highness that the whole of the hostages should be taken on to Jalalabad whither, it was expected, the Amir would be shortly proceeding; and news from Chitral, dated the 16th February, intimates that the Sipah Salar has taken 180 of them with his camp to Asmar. Information from another source states that he sent 1,500 Kafir prisoners to Kabul, accompanied by 100 camel loads of presents for the Amir. A report from Kabul itself swells the number of Kafirs sent there by the Sipah Salar to 4,000. The Amir contemplates organizing two regiments of the Kafirs who have become Muhammadans. The Sipah Salar has been informed that a great many coins and idols of gold are secreted in Kafiristan; he is endeavouring to unearth these for despatch to Kabul.

10th March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 10th of March, 1896.

Kabul

(d) Reports received from Khyber state that some time ago Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, sent a number of Kafir headmen with their followers to His Highness the Amir at Kabul,

with a report stating that these men had, of their own free will, been converted into Muhammadanism. The Amir summoned them into his presence and had a long talk with them through the interpretation of one of his Kafir slaves. These headmen informed the Amir that they had for a long time embraced the faith of Islam, but from fear of their other countrymen could not declare this openly. His Highness ordered one of his officials to take a note of all their customs and ways of life. A certain sum of money was fixed for each headman, and they were then allowed to return to their homes.

(j) News received shows that a few days ago the Amir expressed his satisfaction with the state of his army in open Darbar, and remarked that his army, which now numbered 100,000 men strong, was enough to repel any invasions by infidels (*lit.* Kafirs).

(k) Saiyid Raza, a sowar of the British Agency at Kabul, reached Peshawar on his way to Hangu on the 25th February 1896.

He states – “I left Kabul eight days ago. There was no fresh news at Kabul except that 4,000 Kafirs were brought as prisoners to Kabul and settled in different villages in the neighbourhood of Kabul. Hospital Assistant, Shah Mir Khan, carries on the current work of the Agency, but he is not admitted to the Amir’s Darbar. The Amir intended to come down to Jalalabad during the winter, but he subsequently abandoned his idea.”

(m) News received shows that endeavours are made by the Amir to teach the Kafir prisoners at Kabul and other places the doctrines of Islam. Mullas have been appointed for the purpose, and every facility is given to the Kafirs to learn the language and customs of Afghans.

(o) News received shows that fresh complaints of bribery, &c., have been made to His Highness the Amir by the Mirzas [میرزا, official clerk] of Kabul and other news-writers against Hakim Ahmad Jan, who was on field service with Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in Kafiristan, and whom the latter recommended for khilats and appointment as Governor of Kafiristan on several occasions. This has created a suspicion against the Hakim in the Amir’s mind, and His Highness is expected to punish him shortly.

Laghman

5. Auliya Gul, the Governor of Laghman, has received an order from the Amir directing him to send all Kafir prisoners with him

to Kabul, so that they may be distributed among the Mussalmans of that neighbourhood and taught the doctrines of Islam.

Kunar Valley

8.(a) A letter received from the Mohmand country states that, on his return from Kafiristan, Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan gave a big dinner to all the troops engaged against the Kafirs, and praised them for the valour they had displayed during the operations.

(b) Most of the leading Kafir elders who have been deported from Kafiristan have submitted a petition to the Amir through Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, begging that, as they have been turned out of Kafiristan, they may be allowed to settle in the Ningrahar and Kunar ilakas and given crown lands to cultivate. They urge that their forefathers lived in Kama, Kashkot and other places whence they were expelled by their Afghan enemies.

(c) The Sipah Salar is encamped at Chauki in the Kunar valley, and has brought a large number of good-looking Kafir girls and lads as slaves. He intends sending them up to His Highness the Amir. He was expected to come to Dakka, but nothing has been heard about his arrival there.

Deogal and Badil Safis

9.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is reported to have left for the Safi country of Deogal and Badil. He is anxious to conquer that part of Kafiristan too which lies to the north of the Pech valley. He has employed the people of Nurgal and Shewa for the construction of a road from the mouth of the Pech valley to the limits of the Deogal Safi country. The Deogal and Badil Safis have made preparations for an opposition, and have received a promise of help from the neighbouring Kafirs too. The Kafirs and Safis of this neighbourhood have pledged together to fight to the last if either of these tribes is attacked by the Salar.

Kafiristan

10. Rumour is current that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan came across a couple of gold and ruby mines during his recent operations in Kafiristan and reported the matter to His Highness the Amir. It is believed that the mines will be opened next summer.

14th March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 14th of March, 1896 (Confidential).

11th March, 1896.—

2. One Ram Bap, resident of Oyon, has brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is at Pech. He is said to have sent an ultimatum to the people of Waigul to the effect that they should decide within fifteen days, as to whether they were prepared to accept the terms offered to them by the Amir.

(b) The Sipah Salar is said to have asked the Afghan officer Commanding in Munjan to attack the Waigul Kafirs in rear, while he himself attacks them in front.

(c) All the hostages taken by the Sipah Salar from Bashgul are in Asmar, and are receiving food and clothes from the Afghan authorities. All of them are now Muhammadans, and are keeping the fast of the Ramazan. An Arandu man, who has lately returned from Asmar, stated that the Sipah Salar had ordered double rations and khilats to be given to the Bashguli hostages during the fast month.

(d) All is quiet in Bashgul.

14th March, 1896.—

5. Turak [Torag or Torug] and Zarkan, sons of Chandlu, a Kamdesh elder, and now residing at Ursun in Chitral territory, report as follows:—

(a) A few days ago 60 Waigul headmen visited the Sipah Salar at Chigharserai. They brought with them guns, swords, and daggers in token of submission, and expressed their willingness to become Muhammadans. The Sipah Salar told them that he intended to visit their country. The Waigulis replied that they were ready to give hostages for their good behaviour, but that they were most anxious that the Sipah Salar should not enter Waigul with a large force. Eventually the Sipah Salar agreed to postpone his expedition to Waigul, on the condition that the Waigulis would send him 60 hostages of good family. The Waiguli elders then left to fetch the hostages.

(b) The Afghans are busy making a road up the Chigharserai Nullah. The road will be made as far as Saranu, from whence there are roads leading to Veron, Ramgul, and Waigul.

(c) The Afghan force which advanced from the direction of Kabul have captured 20 fort villages in Ramgul, 14 villages still remain in the hands of the Ramgulis. The Afghan loss in the fighting which took place was very heavy. One hundred and twenty Ramguli headmen were sent in chains to Kabul, but the Amir has directed that they should be set free and permitted to return to their homes. The Amir has further instructed his officers to treat the Kafirs leniently and not compel them to become Muhammadans against their will.

(d) Nili Rai, a headman of the Otadari tribe [Uta clan] of Kamdesh, who was in custody, has been set free by the Sipah Salar on his relations paying a ransom of Rs. 800.

(f) Below Pech there is a small valley containing 2 large Kafir villages, named Dehguli and Dangdulia. These Kafirs have been raiding the Afghan line of communications and succeeded in capturing a number of rifles. The Sipah Salar sent them an ultimatum that they should submit within 10 days. On hearing this the Kafirs collected 100 rifles, which they had looted from the Afghans and brought them to the Sipah Salar as a peace offering. The Sipah Salar took the rifles, but said they must bring more before he could pardon them. The Kafir elders on returning to their villages sent the Sipah Salar a message of defiance saying that they declined to give up more arms. These Kafirs have friendly relations with the Khan of Nawagai, who has promised to help them, in the event of the Sipah Salar invading their valley. Dehguli and Dangdulia can only be attacked from one side and the country is difficult.

(g) The Bashgulis complain bitterly of the manner in which Akram Jan and Merjan (the Sipah Salar's representatives) treat them. Many Kafir girls and boys have been taken as slaves by these persons. Akram Jan fines all Kafirs who do not treat him with respect. The Bashgulis are thinking of complaining to the Sipah Salar. The Sipah Salar had ordered his men to treat the Bashguli hostages well, but now that he has gone to Chigharserai the Afghan officials are ill-treating them.

(h) There are 700 Afghan sepoy at Birkot, and two full regiments and four guns at Asmar.

7. Roziman of Arandu reported as follows:—

(a) One hundred and ten elders of Dehguli and Dangdulia have brought 500 rifles to the Sipah Salar at Chigharserai. The elders

further declared their willingness to become Muhammadans in open Darbar. The Sipah Salar has ordered the Kafir elders to remain in his camp, and told them that he will not visit their valley at present.

(b) The Sipah Salar is expected to come to Narsat for the *Id* festival.

(c) The Waigul Kafirs have not yet brought an answer to the Sipah Salar's ultimatum.

(d) The Bashguli hostages in Asmar have been beating the Mullas, who were appointed to teach them the Muhammadan faith.

15th March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant, Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 15th of March, 1896.*

The Amir has given orders to collect 300 Kazis [قاضی, judge] from different parts of Afghanistan so that they may be sent to Kafiristan to convert the Kafirs to Islam.

To-day 40 more Kafirs and 100 of their idols were brought to Kabul under a guard. Some women and children also have come with them. All these Kafirs were converted to Islam on Friday last in front of the citadel and they will be sent to settle down in the Panjsher district.

The Amir has given orders that the Herati and Uzbek regiments, together with two troops of the Hizhdah Nahri cavalry, should be stationed in Kafiristan. When the Kafir regiment will be raised it will also be located in that country.

The Amir sent to the Harem two Kafir girls, who are under 18 years of age, to work as maid servants. Before being sent they were made to embrace Islam and received the name 'Wafa Begam', and the other, 'Nur Begam'.

20th March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 6, dated the 20th of March, 1896.

Kabul

(f) Reports from Kabul state that the Amir is busily engaged in collecting funds for the lodging, clothing, training and education

of the Kafirs by selling their cattle which was plundered and sent to Kabul by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan during the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir appears to be very anxious to teach these Kafirs the doctrines of Islam and to make them acquainted with the customs and manners of Mussalmans.

Some of the younger handsome slave-girls have been sent by the Amir to his 'haram serai' and others have been sold by him to his courtiers, and the price credited to the reserve fund for the education of these Kafirs.

Some clothing has already been purchased at Kabul and sent to the Sipah Salar for distribution among the Kafirs.

Kunar Valley

6.(b) The Sipah Salar has collected men from Kunar and Ningrahar, and is going to construct a road from Chaghan Serai to the head of the Pech valley inhabited by the Safis. The road will pass by a place called Mannai where the Kafirs used to commit robberies in former times.

Operations Against the Kafirs

8.(a) The Kafirs on the north of the Pech valley have sent in their representatives to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and submitted to Afghan rule. The Salar warns them (1) to allow mullas to preach in their country, (2) to go to Kabul and pay their respects to the Amir, and (3) to surrender all rifles and swords possessed by them. The Kafirs have not agreed to these terms as yet.

The Deogal Safis have also submitted and received the same reply from the Salar. . .

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has summoned a few masons by permission of His Highness the Amir to erect two towers in Kafiristan and the Pech valley in commemoration of the recent victory of Afghan troops in this neighbourhood, and is shortly to commence the work.

(c) Reports from the Khaibar state that many of the Siahposh Kafirs who were brought to Asmar, expressed their willingness to become Mussalmans, and to pay the tax of Chila-yak [چهل و یک, literally 'forty-one', here meaning one animal out of every 40 of their livestock] and to receive the Amir's hakims and kazis amongst their country. The Sipah Salar sent a report of this to

His Highness the Amir, and the latter having given his sanction several Kafirs after being converted were allowed to return to their country. Hostages were taken from these Kafirs before they were permitted to go.

(d) In continuation of paragraph 7 (a) of diary No. 4, dated 27th February 1896, the latest news is that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has reported to the Amir that the Kafirs, who went to the British officers at Chitral, were induced to do so by the British Government who he said would not keep themselves aloof from interfering in political matters on the Afghan side of the lately demarcated boundary which justified them too in carrying on their intrigues beyond the border.

(e) It is rumoured that preparations are again being made by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan for a fresh attack upon those Kafirs who have not as yet been subdued, and that operations will commence early in the spring.

(f) Reports received from the Khaibar state that some of the Kafirs who live close to the Panjsher valley made their submission to the Amir's authority, and under His Highness's orders 4 mullas and 100 khasadars were sent to their country. A short time ago the Kafirs attacked and killed the mullas and the Khassadars. The troops in the Panjsher valley moved against the Kafirs, and burned several of their villages, capturing a few Kafirs, while many fled towards Darrah-i-Maswar. Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has sent letters to these Kafirs telling them to come to him to make their submission, or else he would send troops against them very shortly.

21st March, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 21st of March, 1896 (Confidential).

17th March, 1896.—

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh has brought the following news:—

(a) The road leading from Chitral *via* Arandu into Narsat and Asmar has been closed by order of the Afghan Sipah Salar, who is determined, if possible, to prevent news of his movements reaching Chitral.

(b) It is rumoured that a large Afghan force personally led by the Sipah Salar has entered Waigal.

(c) Reports are also current that the Afghans have advanced *via* Munjan into Veron.

(d) The people of Bashgal are said to have gone to Birkot to complain to the Afghan Commandant there of the oppressive treatment shown to them by Akram Jan and Mer Jan.

21st March, 1896.—

3. Shaikh Abdulla reports that he has heard the following from a Lutdehchi:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has occupied Veron, Waigal, and Ramgal. He has taken 30 hostages from Veron, 20 from Katwar, and 60 from Waigal. All of these hostages have been brought to Asmar.

4. Azmat Shah, a relation of the headman of Arandu, and now residing at Jinjaret, reports as follows:—

(a) The force sent by the Sipah Salar against the Dewagal and Kuramgal Kafirs has suffered a reverse and been obliged to retreat to Pech.

(b) The Sipah Salar himself is at Veron with 1,000 sepoy.

(c) Ota [Uta], a Kam headman, went to Veron to complain to the Sipah Salar concerning the oppressive manner in which Akram Jan had been treating the Bashgalis. The Sipah Salar promised Ota that he would shortly visit Lutdeh and Kamdesh, when he would remove Akram Jan from the post of Governor.

(d) An Afghan force from Munjan has joined the Sipah Salar in Veron.

(e) The Waigalis have been well-treated by the Sipah Salar.

28th March, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 85. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 28th of March, 1896 (Confidential).

25th March, 1896.—

2. A letter was received from Shahzada Lais, Maulai Sayad of Arkari, giving the following news brought by certain Zebakis:—

(a) The Afghan artillery which was in Shighnan has been moved into Zebak.

(b) The ryot people south of Tang-i-Faizabad are being sent towards Kafiristan to take part in the expedition against the Kafirs.

3. One Mahbub Shah of Drosh, who has just come up from Narsat, reports that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief has marched in person with a force against the Kafirs of Devgal (close to

Waigal). These people are said to have nearly 1,500 rifles which they had plundered from the Afghans.

27th March, 1896.—

2. Chandlu Kan and Latkam, sons of Mara, a Lutdeh headman (now a hostage in the Afghan camp at Asmar), visited the Assistant British Agent. They asked that some land might be given them in the Bomboret Nulla, and also requested the Assistant British Agent to write to the Sipah Salar and obtain the release of their father, Mara. The Assistant British Agent promised to speak to the Mehtar about land in Bumboret. As to Mara he said he could not write to the Sipah Salar, but promised that he would mention the matter to the British Agent, Gilgit.

28th March, 1896.—

1. The Mehtar is arranging to give some land in the Bomboret Nulla to the sons of Mara, a headman of Lutdeh. . .

4th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 4th of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. Some Ayun men, who had lately gone to Bashgal to purchase cattle there, were seized by the Bashgalis and taken to the Afghan Officer Commanding at Birkot. This officer set them free, but told them that, whenever they wished to have any business communication with the Bashgali subjects of the Amir, they should visit Birkot and make a report of their intentions to the Afghan officer there.

4. Several Bashgali refugees in Chitral have recently come into Chitral to get converted to Islam by the local Mullas.

Kafiristan

A man named Shafat Ali of Nagar brought the following news in the early part of the week:—

(a) The Afghan Sipah Salar has left Pech, and is returning to Asmar. He has subdued the Pech Kafirs after severe fighting in which many Afghans lost their lives. Four hundred Kafirs were made prisoners, and brought into Asmar, from where they have been sent off with the Bashgali hostages towards Kabul.

- (b) The Sipah Salar took 700 rifles from the Pech Kafirs.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has sent 100 sepoy with some Mullas to Lutdeh.
- (d) Akram Jan has been removed from the Governorship of Bashgal, in consequence of the constant complaints against him from the Bashgalis.
- (e) The Sipah Salar after returning to Asmar will shortly leave that place for Kabul. . .

2. Later news brought by one Talib of Arandu who has recently visited Chigharserai is to the following effect:—

Note.— This information is more likely to be true than that furnished by Shafat Ali of Nagar (see above).

- (a) The Sipah Salar has subdued the Kafirs of the Pech country without fighting.
- (b) The Safi tribe of Devagal who had been called upon by the Sipah Salar to bring in the 1,500 rifles which they had in their possession, having delayed complying with the order, Ghulam Haidar Khan commenced making roads from two directions towards their country, with the object of sending an expedition against them. This frightened the Devagal and they sent men to inform the Sipah Salar that, if he would return to Asmar, they would bring the rifles to him there.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has disarmed all the Kafirs in the Pech valley.
- (d) The Sipah Salar has left Pech on his way to Asmar.
- (e) The Afghans have sent no troops to Lutdeh. The Sipah Salar has however sent a Bashgali Sheikh to Madugal and Lutdeh, with orders to bring in the headmen of those districts to him. It is said the Sipah Salar's object in summoning these headmen is to enquire into their complaints against Akram Jan.
- (f) The Bashgali hostages and eight Kam prisoners are still in Asmar. They have not yet been sent to Kabul.

7th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 7th of April, 1896.

Laghman

4.(b) Auliya Gul, Governor of Laghman, has been arrested by order of the Amir and taken to Kabul. He incurred the displeasure

of the Amir for selling some Kafir girls to certain Turkistani merchants and appropriating the money to himself. He has been replaced by one Faiz Muhammad Khan, Kabchi, who has taken over charge of the post and supervises the Kafir captives in his charge in Laghman.

Ningrahar

5.(a) The advance camp of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan reached Dakka and the Salar himself is expected to reach very shortly. It is rumoured that he will be summoned to Kabul by the Amir.

(b) Supplies are being collected for the troops returning from Kafiristan at Jalalabad, Dakka and other places in Ningrahar. Only Khassadars are to remain in Kafiristan. Two new cavalry regiments are being raised by the Salar under orders of His Highness the Amir from among the Kafirs.

Kunar Valley

6.(a) The following proclamation is said to have been issued by His Highness the Amir to the people of Kohistan on the 12th March, 1896:—

“Be it known to you, the Safis of Pech, the Shinwaris of Shegal and the Shekhans, who have lately embraced Islam, that this proclamation is issued by me, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, the Defender of the Faithful and the King of Islam, simply to warn you that you are too foolish and imprudent to distinguish between good and evil, because we are well aware of the fact that, when talking among yourselves, you say that the Amir is tyrannical to you and troubles you in order to bring you under subjection. But as a matter of fact we are your well-wishers and we have saved you from great troubles. You are ignorant of your own affairs. You do not know that many people are interested in your affairs, and that they seek ruin and destruction for you. I am not covetous of your property.

“Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who is my most trusted officer, will fix a suitable revenue for you to pay yearly, which will stand for formality's sake. You will pay that revenue at Kabul. Those who may be too poor to pay the revenue assessed will be exempted from payment. We are anxious for your prosperity and wish to open roads in your hills, so that you may have free

intercourse with Badakhshan, Shignan, and Yarkand. The people of those regions will bring their goods to your country for sale, and you will be able to dispose of the products of your country too. You will thus soon accumulate great wealth.

“The Kafirs, who have recently embraced Islam, have been sent abroad simply to acquire a thorough knowledge of the principles of Islam and learn the manners of the people among whom they may happen to live. If they hereafter secure our confidence and desire to go back to their native land, they may probably be allowed to return to their country. We do all this to protect you from danger if you could understand it.

“We hear that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has called upon you to surrender your arms, *viz.*, rifles and swords. You really do not require them any more, because we have now suppressed the Kafirs, your old enemies. You have no excuse to make. If you are not willing to give up your arms let some of your elders, the Safis of Pech and the Shinwaris of Shegal, come to us, so that we may discuss the matter with them. If we could prevail upon them and convince them of the validity of our reasoning, you had then better surrender your arms, otherwise we will supply you with more arms.

“The people of Laghman have sent letters of thanks to us, whereas you have sent none. Be sure that we are (bitter) enemies of all unbelievers and look upon all Mussalmans as our sincere friends. If you will just think over the matter for a short while, you will see that our object in compiling the book called ‘Takwim-ud-din’ (The Founder of Religion) was to do good to Islam, and a careful perusal of it will convince you of our good motives. We have published several other books for the benefit of Mussalmans. As for example, we compiled and published the ‘Kalimat-ul-Jehad’, ‘Alman sub ilal Amir-ul-bilad’ (a Treatise on Holy war enjoined on a Muslim King) in 1304 H. and the ‘Nasaih Namchah’ (a book of advices) in the Pushtu language in 1301 H.

“We do not disregard religious matters, but we are too busy to devote much time to them.

“There are several other matters in our minds which we would not like to express in writing, but you must come in person, so that we may tell you all about them in conversation.

“Take care not to send copies of our proclamation to Bajaur,

Jandol, and Dir, because the people of those places have turned Kafirs and have given up their religion.

“If you will not abide by our words in this respect, we will see what can be done in the matter. We thought it necessary to inform you beforehand.”

Kafiristan

8.(a) News received shows that the Commandant of the Afghan Regiment left in Kafiristan has reported to the Sipah Salar that the Kafirs are again showing signs of disturbance in the country, and that the troops stationed there being insufficient to repel their incursions, reinforcements should be sent at once to Kafiristan.

(b) Reports received from Khyber state that, under orders received from His Highness the Amir, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has presented a ‘khilat’ to Hakim Ahmad Jan for service in the recent operations against the Kafirs. The Hakim is now with the Sipah Salar at Pech.

(c) It is reported that a Kafir named Sur Mul, who knows Persian, is employed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in translating certain Kafir songs into Persian. He acts as an interpreter to the Sipah Salar and his translations are forwarded to His Highness the Amir for perusal.

(d) A public road is being constructed from Laghman towards Kafiristan by order of His Highness the Amir.

(e) The Amir has prohibited the sale and retention of Kafir slaves by Afghan Chiefs on the penalty of Rs. 7,000 fine.

(f) Lonia, one of the leaders of the Kafirs implicated in the murder of the Mullas preaching in Kafiristan (paragraph 8 (f) of diary No. 6, dated 20th March 1896), was shot dead by order of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who is reported to be at Nanglam [Ningalam] on his way back to Chowki in the Kunar valley.

(g) Reports received from the Khyber state that His Highness the Amir will grant medals to all the troops that were engaged in the Kafiristan expedition. Medals are being made in Kabul.

10th April, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 68*, dated the 10th of April, 1896.

Memorandum of information received during the month of March 1896, regarding affairs beyond the North-West Frontier of India.

Note:— This memorandum is based upon reports, the accuracy of which it is not always possible to guarantee.

Afghanistan

Kabul. — The Amir is said to contemplate sending his eldest son, Sardar Habibulla Khan, to Kafiristan to see the country. Medals have been issued to the troops engaged in the recent operations.

Kafiristan

Little information has been received during the month regarding affairs in Kafiristan.

The Sipah Salar has allowed the Lutdeh headmen to return to their homes, and has sent with them eighteen mullahs to teach the people the principles of Islam. All is quiet in the Lutdeh and Munjash [Kaštá] districts, and the Afghan troops have been withdrawn. The Bashgali hostages are still in the Sipah Salar's camp. Some of the Kafir prisoners sent to Kabul are being employed in the workshops. Eight hundred are said to have been already enlisted in the Afghan army. The majority of the Kamoz Kafirs have been removed from Kamdesh and are now settled in Narsat.

The Assistant British Agent in Chitral reports that there are about 150 refugee Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs living in the various nullahs within Chitral territory. The Mehtar is arranging to give them small grants of land. Instructions have been issued that no refugees should be prevented from having access to Chitral, and if their numbers increase beyond the power of the Mehtar to deal with them, the fact is to be reported, so that Government may consider what further steps may be necessary.

11th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 11th of April, 1896.*

On the 9th April, the Amir summoned 100 Mullahs into his presence through Mulla Kosa and ordered them to go to Kafiristan, build mosques in that country, and teach the Kafirs how to say prayers and keep the Ramzan fasts.

They will each receive 12 tomans and 4 kharwars of flour a year.

His Highness has given them each a revolver, a waist belt and a horse. They left the Amir quite pleased.

11th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 11th of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

4. There are still about 200 Bashgali refugees in Lower Chitral. A few Lutdeh Kafirs have also settled down in Lutkho. The Lutdeh men are easier to deal with than the Kam Kafirs, who do not really seem anxious to settle anywhere, and they appear to be watching for the first favourable opportunity of returning to their homes.

Kafiristan

Mehtarjao Ghulam Dastgir writes that the following news has been brought to him by a Chitrali, who has just returned from Bashgal:—

(a) Mer Jan, a converted Kam headman, recently proceeded to Lutdeh by order of the Afghan Colonel Commanding at Birkot to fetch the principal headmen, who have been summoned to meet the Sipah Salar. The Lutdeh headmen agreed to accompany Mer Jan, and the party passed through Istorgat (Gourdesh) on the 8th April on their way to the Sipah Salar.

(b) The Sipah Salar is at Shigal.

(c) The Afghans have only taken two forts in Veron. The remaining portion of the valley is still holding out against them.

(d) The Kafirs of Waigal have not yet tendered their submission to the Sipah Salar.

(e) Hazrat Jan, cousin of Akram Jan, has been posted by the Afghan authorities at Istorgat with orders to prevent any but the Amir's subjects from entering the Bashgal valley.

(f) No Afghan troops from Munjan have visited Lutdeh.

2. Shaikh Abdulla, a Lutdeh man, reports:—

(a) That the Kam people, who were located by the Sipah Salar in Narsat, have now been permitted to return to their homes, where they are cultivating their lands.

(b) Nini Ra, younger brother of Mara, headman of Lutdeh, has come into Chitral with his wife, with the object of settling at a place called Uchulga in the Ayun Nulla.

(c) Koli, son of Gumara, a headman of Lutdeh, who has for some time past been living in Rumbur (in Chitral territory), having fled from Lutdeh on the Afghans occupying that place, has now received a message from his father, asking him to leave Chitral territory and return to his home.

Note. – It will be seen that, according to Mehtarjao Ghulam Dastgir's informant, the Afghans have not yet finally subdued the Wai Kafirs; but nearly all the Kafir refugees in Chitral state that the whole of Kafiristan has now submitted to the Amir, and this is probably correct. From all accounts the Afghans still seem to be anxious to treat the Kafirs well.

It is believed that the Lutdeh headmen, referred to in this diary, have been summoned by the Sipah Salar, so that the latter may enquire into their complaints against Akram Jan (*vide* previous diaries).

18th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 18th of April, 1896.*

After compliments. – I beg to give below the news I received during the last week:—

Kazi Baraki of Logar was sent by the Amir from Jalalabad for the purpose of collecting a few Mullas for service in Kafiristan. The Kazi, while carrying out the order, took money from many Mullas and let them off. He brought to Kabul those who refused to give him anything and presented them to the Amir, and observed that they were men of great ability and might be sent to instruct the Kafirs; and that he had not brought those who were insufficiently accomplished, fearing that they might fail in their work. The Amir sent Kazi Inayat-ul-Hak to bring the other mullas and also those who belonged to the Mulla families, and who were not versed in their profession, “because,” said His Highness, “no preaching is required just at present. They have only to teach the ‘Kalema’ which ordinary men can do.” Kazi Inayat-ul-Hak reported what Kazi Baraki had done in the matter. His property was thereupon confiscated and he was committed to jail.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan sent nearly 2,500 Kafirs, men,

women and children, from Jalalabad to Kabul. They have all been supplied with accommodation in Aliabad near the Palace. Mullas have been appointed to teach them Persian, to say the prayers, and to observe other Moslem rites and customs. They are furnished with food, mornings and evenings. These are the Kafirs who refused to repeat the 'Kalema' at Jalalabad, and were therefore sent to Kabul by the Amir's order.

22nd April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 22nd of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Shukr Muhammad and Pati, two Chitralis, who have returned from a visit to their relations in Kabul (the latter are in the Amir's service), bring the following news:—

(a) When they were in Kabul, the Afghan Colonel Commanding the expedition against Kafiristan, which proceeded *via* Laghman, arrived in Kabul with his troops and the Kafir hostages. The Amir saw them outside the palace, and standing among them bare-headed said a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the successes which his troops had achieved. Then he praised the bravery of the troops and their commander. The Colonel then reported that the new country which God had granted to His Highness (e.g., Kafiristan) was exceedingly beautiful, and that he had made a good road through it as far as Munjan. He concluded by asking the Amir to pay a visit to his newly acquired territory. The Amir said if it pleased God, he would visit the new country in the course of the coming summer.

(c) The Sipah Salar, who was in the Pech nala at a place called Narinj, has left that place on his way to Chigar Serai.

(d) The Sipah Salar lately sent some of the Bashgali hostages to Kabul to be enlisted as sepoy.

2. A Narsati, named Sayad, resident of Jinjaret in Chitral, has returned from Shigal (beyond Asmar) and brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar having taken hostages from the people of Waigal and Veron, has left the Pech valley, and travelling *via* Chigar Serai has camped some five miles below that place at the

spot where the Dewagal nala joins the Chitral river. The people of Dewagal are said to have agreed to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 4,000, provided the Sipah Salar exempts them from giving up their rifles and other arms.

(b) All the Afghan troops have been withdrawn from the Pech valley, and are camped, some at Chighar Serai and some with the Sipah Salar at the foot of the Dewagal valley. The Sufi regiment has gone to Asmar.

(c) All the Bashgali hostages (from Lutdeh, Madugal, Kam and Mujash) are in Asmar. Three of them, who were residents of Istorgat, lately fled, and joining their families in the Istorgat hills, moved thence to the village of Suwir in Chitral where they are now staying.

(d) All the Kam people who were in Narsat have returned to Kamdesh with the Sipah Salar's permission and are busy with their cultivation.

(e) About 40 headmen of Bashgal, who were summoned by the Sipah Salar, have arrived in his camp, but no interview between them and the Sipah Salar has yet taken place. (*Vide* diary, dated 11th April 1896, Kafiristan entry No. (a).)

**Correspondence Relating to Afghan Proceedings in Kafiristan.
East India (Kafiristan), 1896**

No. 1. *Copy of Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, dated India Office, London, February 28, 1896.*

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a memorial, dated the 7th of February, from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, requesting that Her Majesty's Government will use their influence with the Amir of Afghanistan for the abolition of slavery in his territories, and also for the prevention of exterminating raids upon the Kafirs and other tribes of the Hindu Kush. I take this opportunity of forwarding to you a further memorial, dated the 22nd of January, from the Aborigines Protection Society, together with a copy of Resolutions passed at a conference held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 18th instant.

2. I shall be glad to receive, at an early date, an expression of the views of your Excellency's Government upon the several proposals contained in these memorials.

3. I also enclose correspondence on the same subject with the International Arbitration and Peace Association.

I have, &c.

(signed) George Hamilton

Enclosure 1 in No. 1. Letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated 55, New Broad Street, London, February 7, 1896.

My Lord,

The question of the precarious condition of the Siah Posh Kafirs of the Hindu Kush has, once more, engaged the serious attention of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the continued hostilities against these almost defenceless hill tribes on the part of the Amir of Afghanistan having been fully confirmed by correspondence in the Indian and English press.

The enslavement, if not the extirpation, of this ancient and interesting race would appear to be the present policy of the Amir, and in connexion with this question the Committee of this Society desire to call your Lordship's attention to a memorial addressed by them in March 1874 to the Marquis of Salisbury, then Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, when a similar but less formidable process of enslavement and destruction was carried on by the late Amir Shere Ali. The Committee, on that occasion, stated the well-known fact that so long as the invaders of Kafiristan possessed only the weapons of the country the Kafirs were able to resist the forces brought against them by the Afghan chiefs, but, at the same time, they reminded his Lordship that since the Amir had become a feudatory of the Indian Government, receiving yearly large sums of money and several thousands of the latest improved firearms, it was feared that the Kafirs would eventually be subdued and enslaved, a calamity the more to be deplored as it would be brought about by the aid afforded to a Muhammedan ruler by a Christian nation, whose policy had been to exterminate the slave trade and slavery wherever found. They therefore called upon Her Majesty's Government to use its influence with the Amir of Afghanistan for the extinction of slavery in his dominions.

In acknowledging the receipt of the memorial, the Marquis of Salisbury stated to the Committee that he fully sympathised with

the views therein expressed, and promised to forward a copy at once to the Government of India, with a request that a full report on this subject might be forwarded to him.

The report asked for not having been received by the Committee, that body addressed Viscount Cranbrook, the Secretary of State for India, in 1878, who, in reply, stated that although a report had been asked for by Lord Salisbury no answer had been received by Her Majesty's Government in London.

No one will venture to call in question the fact that the Amir is now in the annual receipt of a very large subsidy from the Indian Government, besides having been placed in the position to build an immense arsenal. This state of things has very recently been described by Sir Lepel Griffin, in the following words:—

“In addition to the direct abandonment of Kafiristan by engagement, the British Government is further responsible, indirectly, in that they have encouraged the military proclivities of the Amir, the skilled artisans who direct his arsenals and workshops have been knighted, we have taught him to make military roads, and, only the other day, presented him with 10,000 stand of our newest repeating rifles. These are to be tried upon the poor Kafirs, armed with knives and bows and arrows.”

This statement would appear to be in no way exaggerated, for on his arrival in England a fortnight ago, Sir Salter Pyne, who directs the works at the Amir's arsenal, stated in the public press, with apparent satisfaction, that he was able to “turn out 10,000 Martini cartridges and 10,000 Snider cartridges daily, two field guns per week, with all equipments, and 15 rifles a day. Quick-firing guns,” he said, “are produced at the rate of two a week, and a plant for making time and percussion fuses is in full work. A gunpowder plant has been sanctioned,” and he intended arranging for this during his brief stay in England. The Committee would, therefore, respectfully submit to your Lordship that the fears expressed in the memorial addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury in 1874, respecting the probable subjection and enslavement of the Kafirs by Afghanistan, owing to the introduction on a large scale of improved firearms, is in imminent danger of being realised. They would, therefore, most earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to use its great influence with the Amir, not only for the prevention of exterminating raids upon the Kafirs and

other people of the Hindu Kush, but also for the abolition of slavery throughout Afghanistan itself, which alone can put a stop to the continued capture of slaves that has for centuries been the cause of predatory attacks upon neighbouring and weaker tribes.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have, &c.

Chas. H. Allen,
Secretary.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., January 22, 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's reply, dated the 20th Instant, to my letter of the 14th, asking your Lordship to receive a deputation from this Society and others on the subject of Kafirstan.

It is a matter of regret to our Committee that your Lordship is unable to receive the proposed deputation, as it was hoped that an opportunity would then have been afforded to several speakers having special knowledge of the question, as well as to members of this Society, of supporting the memorial which I now have the honour of forwarding to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne,
Secretary.

Sub-enclosure.

Aborigines Protection Society
Broadway Chambers
Westminster, S.W.
January 22, 1896

My Lord,

I have the honour, by direction of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to lay before your Lordship a statement of the grounds on which it respectfully appeals to Her Majesty's Government to take immediate action in the hope of saving the Kafirs

of the Hindu Kush from the ruin which is rapidly overtaking them.

1. It is submitted that the campaign against these unfortunate people which has already been initiated on three sides of their country by the Amir of Afghanistan, can only result, unless it is prevented, in the extermination, enslavement, or displacement of tribes whose preservation in their ancient homes is a matter of great concern to scholars and others as well as to philanthropists.

2. The Kafirs, ever since the days of Sale at Jellalabad, have looked to the British, as their elder brethren, for protection. They call themselves, indeed, and are called by their enemies, "the brethren of the Europeans" in general, and of the English in particular. They have welcomed Europeans and Christian missionaries in their midst; and they have a special claim on the consideration of the British Government and people.

3. According to reports that have appeared in the Indian newspapers, the massacre of the Kafirs had already commenced in November and December last, when the too-trustful Kafirs admitted Afghan troops into the Bashgal valley under a pledge of protection from the invasion on the north or Badakhshan side, with the result that some of their villages have been burnt, many of their men killed, and girls and boys carried into slavery, by the implacable foes who had thus effected an entry into the country by misrepresentation. If, as is alleged, these treacherous proceedings have already overawed the Kafirs, the risks of their being speedily trampled under foot are only increased.

4. The possession of Kafir boys and girls has for the past thousand years been desired by every Afghan or Pathan household, and this has sometimes been effected even with the assistance of border-Kafirs forcibly converted to Muhammadanism or by means of the perennial raids by neighbourhood Pathan tribes; which, however, were not invariably successful – although the Kafirs are poorly armed – until the Afghans were provided with British rifles and other modern weapons of destruction, obtained by help of British subsidies, or manufactured in Kabul workshops under British supervision.

5. These raids have ever been conducted under the pretext of a 'jihad' or 'holy war,' and the present campaign, of unparalleled proportions, is being similarly conducted, in obedience to the

mandate of a fanatical priest, the Mulla Nizamuddin of Huda [Hadda or Adda], who is alleged to have received a large sum for the purpose from the Amir, and who, on a previous occasion, proclaimed a 'holy war' against other 'Kafirs' or 'infidels,' namely, the British. Such a war, it may be observed, is at variance with Muhammadan law unless it is undertaken in defence of the Muhammadan religion, which has never been, and is not now, threatened by the Kafirs. Many of the latter, indeed, are the descendants of Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Buddhists, forced by Muhammadan persecution to take refuge in their present mountain fastnesses along with the aboriginal inhabitants and with others, supposed by some to be of Greek origin, whom they found there.

6. The Amir, on opening the present campaign, it is said, offered the Kafirs the choice between extermination and adoption of the Muhammadan religion, but on previous occasions the Kafirs have always preferred death to embracing the faith of their hereditary foes. It is doubtful, however, whether even this change of faith would protect them from, at any rate, such partial enslavement as has befallen the Panjsheris and the Hazaras, who, after being subjugated, were sent as slaves to Kabul, where the demand for slaves must always keep up the raids for their supply. Intimation to be silent about the atrocities, purposed or perpetrated, in Kafiristan has already been given, but no confidence can be felt in Afghan professions unless they are coupled with the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan itself by an enlightened ally of an anti-slavery nation.

7. In spite of the most heroic resistance, the area of Kafiristan has in course of time been constantly diminishing, and the belt of hostile, though only nominal, Muhammadans which surrounds what remains of Kafiristan is being drawn closer and closer. Among other injuries thus inflicted on these unhappy people is the introduction among them of an immorality and of diseases previously unknown, such as small-pox. This appears from the report of Dr. Robertson, whose recent visit to Kafiristan, by giving umbrage to the Amir, has been the immediate cause of the present crisis.

8. It is charged against the Kafirs that they have made retaliatory raids upon their oppressors. These, it is submitted, were the

inevitable consequences of the cruel attacks to which they have been subjected for centuries. Wherever their neighbours have shown them any friendship, as occasionally, on the Chitral and on the Asmar side, the Kafirs have been only too glad to be left alone, and the very existence of such a small community in the midst of so numerous and such formidable enemies would in itself be sufficient proof, if there were not abundant other evidence, that they are not an aggressive people.

9. They are now threatened with national extinction. Hitherto the complete conquest of Kafiristan has been the dream of nearly every neighbouring Muhammadan ruler, anxious to acquire the title of 'Ghazi'. The Amir now seeks to convert the dream into a reality, in opposition to his own real interest and to the dictates of his own religion; and he is doing this under cover of alleged sanction by the British Government.

10. It is submitted that the 'transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitral,' under the Durand agreement, which is mentioned in the recently issued Chitral Bluebook (C. 7864, p. 44), only warrants control by the Amir of the political affairs, and the external military relations of Kafiristan, and cannot have been intended to imply the consent of Great Britain to any project for the slaughter or enslavement of its inhabitants.

11. The Amir has shown himself a loyal, and, in many respects, an enlightened ally and feudatory of Great Britain, and he has frequently expressed his high appreciation of the good opinion of the people of this country. It may be assumed that he will not persist in the course of action now entered upon if he is informed in a suitable manner that by so doing he will forfeit that good opinion and the benefits resulting to him therefrom.

12. It is submitted, moreover, that it is not to the interest of Great Britain or of any civilised and Christian nation to encourage raids or campaigns on Kafirs or 'infidels,' as the fanaticism thereby roused would be likely to extend far beyond its present limits, and would in any case be injurious to the prestige of the British Government in India.

Our Committee, therefore, speaking on behalf of many scholars, specialists, and learned bodies, besides the members of the Aborigines Protection Society, and the signatories of an enclosed appeal, makes this earnest representation to Her Majesty's Gov-

ernment that it will use such influence with the highly subsidised Amir of Afghanistan as may rescue the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush from their present danger and leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their property, religion, and customs. (It has been suggested, on high authority, that, in the event of the British Government being too late to stay off the hand of our ally, an asylum, at any rate, be offered by the Government of India to the surviving or fugitive Kafirs, with grants of waste lands in our own hilly territory, where these brave men would form an effective military frontier-colony, and that, in order to effect their departure from Kafiristan, our troops or the friendly levies now stationed at Dir and in Chitral be ready to receive them, and that the Amir facilitate their unmolested exodus on the Asmar, Badakhshan and Lughman sides. Our Committee, however, does not look with favour on a proposal which is a mere *pis-aller*, and which does not relieve the Government from its first duty to preserve in their own houses a people for whose fate it is largely responsible.) The British Government has made over Kafiristan, whose inhabitants have ever relied on British protection, to its hereditary foe and is therefore bound to see that none of them are massacred or enslaved, or their fertile lands taken by the Afghan or Pathan 'landgrabbers,' to whom Colonel Holdich of the Afghan Kafiristan Boundary refers in the last Journal of the Royal Geographical Society as already converting the Kafirs to Muhammadanism at the point of the bayonet. Nor have the British people as represented in Parliament, any more than the Kafirs themselves, been consulted before this secret transfer of human beings took place, an act for which there does not exist even the favourable excuse of 'policy', for Kafiristan has over and over again been officially declared to be of no political or strategical importance and to lie within no trade route whatever.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Enclosure 3 in No. 1. Letter from the International Arbitration and Peace Association to the Secretary of State for India, dated 40 and 41 Outer Temple, Strand, W.C., 11th February 1896.

My Lord,

The Committee of this Association having had brought to their notice statements to the effect that the mountain State of Kafiristan, inhabited by a race of special historical interest, which has maintained its independence through all the turmoils around it, has been given over to its enemies the Afghans; and as it is alleged that this is in some sort due to the Indian Government, we are directed to ask your Lordship if there are any grounds for such statements, also whether, if they be true, Her Majesty's Government will speedily take measures to protect the Kafir tribes and clear the Indian authorities from the grave reproach which would be incurred by the sacrifice of a race who, so far as appears, have done the Indian Government no harm and whose destruction at the hands of Her Majesty's ally, the Amir of Afghanistan, may lead to further hostilities in those regions.

2. As to the facts regarding an attack on Kafiristan, your Lordship has no doubt authoritative information in the records of the India office, and can, therefore, inform our Committee how far the serious statements made can be confirmed or refuted. About two months ago telegrams appeared in the public press to the effect as above stated. Those published in the 'Times' of 17th December, not only by implication confirmed the fact of barbarous raiding by the Afghans, but seemed to implicate the Indian Government with some sort of responsibility for the impending destruction of the Kafirs. Amongst other remarks was the following serious allegation: "All the necessary arrangements have been made to commence operations as soon as the passes are open, and the Amir has satisfied himself that he will meet with no opposition from the Government of India in carrying out what has long been one of his most cherished designs."

3. Whilst our Committee are very loth to believe that any British authorities can have incurred responsibility, however indirectly, for this alleged attack on a race defenceless against arms of precision – such as the Amir of Kabul has been supplied with by the Indian Government – and who are neither inclined nor able to do the Indian Government any harm, they cannot ignore the evidence which points towards such an invidious conclusion. For instance, in a recent article in the 'Saturday Review' on this

subject, Sir Lepel Griffin, an Indian civilian officer who has enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Indian Government, says: "A tragedy is now impending for which, if consummated, England will be directly responsible, and of which no time will ever suffice to efface the stain. The country of a lion-hearted race, which for 1,000 years has successfully resisted Muhammadan conquest, is about to be invaded by the trained army of the Amir of Afghanistan. This will be done with the sanction and in the name of England." With reference to the phrase "about to be invaded", according to the telegrams cited in our last paragraph, it would seem that the murderous raids on the Kafirs have already been perpetrated. In the Indian press, more than a month ago, summarised statements appeared in which, after alluding to the casualties of the Amir's troops in those raids, results were stated showing that forts, temples, and villages had been destroyed, and that the loot wrenched from the unhappy Kafirs had been sent by 100 cart-loads to Kabul.

4. In the 'Review' article quoted above, Sir Lepel Griffin alludes to the Treaty made with the Amir of Afghanistan in 1893 as including the alleged permission of the Indian Government, on which the Afghans claim to rely as excuse for their apparent design to conquer Kafiristan, and destroy or enslave its people. We are accordingly desired by the Committee to respectfully request your Lordship to cause a copy of the text of the article of that Treaty which deals with the subject of Kafiristan to be furnished to our Association, so that it may be seen how much or how little foundation there may be for the grave allegations which appear to reflect on British honour in this matter. Still more earnestly does our Committee desire that prompt and urgent instructions may be sent to the Indian Government so as to avert further attacks on, and spoliation of, Kafiristan and its helpless tribes.

We have, &c.

W. Martin Wood, Vice-Chairman
J. Frederick Green, Secretary

Enclosure 4 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the International Arbitration and Peace Association, dated February 15, 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 11th instant, inquiring whether "the State of Kafiristan has been given over to its enemies the Afghans," and whether Her Majesty's Government will "take measures to protect the Kafir tribes."

In reply, I am directed to state that in the delimitation of boundary which followed the conclusion of the Kabul Agreement of the 12th November 1893, the limit of the British sphere of influence was drawn so as to place Kafiristan on the Afghan side.

The latest reports received from India are to the effect that military operations were practically ended on the 24th of January, and the Afghan troops withdrawn from the Kafir country.

Enclosure 5 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated February 19, 1896.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th February, bringing to notice the request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society that Her Majesty's Government will use its influence for the prevention of raids upon the Kafirs and for the abolition of slavery generally in Afghanistan. I am to inform your Committee that the memorial will be forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

Enclosure 6 in No. 1. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., February 20, 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of resolutions passed at a conference, convened by the committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on 18th instant. It is the earnest hope of our Committee that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as may lead to the protection of the people of Kafiristan from the disasters with which they are now threatened by the military forces of the Amir of Afghanistan.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Sub-Enclosure. Copies of Resolutions passed unanimously at a Conference held at Westminster Palace Hotel on February 18, 1896, Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., in the Chair.

1. Moved by Mr. Bhownagree, M.P., seconded by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., and supported by Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., Mr. E. W. Brabrook, President of the Anthropological Institute, Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., and Dr. Leitner –

“That this meeting protests against the measures now being taken by the Amir of Afghanistan for the subjugation of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, resulting in the slaughter of large numbers, the enslavement of many, and the ruin of the rest, their forcible conversion to Islam, and the overthrow of their native institutions, that in its opinion this ancient and heroic community ought, in the interests of science as well as of civilisation and humanity, to be protected from the merciless attack which is being made upon their lives, property, and social organisation; and that it earnestly appeals to Her Majesty’s Government promptly and vigorously to exert its influence with Her Majesty’s highly subsidised ally, the Amir Abdur Rahman, by requiring that the present persecution shall be abandoned and the Kafirs left in possession of their liberties and their historic landmarks.”

2. Moved by Mr. E. Wright Brooks, and seconded by Mr. Frank Spence –

“That copies of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to Her Majesty’s Prime Minister and Secretary of State for India.”

Arthur Pease, Chairman.

Enclosure 7 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the Aborigines Protection Society, dated India Office, February 24th 1896.

I am desired by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd January, enclosing a memorial from the Aborigines Protection Society praying that Her Majesty’s Government will exert their influence with the Amir of Afghanistan in favour of the natives of Kafiristan.

In reply I am instructed to acquaint you that a copy of the memorial will be forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

No. 2. Copy of Despatch from Secretary of State to Government of India, No. 12, dated India Office, London, 17th April 1896.

My Lord,

In continuation of my Despatch, dated the 28th of February 1896, I forward, for the information of your Excellency's Government, copies of letters received by me from the Aborigines Protection Society, dated the 30th of March, and from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of the same date, together with my replies to the same.

2. I trust that the reply which I am awaiting to the Despatch just cited will contain reliable information regarding military operations and the fate of the tribes in Kafiristan, whose alleged treatment by the Amir has evoked much sympathy and interest in this country.

I have, &c.

George Hamilton.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., 30th March 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, and with reference to the memorial on behalf of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush which I was instructed to address to your Lordship on 22nd January last, again to submit to Her Majesty's Government an earnest appeal that it will do all in its power to rescue these unfortunate people from the ruin that is befalling them.

2. It appears, from information which has reached our Committee from unofficial but trustworthy sources, and which is doubtless in your Lordship's possession, that the military operations ordered by the Amir of Afghanistan against the Kafirs on the Bashgal or eastern side, in the latter part of last year, had far more disastrous results than were at first reported, and that, besides the many who were killed and the few who escaped, some 16,000 were then distributed among the victorious invaders, to be subjected not merely to the ordinary fate of slaves, but also

to any atrocities that the lustful desires of their owners might expose them to.

3. It further appears that hostilities were assumed at the beginning of the present month on the Waigal and Ramgal, or southern and western sides, where there has been even more severe fighting than occurred in November and December, and that, unless the campaign has been concluded by this time, the destructive work is still going on.

4. Your Lordship may be reminded that Her Majesty's Government was warned in January as to the imminence of the occurrences which have since taken place in the localities and at the date indicated; but that your Lordship informed the House of Commons on 13th February that "Her Majesty's Government has received no confirmation of the report that military operations will be resumed against the Kafirs in March"; on 20th February that "the Afghan troops under the Sipah Salar have withdrawn, and that military operations are reported to be practically terminated," also that "both the persons and property of those (Kafirs) who remained were safe," and on 23rd March that your Lordship had "received intelligence early this month that the Sipah Salar had again left Asmar for the Wai valley with a force, and that the Ramgal valley had been occupied after severe fighting by troops from Kabul," adding that, in accordance with a promise made to the House on 3rd March, "a communication was made to the Viceroy, who will use any favourable opportunity of exercising his good offices on behalf of the Amir's Kafir subjects," but that "I am afraid, under the circumstances, I cannot promise more than this."

5. Our Committee is aware that, under the conditions of the transfer of Kafiristan to the Amir, in accordance with the terms of the Durand Agreement, there are difficulties in the way of exerting sufficiently weighty influence on the Afghan Government; but as your Lordship stated in the House of Commons on 13th February that "no such contingency" as "the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race. . . was contemplated at the time the arrangement was arrived at," and as that contingency has now arisen, it is respectfully submitted that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do all it possibly can to lessen the evils for which it is largely, if inadvertently, responsible.

6. Already, there can be no doubt, all or nearly all the fertile portions of Kafiristan have been occupied by the Afghans, with the slaughter of thousands, the enslavement of a much larger number under exceptionally revolting conditions, and the expatriation of a few less unfortunate fugitives. The conquest of the northern portion of the country, more inaccessible and less habitable, will perhaps be deferred to a later season; but it may be entered upon at any time, and its success would complete the ruin of these cruelly-used people. Our Committee implores your Lordship to take the most immediate and vigorous steps that are practicable to avert this final catastrophe, and especially, seeing that the tribes in the west are now in extreme peril, and that the delay of even a few days may seal the fate of thousands, to lose no time in addressing such telegraphic communications to the Amir as, it is to be hoped, will be of at any rate some service to them.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2. Letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., March 30, 1896.

My Lord,

I am desired by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to state that they have seen with much concern in your Lordship's reply on the 23rd instant to Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., (President of the Society), that the Afghan campaign against the Kafirs had been resumed, with even more disastrous results to them than followed the former operations in the Bashgal valley, and in spite of the official belief as expressed to the House on the 13th and 20th ultimo, and on the 3rd instant, that it had come to an end on the 24th January last. They also notice with regret that your Lordship was not prepared to do more, under present circumstances, than had already been done in asking the Viceroy of India to avail himself of every favourable opportunity on behalf of the fugitive and remaining Kafirs.

It would appear to the Committee that the evils that have now befallen that unhappy race have assumed far greater dimensions

than were expected, even when they memorialised your Lordship on the 10th February, and they would trust that no time will be lost in telegraphing to Lord Elgin to intercede with the Amir with renewed and increased earnestness.

The telegram published in the 'Times' of the 28th instant would lead the Committee to hope that the Amir may not be regardless of such representations, when properly urged, and they trust that by "discountenancing the slave traffic in Kafirs" the first step has been taken towards the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan itself, which the Anti-Slavery Society has urged upon Her Majesty's Government for more than 20 years.

The Committee would earnestly hope that practical effect will be given to the discountenancing of the said traffic by the release of those Kafirs that are still in captivity in Afghanistan, and their restoration to their homes.

Whilst noticing with pleasure that the Amir will cheerfully agree to allow Kafirs to take refuge in Chitral, the Committee would specially ask your Lordship to claim protection for the persons and property of those who survive the late massacres in the Waigal and Ramgal valleys, and the restoration to freedom of the 16,000 Kafirs who, after the campaign in November 1895, were distributed by tens in Kabul, Jellalabad, and other districts, as stated in the semi-official journal. As these men have been delivered over to village slavery in its worst and most licentious form, the Committee would ask your Lordship to urge upon the Amir, who is so largely subsidised by the Government, that he would, without delay, procure the restoration of these unfortunate captives to their respective homes, or to a place of refuge in Chitral, or some other British territory.

Following the example of Russia in extending the period for the migration of Darwaz into the Russian Protectorate of Bokhara, till October next, the Committee would suggest that a like period might be allowed for the emigration of Kafirs into Chitral, Kashmir, or other British Protectorate.

On behalf of the Committee.

I have, &c.

Chas. H. Allen, Secretary.

Enclosure 3 in No. 2. Letter from India Office to the Aborigines Protection Society, dated 15th April 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th of March, requesting that the Amir of Afghanistan may be addressed, by means of the telegraph, on behalf of his Kafir subjects, and giving in detail the information, regarding military operations in Kafiristan, which has reached the Aborigines Protection Society.

In reply, I am to state that the memorials previously received from your own and other societies are already before the Viceroy of India, who has been kept informed of the purport of the replies given to questions asked in Parliament. It is very difficult for the Secretary of State to test the accuracy of all the reports to which you refer in your letter, but copies of them will be transmitted to India for consideration and report.

I am, &c.

A. Godley.

Enclosure 4 in No. 2. Letter from India Office to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated 15th April 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th of March, requesting that the Amir of Afghanistan may be addressed, by means of the telegraph, on behalf of his Kafir subjects, and giving in detail the information, regarding military operations in Kafiristan, which has reached the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In reply, I am to state that the memorials previously received from your own and other societies are already before the Viceroy of India, who has been kept informed of the purport of the replies given to questions asked in Parliament. It is very difficult for the Secretary of State to test the accuracy of all the reports to which you refer in your letter, but copies of them will be transmitted to India for consideration and report.

I am, &c.

A. Godley.

No. 3. Copy of Letter from Government of India to Secretary of State, dated Simla, April 22, 1896.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, dated 28th February 1896, forwarding copies of memorials presented to your Lordship by the British and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Aborigines Protection Society, and the International Arbitration and Peace Association, on the subject of the Afghan proceedings in Kafiristan. Your Lordship asks for our views on the several proposals contained in these memorials.

2. We desire to state at the outset that, if we are unable to accord our support to the measures which in these memorials have been pressed upon your Lordship's attention, it is not from any lack of appreciation of the motives which have prompted their submission, but because we are convinced that in many respects the memorialists have been misinformed as to the facts, and as to the true position of the Indian Government both as regards the Kafirs and the Amir of Afghanistan.

3. The principal assertion made or implied in these memorials is that the present policy of the Amir is the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafirs, and all three memorials unite in asking that the Government of India will use its influence with the Amir "to prevent exterminating raids on the Kafirs," or "to rescue the Kafirs from their present danger, and leave them in undisturbed enjoyment of their property, liberty, and customs," or "to avert further attacks on or spoliation of Kafiristan and its defenceless tribes." The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society add the request that an attempt may be made to secure the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan, which they assume has been the chief cause of the attacks made by the Afghans upon their peaceful neighbours.

4. In reply to this assertion, we desire to state that not only have we no information leading to the belief that the Amir's policy is such as the memorialists describe, but that, on the contrary, we have the Amir's own authority for saying that it is something quite different. In his letter of the 4th December 1895 the Amir stated that the object of the expedition was "to induce the Kafirs, who are subjects of the God-granted Government, to tender their allegiance and obedience, and to introduce among them the laws of government and other regulations applicable to them as subjects." The Amir adds – "The Sipah Salar, after chastising the foolish among the Kafirs, will reassure and settle them down in their proper places, so that they may duly recognise the laws and their position as subjects, and live in peace and

comfort," and all the information which we have so far received from other sources tends to confirm the Amir's own description of his policy and intentions. In the Bashgal Valley it appears that by the middle of January the Sipah Salar had proclaimed a general pardon of all Bashgalis who had fought against his Government, and that all the people of Bashgal who remained in their homes were perfectly safe in person and property. Early in March it was reported that the Munjash [Kaštá] and Lutdeh [Katr] Kafirs were living quietly in their homes, that a few Mullas had been left in the district, and that the Afghan troops had been withdrawn; and we have since been informed that the Waigalis have been well treated by the Sipah Salar, and that 120 Ramgal headmen who had been sent to Kabul in chains have been released by the Amir and permitted to return to their homes. The Amir is also said to have enlisted some 800 Kafirs in the Afghan army. In short, wherever the people have submitted, they appear to have been well, if not liberally, treated; and the idea that there has been any wholesale slaughter or extirpation appears to be altogether erroneous.

5. It is true that the extension of the Amir's authority is accompanied by attempts to convert the Kafirs, forcibly or otherwise, to the Muhammadan religion. But, so far as our information goes, the compulsion used has not been of a violent character, nor have the Kafirs themselves shown much disinclination to do as they were told. The statement in the memorial of the Aborigines Protection Society that "the Kafirs have always preferred death to embracing the religion of their hereditary foes," appears to be altogether devoid of foundation. The memorialists themselves admit that the Muhammadan religion has for years been gradually spreading in the outskirts of the Kafir country, and that "the belt of hostile though only nominal Muhammadans which surrounds what remains of Kafiristan is being drawn closer and closer." Muhammadan villages were also found by Dr. Robertson, even in the interior of the country, and the information we have received shows that, after their defeat, the Lutdeh Kafirs tendered their submission and offered to become Muhammadans. The Waigalis have since done the same. Kam and Munjash have also become converted, and, as a rule, the measures taken for conversion appear to be confined to the

deputation of large numbers of mullas to preach to the people. The latest news which we have on this subject is that the Amir has instructed his officers to treat the Kafirs leniently and not to compel them to become Muhammadans against their will. As regards the enslavement of the Kafirs, although it is probable that some of the prisoners of war have been retained in that domestic slavery which, as in many other Muhammadan countries, is a recognised institution in Afghanistan, there is absolutely no evidence of any enslavement on a large scale, nor of any intention to carry out such a policy. On the contrary, it has been recently reported by the British Agency at Kabul that the Amir has issued orders that none of his subjects should be allowed to keep Kafirs as slaves and that slave dealing among them is strictly forbidden. This report has also reached us from the Political officer in the Khyber, who, writing on 26th March, says – “Strict orders have been issued by His Highness the Amir in Jalalabad and other quarters prohibiting his subjects from keeping Kafir women as slaves. Any person infringing this order will be liable to a fine of seven thousand rupees.” We have no reason to suppose that these reports are other than accurate, and it will be recollected that the Amir issued a very similar order on the completion of his operations against the Hazaras. It was then directed that no Hazaras were to be taken as slaves after the suppression of the revolt.

6. A further assumption which is made in all three of these memorials is that the Government of India are directly or indirectly responsible for the attack now being made on the Kafirs, because by the Durand Agreement the Kafir country up to Chitral has been transferred to the Amir. This assumption that the Kafir country has been given to the Amir is also at variance with the facts, and the memorialists appear to have been misled into making it by a passage in Sir Henry Fowler’s Despatch, No. 15, dated the 26th April 1895, (Chitral Blue Book, page 44) which does not bear the interpretation which the memorialists would apparently place on it, viz., that Kafiristan previously to the Durand Agreement was under the control of the Indian Government or within its sphere of influence. The Government of India have never had any official relations with Kafiristan, nor have we ever asserted or claimed any authority in that country.

Up to the time of the recent Chitral Expedition, India was separated from Kafiristan by a broad belt of independent Pathan tribes through whose territories we could not pass and over whom we had no control. This alone would have prevented any successful assertion of our authority in that country, even if such a policy had been otherwise desirable. On the other hand, as indeed the memorialists appear to admit, Kafiristan has from time immemorial been constantly subject to attacks from the Afghans, against which the Government of India have never felt in a position to protest. One prominent instance is the invasion carried out by the Amir Sher Ali Khan, to which the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society drew attention in their memorial of March 1874. It would have been useless at that time for the Government of India to interfere, and to have done so would probably have precipitated the war which occurred a few years later. At a later date, *viz.*, in April 1886 in reply to a protest from the present Amir in connexion with Colonel Lockhart's visit to Chitral and to the borders of the Kafir country, Lord Dufferin's Government assured His Highness that the British Government had no thought of occupying Kafiristan or of assisting the Mehtar of Chitral to do so. The Durand Agreement was an agreement to define the respective spheres of influence of the British Government and the Amir. Its object was to preserve and to obtain the Amir's acceptance of the 'status quo,' and it will be evident from what has been said that, in leaving Kafiristan outside the British sphere, the agreement merely recognised existing facts. To have attempted on that occasion to include Kafiristan within the British sphere of influence would have been regarded as an act of aggression which would certainly have seriously imperilled our friendly relations with Afghanistan.

7. It is true that one valley, which has been named the Bashgal Valley, and which is undoubtedly inhabited by Kafirs, was understood to have been included among the territories on our side of the boundary laid down by the Durand Agreement. It was desired to treat this valley separately from the rest of Kafiristan, partly from military considerations, which subsequent information showed not to have the importance attributed to them, partly from certain claims to supremacy by the Mehtars of Chitral. These claims were very indefinite and were strongly contested by the

Bashgal Kafirs themselves, who in 1885 positively refused to allow Colonel (now Sir W.) Lockhart's Chitrali escort to enter their country. Local investigation only tended to show how shadowy and untenable this claim to supremacy was. When, therefore, on the opening of the demarcation proceedings, His Highness the Amir maintained that it had not been the intention of the agreement to exclude any portion of the Kafir country from his limits, and an unfortunate error in the naming of the Bashgal Valley on our maps gave some plausibility to his contention, we came to the conclusion that it was not necessary to insist on dealing with this one valley, in a manner different from that of the remaining, and far larger, portion of Kafiristan, which under any reading of the Durand Agreement must have been left on the Amir's side of the border, and which is accessible by other routes than that through the Bashgal Valley. It is to be remembered that this decision, and the definition of the respective spheres of influence of the British Government and the Amir, have relieved the people of Kafiristan from most persistent and dangerous enemies in the Pathan and Muhammadan tribes now included on our side of the boundary. Umra Khan of Jandol had been in the habit of constantly raiding the border villages, and his pretext for advancing into Chitral last year was that he came to claim the assistance of the Mehtar in a 'jihad' against the Kafir tribes. The presence of our troops has also assured to those Kafirs who wish to leave their country a secure asylum within the borders of Chitral which, without our encouragement and support, the Chitralis would certainly not have ventured to offer to them. It may be added that the Political Officer in Chitral has been instructed to tell the Mehtar that we approve of the grant of food and of waste land to destitute Kafir refugees, that no refugees should be prevented from entering Chitral, and that if their numbers increase beyond the Mehtar's power to deal with them, the fact should be reported at once that the Government of India may consider what further steps may be necessary.

8. Finally, we would remark that there is no reason whatever for supposing that the Amir's present attack on Kafiristan is in any way a result of the Durand Agreement. The Amir Abdur Rahman Khan has always been ambitious to bring the Kafirs more completely under his authority. He has frequently threat-

ened to invade their country, and the present attack would inevitably have occurred sooner or later even if the Durand Agreement had not been concluded. We would also point out to those who would appear to approve the extension of British protection to the distant Kafir Hills that, until the road to Chitral *via* Dir and Swat was opened last year by the Chitral Relief Expedition, there were no means of communicating with Kafiristan except through Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitral. Until last year, therefore, any effective protectorate over Kafiristan was an impossibility. Our recent occupation of Chitral, and the decision of Her Majesty's Government last summer that we should keep open the direct road to Chitral, through Dir and Swat, have, no doubt, brought us nearer to the Kafir country, but though the memorialists would apparently advocate a further advance and extension of our protectorate, this would involve an increase of our responsibilities which we are unable to accept.

9. We do not think it is necessary to reply at any length to the many other remarks or assertions in the Memorials which appear to us to be open to criticism. It will, perhaps, be sufficient to say that we do not know the authority for the statement made by the Aborigines Protection Society, that the Kafirs have welcomed Europeans and Christian Missionaries into their midst. So far as we are aware, Dr. Robertson is the only European, at any rate for the last 20 years, who has succeeded in penetrating any distance into Kafiristan, and this officer's report clearly shows that many of the current ideas about the Kafirs are very far from the truth, and that much of the sympathy bestowed upon them is misplaced. They appear, from Dr. Robertson's report, to be an ignorant, idolatrous, and slave-dealing race divided into numerous tribes, with no national sentiment and always at feud with one another. It may be worth noticing that the Memorialists are under some misapprehension with regard to Dr. Robertson's visit to Kafiristan, which, as it took place in 1890-91, cannot be correctly described as 'recent,' or as "the immediate cause of the present crisis." We would also point out that the Government of India have more than once assured his Highness the Amir that they have no desire to interfere with the internal administration of Afghanistan, and even if the statements made by the Memorialists were well-founded, it would be a matter for very

serious consideration whether we should be justified in imperiling the friendly relations which now exist with the Amir by acting in the way which the Memorialists desire. The Amir would certainly resent such an interference. A remonstrance, therefore, on our part would obviously be highly impolitic unless it were fully justified by the circumstances. We have received, and shall not fail to bear in mind, your Lordship's instructions to take any favourable opportunity of exercising beneficial influence on behalf of the Amir's Kafir subjects, but we hope that the account we have given of the true state of affairs will convince your Lordship that this opportunity has not yet arisen, and that any remonstrance at the present time would not only be impolitic but is unnecessary, and only too likely to defeat its own object.

We have, &c.

Elgin

G. S. White

J. Woodburn

M. D. Chalmers

27th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 8, dated the 27th of April, 1896.

(1) A khilat consisting of a belt, collar, and a jewelled sword has been granted by the Amir with a farman to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in recognition of his good services during the late operations against the Kafirs. The Sipah Salar has been directed to send his Naib Hakim Ahmad Jan to receive the khilat at Kabul, and told not to leave his station till all the frontier matters are finally settled.

Kunar Valley

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan proposes to establish a cantonment at Nashagam and is collecting material for the purpose.

Kafirs

9.(a) Most of the Kafir captives in Afghanistan have been converted to Islam. Endeavours are being made by the Amir to teach them the principles and doctrines of Islam, and to make them happy in their present life. Mosques are being constructed in Kafiristan.

(b) Orders have been issued to Sardar Shad Muhammad Khan, Governor of Jalalabad, and the Sipah Salar to prepare a list of the men who rendered good services during the late operations against the Kafirs.

29th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 29th April 1896 (Confidential).

(e) The people of Dewagal have given up seven hundred rifles to the Sipah Salar. Their offer to pay Rs. 120 instead of each rifle was refused (*vide* paragraph 2 (a) – Kafiristan, of diary ending 21st April, 1896).

Narsat

1. There is only one regiment of Afghans at Birkot (in Narsat).

Kafiristan

1. Said Amir, headman of Arandu, gives the following news:—

(a) The Kafirs of Waigal and Veron submitted to the Sipah Salar without any fighting, and have all become Musalmans. An agent of the Sipah Salar, named Mirwali, was sent up to Waigal and Veron, and he brought in the headmen of those places with their sons, about one hundred in number. The Waigal and Veron people have given up all their arms and have agreed to pay revenue.

(b) One hundred headmen from Lutdeh, Madugal, Kam, Mujash, Waigal, Veron, and Dewagal, have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir.

(c) About 240 hostages from the districts mentioned above, together with seven Kam prisoners and Mara, headman of Lutdeh, have also been sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar.

(d) Akram Jan, headman of Narsat, and Merjan, headman of Gaurdesh, and the headmen of Asmar and neighbouring places have gone to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir.

(e) One Afghan regiment is engaged in making a road up the Shigal Nala towards Waigal. This road will be made as far as the head of the Waigal valley and will be connected with the road, which is being made from the Laghman side through Ramgal.

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh states that the Sipah Salar has

sent a message to the people of Lutdeh to the effect that they should repair the roads in their country, as he intends shortly to proceed to Badakhshan through Lutdeh.

3. Hamid and Kachkol, two Pathan residents of Chitral, who recently visited Asmar, give the following news:—

(a) The Afghan expeditionary force sent by the Sipah Salar up the Pech valley only went up as far as the village of Nagalam [Ningalam]. The Kafirs of Wama, Waigal, and Parun (Veron) on hearing of the approach of this force became frightened, and came in for salam to the Sipah Salar at Chigharsarai. They gave 140 hostages and submitted in all matters to the wishes of the Sipah Salar.

(b) The majority (*vide* paragraph 2 (d) of diary ending 21st April 1896) of the Kamdesh Kafirs, who were in Narsat, have returned to Kamdesh with the permission of the Sipah Salar and are busy cultivating and rebuilding the houses which they themselves had burnt during the recent disturbances. A considerable number of Kamdesh Kafirs have remained in Narsat owing to scarcity of food supplies in Kamdesh.

(c) All the Kafir hostages have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul.

4. Koli, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, reports as follows:—

(a) All the Kafir hostages have been sent to Kabul. Akram Jan and other Narsat and Asmar headmen have also gone to Kabul.

(b) The Kam Kafirs, when told by the Sipah Salar that they might return to their homes, replied that they would prefer not to do so, if Akram Jan continued as Governor over them. The Sipah Salar replied that Akram Jan would not continue to hold the appointment of Governor of Bashgul, but that an officer would be appointed from Kabul to administer the country. He also told them to cultivate their land and rebuild their houses in Kamdesh which they themselves had foolishly destroyed.

(c) Nearly all the Kamdesh Kafirs have returned to their homes and have set about rebuilding their houses and cultivating their lands; only small parties of Kamdesh Kafirs have remained in Narsat and Asmar with the object of obtaining food of seed grain.

(d) The Sipah Salar has ordered the Lutdehchis to repair their roads as he intends to pass through Lutdeh to Badakhshan. The Sipah Salar added that, if the Lutdehchis were unable to do the

work, he would send his own men, but that in the latter case the Lutdehchis would have to supply his workmen with food. The Lutdeh men replied that they could not undertake to feed the Sipah Salar's men, and that they preferred to repair the roads themselves.

Note. – It will be seen that the men who have given news about Kafiristan corroborate each other in the majority of their statements. It is satisfactory to note that the news reported in a previous diary to the effect that the Kam people had been permitted to return to their homes has been confirmed. On the whole the Kafirs (this remark applies more specially to the districts of Kafiristan bordering immediately on Chitral. The news received concerning the more remote portions of Kafiristan cannot be satisfactorily checked here) seem to be fairly contented, and the Afghans appear to have shown a commendable moderation in their dealings with them.

6th May, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 89*, dated the 6th of May, 1896.

Kafiristan

Early in March, the Waigul Kafirs made their submission to the Sipah Salar and agreed to become Muhammadans. The force which advanced from the Kabul side against the Ramgul Kafirs was stoutly resisted, but the Afghan troops after sustaining considerable loss eventually occupied the Ramgul country. One hundred and twenty Ramgul headmen were sent to Kabul in chains, but the Amir ordered them to be set free and permitted them to return to their homes. The Kafirs of Pech made their submission towards the end of March, and have been disarmed. The Amir has issued orders that none of his subjects will be permitted to keep Kafirs as slaves; any person infringing this order will be liable to a fine of 7000 rupees. Some of the Kafir prisoners are being sent to Turkestan where lands are being provided for their maintenance. His Highness has directed that the Kafirs are to be leniently dealt with. The Bashgulis having complained of harsh treatment at the hands of the Afghan Hakim, he has been removed.

There are still about 200 Bashgul refugees in lower Chitral; and

a few Lutdeh men have also settled down in Lutkho. Several of the former have recently been converted to Islam, of their own free will by local Mullahs. The Lutdeh men are easier to deal with than the Kam Kafirs, who do not seem anxious to settle anywhere, and appear to be watching for the first favourable opportunity of returning to their homes. Those of the Kam Kafirs, who were located by the Sipah Salar in Narsat, have now been permitted to return to their homes, where they have recommenced cultivating their lands.

The Lutdeh headmen who had gone to the Sipah Salar as hostages have been released with one exception. It is noteworthy that this exception is Mara, the headman who showed special attention to Sir William Lockhart, when he entered Kafiristan in 1885.

The Amir has given orders that one regiment of Herati and one of Uzbek infantry, with two troops of the Hizhdah Nahri cavalry regiment, shall be stationed in Kafiristan. The regiment of Kafirs, which is now being enlisted, will also be hereafter located in the country. It is reported that Sardar Habibulla Khan will shortly visit Kafiristan, to report on the desirability or otherwise of its permanent occupation. The Sipah Salar will then proceed to Kabul.

The latest information from the Assistant British Agent in Chitral is to the effect that practically the whole of Kafiristan has now submitted to the Amir; and that the Afghans still seem to be treating the Kafirs well.

7th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday the 7th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Asmar

1. Amir Khan, a Gujar of Lutkho, who has just returned from Shangar, near Asmar, gives the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has not yet come to Asmar. He is at a place called Narang, one day's journey beyond Asmar. It is said the Sipah Salar will stay during the summer at Sau (in Narsat).

(b) A large number of Gujar families have settled in Afghan territory between Pech and Arandu. They pay one-tenth of the produce of their lands and flocks in taxes to the Sipah Salar. Some of these Gujars are discontented and have asked the

Mehtar's permission to come and settle in the vicinity of the village of Damer and other places.

2. Koli, son of Gumara, a Lutdeh Kafir, who has just returned from Langar Bat, in Chitrali Narsat, confirms the news given by Amir Khan about the Sipah Salar being as yet absent from Asmar, and about his intention to pass the summer at Sau.

Kafiristan

1. Amir Khan, Gujar, further states having heard at Shangar that altogether about four hundred and fifty hostages and headmen from Bashgal, Waigal, Veron [Parun], and Katwar have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul.

2. Koli, son of Gumara, also gives the following news:—

(a) The seven Kamdesh men, who were prisoners in the Afghan Camp at Asmar, have been set free by the Sipah Salar and dismissed to their homes in Kamdesh.

(b) Amongst the Kafir headmen lately sent to Kabul there were thirty-four men from Lutdeh, twenty-four from Kamdesh, one from Mujash [Kaštá], and one from Madugal.

(c) It is said that eleven thousand Kafirs from Ramgal were taken as prisoners to Kabul. The Amir lately gave permission to all those amongst them, who were married, to return to their country. The others are still in Kabul.

Note. — Very little reliance can be placed on information received concerning Ramgal.

8th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 9, dated the 8th of May, 1896.

Safis

8. (a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is encamped at Narang and is demanding recruits from the Safis of Deogal for enlistment in the Afghan army. The Safis hesitate to comply with the Salar's request. Roads are being constructed from the Badil Safi country to Pech and Deogal.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar has appointed Mullas to preach to the people of Shegal, the Shinwaris and the Safis of Pech that they should be thankful to their Sovereign, the King of Islam, for his undertaking to conquer and subdue the Kafirs who were their old enemies and who had killed their forefathers.

Kafiristan

9.(a) The Amir has ordered two regiments called the Herati and the Sappers and Miners to advance to Kafiristan *via* Laghman, and to construct a road from Laghman to the village of Shakarpur in Kafiristan passing through the Alanger [Alingar] valley and the Muli Kotal (pass). The Amir also proposes to construct a cantonment in a plain on the bank of the Nilab river. The Kafirs who left their villages and fled to hill tracts during the late operations are returning to their homes. The Amir appears to be very anxious to complete his conquest of Kafiristan.

(b) Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has deputed ten Mirzas to proceed to Kafiristan, to take a census of men and cattle in the country, and to report what useful things the country produces, on which taxes could be levied.

(c) It is reported that His Highness the Amir has appointed Muhammad Ali Beg *alias* Wakil Saifani as Governor of Kafiristan and has granted him a khilat. He is said to have left Kabul with two infantry and one cavalry regiments and a battery of artillery *via* Siah Sang and Laghman.

9th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the British Agent, Gilgit*, for the week ending the 9th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

A Kafir named Gulmir, son of Chandlu, resident of Kamozi, has come to Gilgit. He makes the following statement:—

“There was a fight at Kamozi between the Afghan troops and the Kafirs. The Afghans much outnumbered the Kafirs and a good number were killed on both sides. The Afghans took Kamozi, and my lands and house were taken possession of by three convert Kafirs, so I ran away to Chitral. The Afghans ordered the heads of the people to be shaved [to remove the *karunch*, a typical Kafir hair lock]. The women were not dishonoured or molested; young boys only were taken away from the villages, also four women. After the fighting was over nobody was killed by the Afghans, though a large number of cattle were looted by them. Mullas have been left in several villages to convert the people to Islam by preaching. Several men from each village

were taken by the Sipah Salar to Narsat and they were there made Muhammadans.”

Making enquiries concerning the headmen and others, Sir G. S. Robertson could not discover that any one of those known to him in the Bashgal valley had been killed, although many have been taken away as prisoners.

9th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 9th of May, 1896.*

After compliments. – I beg to give below the news I collected last week:—

The Amir has settled 200 Kafirs, who have embraced Islam, in the village of Malik Dad Muhammad Khan. The Malik kept a man and a woman for menial service. When the Amir came to know of it, His Highness sent for the Malik and asked him if his father had ever kept slaves, and why he had retained the Kafirs as such. The Malik expressed his regret, but the Amir ordered him to be imprisoned and his property to be confiscated. His Highness appointed Malik Khudayar Khan to be in charge of the Kafirs.

The Hakim of Koh Daman, who resides in Kashkar, sent an order to Mulla Daur Muhammad, Malik of Karezmir, to get 6 kharwars of bread ready for the Kafirs who were coming to Kabul *via* Paghman, but the Malik did nothing, and the Kafirs had to starve. When the Hakim came to know of it, he arrested the Malik and sent him to Kabul, reporting the circumstances to the Amir, who ordered the Malik's eyes to be gouged out.

The Amir ordered Taimur Khan of Koh Daman to prepare 1,500 shirts for the Kafirs; but Taimur only made 1,000 shirts and sent them to Kabul with an explanation that he was not able to prepare more than the number sent. When the matter was reported to the Amir, he ordered his imprisonment.

Mir Muhammad Ali, a Jamadar of the Haidari Cavalry, was placed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in charge of 800 Kafirs. On his way from Jalalabad 2 Kafirs were found missing at Barikab, for which he has been imprisoned.

The Amir ordered Malik Kayyum Khan of Butkhak to feed 800 Kafirs who were expected to come there. On receipt of this order he exclaimed:— “Oh God! Remove this tyrant from among us.” The Amir heard about it, and, although the Malik made good arrangements for the supply of food, sent for him and imprisoned him.

12th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 12th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Narsat

Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports having heard from some Kamdesh men, that two hundred Afghan sepoy's have left Birkot and gone towards Asmar. These men are said to have been moved in consequence of disturbances, which have taken place on the Nawagai border. Only four hundred men are now garrisoning Birkot.

Kafiristan

Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, has heard the following news concerning fighting in Ramgul and the neighbouring districts of Kafiristan:—
 (a) The Afghans attacked Ramgul simultaneously from the direction of Panjsher and Laghman, and severe fighting took place, in which the Afghans lost heavily, before they were able to finally defeat the Ramgulis. All the Ramgulis who survived the fighting were taken to Kabul, and the country is now deserted with the exception of 100 married Ramgulis, who have recently been permitted to return to their homes by the Amir.

(b) There was also some stiff fighting in Kulam, in which a large number of Kulamis were killed.

(c) The Kafir districts of Wai, Katwar, Veron, Sanran, Jamu, Ashkun, and Kutori submitted to the Afghans without fighting.

(d) The Kafir hostages referred to in paragraph 1, ‘Kafiristan’, of diary for week ending 5th May 1896, as having been sent to Kabul, have been detained at Jalalabad.

16th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department*, dated the 16th of May, 1896.

11th May, 1896. – A few days ago 1,500 Kafirs, who came to Kabul from Panjsher, were settled down at Aliabad where other Kafirs are encamped. They are being taught Persian and the Kalema, and have received cotton shirts. Food is supplied to them gratis.

19th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 19th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Four families of converted Kafirs from Istorgat (Gourdesh) arrived in Chitral during the week, and are staying in the villages of Badugal and Ursun. They left their homes owing to an old feud with Merjan, the headman of their village. The Mehtar of Chitral has been asked to give them some land to settle upon.
2. Six families of Kamdesh Kafir refugees, who were staying at Mirkandi and Ursun in Chitral territory, have left those villages and returned to Kamdesh.
3. The Kamdesh people who have returned from Narsat to their homes, are still busy rebuilding their houses and cultivating their lands (*vide* diary entry No. 3 (b) 'Kafiristan' for week ending 28th April 1896).
4. One Lutdeh Kafir was converted to Islam in the Chitral Masjid.
5. Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports that three families of Kalash Kafirs from Badamuk in Lutdeh have come to Chitral and intend to settle on their old holdings in the Jinjaret Kuh (in Chitral territory) which their forefathers abandoned about a hundred years ago.

21st May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 21st of May, 1896.

Kabul

- 3.(c) A valuable sword supposed to have been left by the Mughal Emperor Baber in Kafiristan was sent to Kabul by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar, with some stone Kafir idols, as a present for His Highness the Amir.

Laghman

6.(a) The people of Kohistan, in the Laghman ilaka, are being forced to supply labour for the construction of the road to Kafiristan. They are paid at the rate of 2 annas 6 pies per man per diem. The troops who have just come to Laghman are also engaged in constructing the road. There are about 6,000 persons employed on road-making.

(b) With reference to paragraph 9 (c) of diary No. 9, dated 8th May 1896, further news received shows that Muhammad Ali Khan *alias* Wakil Saifani, is appointed Governor of Laghman (in place of Auliya Kuli Khan who has been imprisoned), and not of Kafiristan as formerly reported. This high post was granted to him in recognition of his excellent services in connection with the Kafiristan Field Force.

Kafirs

11.(a) Some 500 Kafirs, male and female, have just been sent to His Highness the Amir by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in charge of his Naib (Deputy) Hakim Ahmad Jan, Peshawari. These persons who have surrendered themselves to the Amir at their own free will are to be presented to the Amir.

(b) As most of the Kafir prisoners were suffering from all sorts of illness on account of the excessive heat at this time of the season in the localities in which they were stationed, the Amir has sent them to Charikar and gave them quarters there.

6th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 6th of June, 1896.*

The Amir has ordered the Kotwal to prepare a list of the names of the widows and other women who have no heirs both in the town and the jails, and submit it to him, so that he might marry them to the Kafirs who have become converted to Islam and have entered the army, in order that they may learn Persian sooner, and their children may know Persian and the Kafiri languages as well. His Highness says the women will get food *gratis* from Government in addition to the pay their husbands receive.

The Kafirs have each received two suits of clothes which the

washermen of the town have been ordered to wash for the Kafirs weekly. The Amir's idea is that by being clad in clean clothes, the Kafirs will acquire cleanly habits. This work will be performed under the supervision of Nazir Safar.

The Hakim of Nijrao, Muhammad Khalil by name, has been ordered to go to Jarkul in Kafiristan and work there. He has received a *khilat* according to his position. He has been suffering from fever and delirium for the last two months, and is under the treatment of Daim Khan. On his recovery he will be sent to Jarkul.

On the *Id* day Ghulam Haidar Khan sent to the Amir from Jalalabad 20 golden birds and 10 golden idols, as well as many stone idols taken in Kafiristan. The Amir was much pleased and ordered them to be placed in the Bostan Sarai.

9th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 9th of June 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. The men sent by the Assistant British Agent to the village of Damer . . . to enquire into the movements of the Dir men returned to Chitral. They report that the villagers of Damer have refused to obey the orders of the Dir Khan's servants, as regards the construction of a house and water-course for the Bashgali refugee, Azar Kan. The Dir men beat the villagers, but were unable to make them obey their orders. Eventually the Dir men started making the water-course themselves.

The Assistant British Agent has reported the action of the Dir Khan's servants to Major Deane [Harold Arthur Deane, Political Agent at Malakand, Swat.]

Kafiristan, Asmar and Narsat

1. Sheikh Abdulla of Lutdeh reports as follows:—

(a) The Sipah Salar, who is still at Narang below Asmar, has sent 3 Kam Sheikhs and 12 Asmaris to Veron, and directed them to assemble the local people and construct a road *via* Ishtu [Shtiwe] (this village is said to be at the head of the Veron [Parun] valley) and the Kinar Pass to a village named Putlu in Munjan, from whence there is an easy route to Wakhan. This route is shorter by two

days' march and easier than the route through Lutdeh. When the road is completed, the Afghan garrison now in Munjan will return by it to Jalalabad.

(b) The Sipah Salar's agents took 100 cows and 140 battis of *ghi* from the Veron people.

(c) The road above Pshni in Lutdeh towards Munjan has not yet been begun. The Sipah Salar is at present engaged in constructing an irrigation canal in the vicinity of Chigharserai. When this is completed, he will proceed to Pshni to superintend the construction of the road.

(d) Merjan, the Kam headman, who used to live at Istorgat (also known as Gourdesh), and who was recently summoned to Kabul, has now been sent by the Amir on some mission to Bajaur.

(e) Ishtaluk Jana and Bagdur Jana, two headmen of Lutdeh, have quarrelled with Malik and Ghazab Shah, two other headmen of Lutdeh, about some land. Ishtaluk Jana and Ghazab Shah being unable to agree, have gone to lay their case before the Sipah Salar.

3. Roziman, a Chitrali, who has recently returned from Arandu, reports that all the Afghan Mullahs have left Bashgal and returned to their homes.

4. Sheikh Abdul Aziz (Kafir name Sher Malik) states that the Bashgalis represented to the Sipah Salar that, owing to the scarcity of food, they were unable to feed the Afghan Mullahs, and urged that their own Mullahs (converted Kafirs) were sufficiently well versed in the Muhammadan religion to instruct them. The Sipah Salar agreed to withdraw the Afghan Mullahs. The Bashgalis are now becoming devout Muhammadans and the headmen of each village are careful to see that none forget their prayers.

9th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 9th of June, 1896.

5.(c) On the recommendation of Sardar Habibulla Khan and on account of the repeated requests of the troops engaged in Kafiristan, the Amir has ruled for the future that troops employed in a military expedition will receive their pay monthly and not half-yearly as heretofore.

(h) The Amir has issued general orders that Kafirs are not to

be forcibly converted to Islam, but that the Mullas may preach to them.

(n) With reference to paragraph 11 (a) of diary No. 10, dated 21st May 1896, Hakim Ahmad Jan, who was sent in charge of some 500 Kafirs to Kabul, is still with His Highness the Amir at Bagh-i-Bala, and has not returned to the Sipah Salar's camp in the Kunar valley. It is believed that he is detained there by the Amir for some special political work.

Ningrahar

6. (a) Muhammad Akram Khan of Kama, in the Jalalabad ilaka, has been granted a handsome allowance by the Amir for distinguished and meritorious services in connection with the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir received him very kindly at an interview.

Kafiristan

9. The Amir has sent a farman to General Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, ordering him to send some Mullas to preach amongst the Kafirs. Every Mulla is to be escorted by a certain number of sepoy when he is preaching. Orders have also been issued for the realisation of the cattle-tax of one out of every forty head of cattle and one-tenth part of their land produce. A large number of masons and carpenters has recently been sent to Asmar from Kabul to commence work on the new cantonments in Kafiristan.

9th June, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 108*, dated the 9th June, 1896.

A Risaldar of a Cavalry regiment recently fired at Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi; the bullet missed. The Amir caused the man's eyes to be gouged out.

Kafiristan

An Afghan regiment is engaged in making a road up the Shigal Nala towards Waigal. It will be continued to the head of the Waigal valley, and join the road which is being made from the Lughman side through Ramgal. There are said to be 6,000 men employed in constructing the latter road.

The Political Officer in Chitral, writing on the 28th April 1896,

says:— “On the whole, the Kafirs (of the districts bordering immediately on Chitral) seem to be fairly contented, and the Afghans appear to have shown a commendable moderation in their dealings with them.” From Kabul it is reported that the Malik of a village, where 200 Kafirs had been settled, retained two of them as slaves. The Amir sent for him, and ordered him to be imprisoned and his property confiscated. A large number of Kafirs were taken to Kabul during the month of May; they are being provided with food and clothing, and instructed in Persian and the Muhammadan religion. It is from among these Kafirs that a thousand soldiers for the Afghan army are to be enlisted. The Danish Scientific Mission to Central Asia sailed from Copenhagen at the end of March. The members were cordially received at St. Petersburg *en route*. Their proposal to enter Kafiristan has been abandoned, and no attempt will now be made to cross the Hindu Kush.

18th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 18th of June, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan and Asmar

1. Ghairat Khan and Zulfi, who had been sent to Asmar for news, reported as follows:—

(a) The Sipah Salar recently forcibly detained some headmen from Dewagal and Badel who had come to see him. In consequence of this treatment, the Dewagalis are afraid to visit the Sipah Salar.

(b) The Sipah Salar is now encamped at Narang on the right bank of the Kunar river opposite Pashat.

(e) One hundred Mullas have arrived in the Sipah Salar's camp from Kabul. They are to proceed on duty to Kafiristan.

(g) The Sipah Salar intends to pass the summer in the Sao nala.

(h) The Afghans have made a new rope bridge across the Bashgal stream near its junction with the Chitral [Kunar] river.

20th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department*, dated the 20th of June, 1896.

After compliments. – I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news received during the past week:—

A Kafir boy, named Din Muhammad, who is in the service of His Highness, told His Highness that the old Kafirs would never become Mussalmans; that outwardly they behaved and acted like Mussalmans, but that at home they performed the rites of their own religion and cursed the Mussalmans; that they usually keep small earthen and wooden idols by them to worship at every opportunity; that no doubt young Kafirs are sincere Mussalmans; and that it would be better to have the old Kafirs put to death. His Highness ordered that the Kafirs should be searched; and about ninety idols were found with them at Aliabad. His Highness called them and told them that, if they did not become sincere Mussalmans, they would be blown from guns.

Last week a woman while coming from Paghman to Kabul was assaulted by four newly enlisted Kafir soldiers. They were seized by some men coming from Kila-i-Yusuf Khan, and taken with the woman to Bage-i-Bala before His Highness, who asked the woman to relate the facts. His Highness ordered the Kafirs to be executed, and gave Rs. 50 to the woman.

Some of the Kafirs, who have been settled in Paghman, threw a Mussalman boy aged 12 years into an oven, and afterwards ate his body. The father searched everywhere for his boy, and one of the Kafir boys pointed out the culprits.

The father with his sword cut down two male and one female Kafir. He was then seized by other Mussalmans and taken to the Hakim, who sent him to His Highness with a report.

The Amir asked him why he had killed the Kafirs. He replied that they had killed and eaten his only child; that he could not bear the loss and the outrage, and therefore cut them down. His Highness pardoned and released him, and ordered the Hakim to be very careful about the Kafirs, who should constantly be kept in fear, as otherwise they would eat up all Mussalmans.

Twenty girls, about 12 years of age, belonging to the Safed Posh Kafirs, who were sent to His Highness by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, are serving as maids in the Haramserai.

Kabul

(1) The Amir has raised a regiment of Kafir captives at Kabul. Faiz Muhammad Khan, son of Muhammad Alam Khan, Kabchi, has been appointed to be their Commandant. They receive instruction in drill regularly every day.

(n) Six very large goats presented by certain Kafir elders to the Sipah Salar, each said to have been as big as a horse, were sent to His Highness the Amir as a curiosity from Kafiristan.

(o) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent an iron mace and a sword with Arabic inscriptions on them found in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir as curiosities with a report giving a full description of these articles.

Kunar Valley

(f) A portion of the troops, engaged against the Kafirs towards Laghman, under command of Wakil Saifani, has been ordered to join the Sipah Salar's camp at Narang. They are shortly expected to reach there.

(g) On the 9th June 1896, the Sipah Salar summoned some 60 Kafirs from Pech with their Mullas to see if they had learned anything of Islam. On examination, he found them to have made great progress and granted them khilats.

Kafiristan

8.(a) With reference to paragraph 7 (d) of diary No. 4, dated 27th February 1896, a copy of the book in verse published at the expense of the Afghan Government has been obtained. It does not give any facts connected with the Kafirs, but its compilation clearly shows the importance attached to the conquest of Kafiristan. The original composition in print is attached to the copy of this diary submitted to the Punjab Government.

(b) With reference to paragraph 9 of diary No. 11, dated 9th June 1896, one hundred Mullas left Kunar for Kafiristan and reached there on the 30th May 1896. They are preaching in the country and are escorted by armed Afghans.

25th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 25th of June 1896 (Confidential).

Badakshan

3. The Khwaja-i-Munjan who resides in Lutkho sends the following news:—

(a) Letters from the Afghan Commander-in-Chief in Asmar are constantly passing through Veron to Munjan and Badakhshan. Taj Muhammad Khan, the General at Faizabad, has received orders from Asmar, calling on him to march with all his troops to Laghman *via* Veron and Sanu.

Kafiristan

1. Sheik Abdulla of Lutdeh reports:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has summoned two headmen from each village in Lutdeh [Katrgul], Madugal, Kam and Mujash [Kaštá]. Twenty-three headmen have accordingly started from Lutdeh.

(b) The Afghan General in Faizabad has sent orders to the people of Lutdeh to clear the road on their side of the pass. On the Munjan side of the pass, Munjanis have been ordered to make the road.

(c) The Sipah Salar in Asmar has also sent orders to the Lutdehchis to make the road on their side of the pass leading to Munjan.

(d) About one thousand mullas from Kabul have arrived in Asmar and Birkot. They will be sent into Kafiristan to live amongst the people and teach them the precepts of Islam. They will also build musjids in all the villages.

(e) The Sipah Salar intends visiting Bashgal after about two months. It is said that he will then order two other roads from Lutdeh to be made – one to the pass leading to Bombaret and Oyon, the other to the pass leading to Lutkho in Chitral territory.

(f) The construction of the road to Munjan through Veron has been finished.

2. During the week four Lutdeh Kafir refugees were converted to Islam in the Chitral musjid at their own request.

3. Sheikh Abdul Aziz and Sheikh Abdul Hak, two Kamdesh refugees, have been given land by the Mehtar in Bombaret.

2nd July, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 2nd of July, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh has brought the following news:—

(a) An Afghan General from the Sipah Salar's camp at Narang has gone *via* Veron [Parun] to Munjan.

(b) The Afghans are collecting supplies near the head of the Veron valley.

(c) The Afghans intend to build a fort at the lower end of the Veron valley.

(d) Ishtaluk Jana, a headman of Lutdeh, lately visited Veron and forcibly took 20 cows from the inhabitants of that district. When the Afghan General mentioned in paragraph (a) above arrived in Veron, the people complained to him about Ishtaluk Jana's oppression. The General arrested Ishtaluk Jana and caused the cows to be given back to the Veron people.

2. Sayid Amir of Arandu reports:—

(a) The Kafir hostages in Kabul have been divided into several gangs and are being made to study the Muhammadan Law.

(b) Under orders from the Amir four headmen from Lutdeh and the following headmen of Kamdesh, *viz.*, Kazan Badil [of the] Bilashe Dari [clan], Mer Jan Chandlu [of the] Deme Dari [clan], Shayuk Merjan [of the] Suki Dari [clan], who had remained behind have now been sent to Kabul: *vide* diary entry Kafiristan (a), dated 23rd June 1896.

(c) When the above mentioned headmen reach Kabul, the Kafir headmen now in Kabul will be allowed to return to their homes. Five hundred Mullas will accompany them, each Mulla being accompanied by four Khassadars. The Mullas have orders to build masjids and teach Muhammadan customs to the Kafirs.

2. Said Amir of Arandu reports:—

(a) The Afghans have completed the construction of the road through Veron to Munjan.

6th July, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 13, dated the 6th of July, 1896.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in the Kunar Valley

4.(a) Letters received from the Sipah Salar's camp state that the Amir has issued strict orders to the Sipah Salar to undertake punitive expeditions against all hill tribes on the Kunar border

and especially the Safis, and to bring them under total subjection at once. That he must explain why His Highness's previous orders in this respect were overlooked. The farman conveying these orders is said to contain some indication of His Highness's displeasure, and the Sipah Salar's attention is now entirely occupied with this question. He is engaged in selecting troops for the expeditions and the reduction of the country, and wants to explain to the Amir that the leniency shown to these hillmen was due to no negligence or want of energy on his part but to the policy desirable at the time.

(c) It is proposed that the road from Badakhshan to Kunar *via* Munjan and Kafiristan, which the Amir is so anxious to open soon, should branch off somewhere in the Kunar valley. One branch will go straight down to Jalalabad, while the other will enter British territory near Matha Mangal Khel passing through the Mohmand country. Zaman Khan, Kuki Khel, brother of Amin Khan, who is serving under the Sipah Salar, is deputed with four companies of Sappers and Miners to construct the road in Kafiristan limits. Another road is also being opened from Badakhshan to Kunar *via* the Pech valley which is much shorter, being only eight days' journey from Kunar to Badakhshan.

Kafirs

6.(a) The Amir has sent orders to the Sipah Salar to try and recall all Kafir families who deserted their country and crossed over to Chitral during the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir has further instructed the Sipah Salar to be milder in his treatment of the Kafirs.

(b) With reference to paragraph 8 (b) of diary No. 12, dated 21st June 1896, the Kafir who murdered one of the Mullas sent to Kafiristan for preaching was arrested and brought to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan. The Sipah Salar had him shot before his comrades as an example to others.

7th July, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 131*, dated the 7th of July, 1896.

Kafiristan

The headmen and hostages taken to Kabul have been ordered by the Amir to remain there till the autumn. One man from each

district has been allowed to return with news of their welfare to their friends at home. The Sipah Salar, who is still at Narang, below Asmar, attending to the construction of the water channel which he is constructing for the irrigation of his own property at Chighanserai, has sent some Kam men and Asmaris to Veron [Parun or Prasun], to assemble the local people and make a road by Ishtu at the head of the Veron valley, and the Kinar Pass, to a village named Putlu in Munjan, whence there is an easy route to Wakhan shorter by two days' march than the route through Lutdeh. When the road is completed, the Afghan garrison now in Munjan will return by it to Jalalabad.

The Afghan Mullahs sent to Bashgul have all been recalled, on the representation of the Bashgalis that they were unable to feed them, owing to the scarcity of food, and that their own Mullahs (converted Kafirs) were sufficiently well versed in the Muhammadan religion to instruct them. The Bashgalis are now said to be becoming devout Muhammadans.

24th July, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 14, dated the 24th of July, 1896.

Kafiristan

7.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has submitted a report to His Highness the Amir, that there is a very good chance of His Highness trading in timber in Kafiristan, where there are many forests and the means of conveyance down country is very easy, that if His Highness kept the business to himself, it will no doubt prove very profitable, but that if he were inclined to lease it out to any one, the Sipah Salar was ready to offer Rs. 60,000 per annum for it. He has received no reply to his report as yet.

(b) It is rumoured that the Amir's eldest son is coming down to see the Kafir country for the sake of amusement.

28th July, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 28th of July, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. A Kafir refugee residing in Chitral territory is reported to have recently stolen a bullock from the Madugal Kafirs and to have

returned to Chitral with the spoil. The man's excuse was that during the recent fighting with the Afghans, the Madugal Kafirs had looted some of his property, and he, therefore, considered himself justified in retaliating. This sort of proceeding cannot of course be allowed, and the Assistant British Agent has asked the Mehtar to again caution all the Kafir refugees residing in his territory that they have only been given an asylum on the understanding that they behave themselves properly. With the Assistant British Agent's approval, the Mehtar has ordered the Hakim of Drosh to send the stolen bullock to the Sipah Salar with a message, expressing regret for the occurrence.

Asmar, Narsat and Kafiristan

Abdul of Arandu, who has just returned from Lut Narsat, reports as follows:—

(a) Of the Kamdesh Kafirs, who were taken as prisoners to Kabul certain of the elders and old men, have been given khillats and allowed to return to their country. Eight Kamdesh headmen, who are said to have behaved badly during the recent fighting, have been retained in confinement at Kabul and a number of the young men of good physique have been enlisted in the Amir's army. Most of the Lutdeh men who went to Kabul have been sent back to Lutdeh. The Amir told the Lutdehchis that he treated them more leniently than the Kamdesh men, as they had not behaved so badly as the latter.

(b) Akram Jan of Narsat recently petitioned the Amir that he might be made Governor of Kamdesh and Lutdeh. The people of those districts however represented that Akram Jan had always oppressed them and the Amir, therefore, refused to grant his petition.

2. Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports as follows:—

(a) The fort in the lower portion of the Veron valley (referred to in this diary for week ending 21st July 1896) has now been completed.

(b) The Sipah Salar is still at Asmar. There are a large number of troops with him, and it is rumoured that he will shortly proceed to Bashgal and personally superintend the construction of the masjids and the work of the Mullahs who have been sent to teach

the Kafirs the precepts of Islam. The Sipah Salar will further superintend the construction of forts at Kamdesh and Lutdeh.

3. Sheikh Abdulla of Lutdeh states that the Sipah Salar is intriguing in Dir, Bajaur and Chitral with a view to creating a disturbance in the winter.

4th August, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 145*, dated the 4th of August. 1896.

Kafiristan

Everything is quiet in Kafiristan. The Sipah Salar is directing his energies to the construction of roads through the country. The road to Munjan through Veron has been completed. Some more Kafir refugees in Chitral have been converted to Islam in the Chitral masjid at their own request.

18th August, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the the 18th of August 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. Three Bashgali Sheikhs residing at the village of Jinjaret in Chitral territory are reported to have killed seven goats belonging to the Madugal Kafirs. This is the second raid on Afghan territory within the last month which has been committed by Kafir refugees residing in Chitral. Orders have been issued for the arrest of the delinquents, and they will be severely punished, as it is most important to nip this kind of thing in the bud. If the Kafirs once commence to make retaliatory raids on the Chitral villages, there will be endless trouble.

Kafiristan

1. Sher Ali of Arandu reports as follows:—

The Sipah Salar, who is now at Asmar, has appointed Tuti Sheikh, Governor of Kamdesh, and has sent orders to the Kamdesh and Lutdeh men to further improve the roads which have recently been made. Sixty Mullas have been sent to construct masjids in Kamdesh and Lutdeh, and orders have been issued for the erection of one fort in each district.

2. From other sources the following information has been obtained:—

(a) Two hundred Afghan soldiers have arrived at Kamdesh and have commenced building a fort there.

Two hundred more Afghans are shortly expected to proceed to Lutdeh for a similar purpose.

(b) The Sipah Salar has ordered the Kam, Madugal, and Mujash Kafirs to cut 500 pieces of timber wherewith to build a bridge across the Bashgal river somewhere near its junction with the Chitral river.

(c) Gumara, one of the Lutdeh headmen, who has recently returned from Kabul, has arrived at Rumbur in Chitral with his family, apparently with intent to settle.

(d) All the blacksmiths in Bashgal have been summoned by the Sipah Salar to visit him at Asmar. It is not known for what purpose.

(e) Gazab Shah, headman of Lutdeh, has been summoned to Asmar by the Sipah Salar for the purpose of conducting a detachment of 200 sepoy thence to Lutdeh.

(f) All the Bashgali headmen, who were taken to Kabul last winter, have been permitted to return with the exception of 10 Kam men, one Madugal man, and two Lutdeh headmen. The principal men among those detained are Mara, Bador and Ota [Uta].

(g) One thousand and five hundred Ramgal Kafirs have been enlisted as sepoy by the Amir at Kabul; 160 Bashgalis have also been enlisted, and the Sipah Salar has issued orders for 500 more to be enlisted from the same district.

25th August, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 25th August 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Demu, a Kamdesh Kafir, reports as follows:—

(a) The Afghans are now engaged in widening the Road to Kamdesh, and are sending up supplies for their garrison there, which will consist of 100 sepoy.

(b) Three new masjids have recently been built at Kamdesh, and there are now one hundred and twelve Afghan Mullas employed in the Kam district in teaching the inhabitants the precepts of Islam.

2. Gumara, a headman of Lutdeh, who was recently given permission to settle in Chitral territory, visited the Assistant British Agent. Gumara has recently returned from Kabul, where, he says, he was well treated. He does not wish, however, to remain in Lutdeh, as he fears the Sipah Salar will impress his sons for military service and trouble him in other ways.

3. Basti, headman of the village of Shui, in the Lutdeh district, came to Chitral during the week and obtained permission to settle in Chitral territory.

8th September, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 166*, dated the 8th of September, 1896.

Kafiristan

According to a Kafir informant, the Kulam and Ramgul Kafirs have displeased the Afghan officials owing to their non-observance of Muhammadan customs. They are said to have been rendered desperate by the oppression of the Afghans and further fighting in their portion of Kafiristan may be expected.

Most of the Lutdeh men who were taken to Kabul have been sent back to Lutdeh. The Amir told them that he treated them more leniently than the Kamdesh men, as they had not behaved so badly as the latter. Most of the Bashgal headmen have also been permitted to return. The fort in the lower portion of the Veron valley has been completed; forts at Kamdesh and Lutdeh are now being constructed.

9th September, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 17*, dated the 9th of September, 1896.

Kabul

(w) Detachments of young Kafirs have been formed by the Amir at Kabul. They daily receive training in drill and are to be formed into four separate regiments. Great attention is paid to these Kafir lads by His Highness. These regiments are to be named after the names of the four sons of the Amir, *viz.*, Habibulla Khan, Nasrulla Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, and Muhammad Umar Khan.

The Sipah Salar at Asmar

8.(c) It was given out at Mitai that four infantry regiments will be sent from Kabul to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, at that

place, and that they will be located there permanently. Some people say that these regiments with some Khassadars will proceed to Kafiristan with the object of punishing the Kafirs, who have fought against the Mullas sent by the Amir.

Kafiristan

9. (a) A rough sketch map of Kafiristan has been prepared under the directions of the Sipah Salar and submitted to the Amir. The map gives a short history of the Kafir tribe by means of short notes recorded thereon and may very likely be published by the Amir.

(b) The road from Kunar to Munjan through Kafiristan is now ready for traffic. Taj Muhammad Khan, Governor of Badakshan, has got orders to extend it from Munjan to Badakhshan itself. Posts will be located on this line and masjids (mosques) for the use of travellers are being constructed everywhere. Travellers will now come down straight to the Kunar valley from Munjan instead of going to Chitral and coming by the Loarai [Lowari] Pass.

(c) Some time ago, the Amir despatched a number of Mullas with Khassadars to instruct the Kafirs on religious matters. A fight took place between them and the Kafirs, in which three Khassadars were killed and seven wounded. The Khassadars fled from and reported the matter to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, and the latter then sent a report to His Highness the Amir.

(d) The Amir has written to the Sipah Salar that some of the Mullas deputed to Kafiristan are reported to be supplying news to British authorities, and that he must keep a watch over them.

18th September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *The Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 18th September, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

Fazil, a Lutdeh Kafir now residing in Chitral territory, who has just returned from a trip he had made to Lutdeh with the object of fetching grain and other property which he had left there, informed the Assistant British Agent that a party of one hundred Afghan sepoy and thirty-eight Mullas under an Afghan Commandant and a Kazi arrived at Lutdeh on the 12th September.

They intend to build a fort at Lutdeh, and several masjids will also be constructed in the district. The Afghan Commandant has further ordered that small parties consisting of three Mullas and three sepoys are to be stationed at the villages of Apsai, Showar, Psigram, and Shudigul. All the Lutdeh headmen, who were recently summoned to Birkot by the Sipah Salar, have returned to their homes.

2. Sheikh Abdulla, another Kafir refugee from Lutdeh, who now resides at Rumbor in Chitral territory, gives similar information to the above and also states:—

(a) The Afghans have completed the construction of a fort and two masjids at Kamdesh. It is believed that a second fort will be built at Kamdesh before long.

(b) There are now five Afghan sepoys and ten Mullas stationed at Kamdesh.

(c) One hundred mule-loads of supplies have been brought up to Madugal by the Afghans. Three Mullas have also arrived there.

(d) The Ramgal Kafirs are said to have again rebelled against the Amir.

3. The Mehtar's Diwanbegi reports:—

(a) Four hundred Afghan Eljaris, who had been employed in building a fort at Kamdesh, have returned to Birkot.

4. The following information from other Kafir sources has also been obtained:—

(a) The Afghans are still employed in the construction of the road leading from Veron to Munjan *via* the Kumar Pass.

(b) It is rumoured that the Sipah Salar will shortly proceed to Badakhshan by the above-mentioned route.

(c) Mara, the Lutdeh headman, who is still in captivity in Kabul, petitioned that he might be set free. The Amir, however refused to release him, as the Sipah Salar had recommended that, so long as Mara's sons continued to reside in Chitral territory, he should be kept in confinement.

(d) The Sipah Salar has recently made overtures to the Khan of Dir, with a view to estranging him from the Indian Government. The Khan of Dir replied that he could not comply with the Sipah Salar's wishes. The Sipah Salar is now inciting the Bajauri Maliks and Mullas to rise against the Government of India.

(e) Akram Jan, who was formerly Governor of Narsat and

Kamdesh, has been carrying on a secret correspondence with the Khan of Dir for some time now.

(f) Six Ramgal Kafirs, who recently left Ramgal with messages from their country men for the Russian officer in Wakhan, were stopped *en route* by an Afghan outpost. Four of the Ramgulis were killed and two made good their escape.

19th September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 19th of September, 1896.*

18th September. – Mulla Kalandar of Chandaul was sent by the Amir to Kafiristan to preach the Koran. He returned home without leave. The headman of his street arrested him and sent him to the Amir through the Kotwal. His Highness ordered him to be hamstrung and his eyes to be gouged out.

The Amir gave land to eight Kafirs in Panjsher to settle upon, but they fled to Kafiristan, where they were arrested and sent to the Amir. His Highness caused them to be hamstrung, and then said that they were at liberty to go where they liked. They returned to Kafiristan dragging themselves on their hands and knees.

Umra Khan, Jandoli, is still at Kandahar. His family sent a petition to the Amir representing that they were in distress and begging for help. The Amir gave them Rs. 9,000.

The Hakim of Koh Daman reported to the Amir that Khanzada Rustam Khan had collected nearly 200 men. The Hakim feared that this might prove harmful to Government. His Highness has ordered Rustam Khan's expulsion with 100 families to Kafiristan.

21 September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 18, dated the 21st of September, 1896.

(e) At present there are no fewer than 12 cavalry and infantry regiments at Kabul, *viz.*:

Cavalry Regiments

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Uzbaks | 4. Kandahari |
| 2. Shahzada Nari | 5. Abbasi |
| 3. Shahi | 6. Ardal |

Infantry Regiments

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Kohistani | 4. Jangi |
| 2. Hazara Sappers and Miners | 5. Afghan |
| 3. Kafiri or Jadid-ul-Islam | 6. Name not known |

Great attention is paid to the training of the young Kafirs who promise well. They are not to be called Kafirs but Jadid-ul-Islam. Some 200 of these young lads are employed as 'Peshkhid-mats' [پیش خدمت, close personal servants] of the Amir, and except these and the men in the regiments all others who were brought as captives are being allowed to return to their homes.

Umra Khan, the Ex-Khan of Jandol

3.(a) Umra Khan is reported to have reached Kabul, where he was allowed an interview by the Amir the next day. He is staying at Waisalabad outside the city of Kabul, and entertains hopes of being appointed Governor of Kafiristan.

(b) Information received shows that Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol, has advised his brother Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini by letter not to engage in hostilities with any one of the neighbouring Khans, but to keep aloof from all party strife, saying that there was some likelihood of his (Umra Khan's) appointment to the Governorship of Asmar and Kafiristan, and that Muhammad Shah Khan's misconduct might give the British Government a cause to object to his (Umra Khan's) appointment.

The Sipah Salar at Asmar

7.(a) A letter received from the Sipah Salar's camp states that the Sipah Salar is quite tired of complying with the Amir's orders which are so numerous and complicated now-a-days. The Amir now pays more attention to the organization of his army, and is very anxious to develop the country between Asmar and Badakhshan inhabited by Kafirs by the construction of posts, opening of new roads, and the building of mosques and public serais on the roads at all stages.

(b) The Sipah Salar is collecting rafts at Asmar and is making preparations for coming down to Ningrahar by the Kunar river.

Kafiristan

8. A detailed history of the Kafirs, their origin, religion, country, &c., is being written in prose under the instruction of the Sipah

Salar by Hakim Ahmad Jan and Mirza Sher Ahmad jointly. It is to be published as soon as prepared and presented to His Highness the Amir.

7th October, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 175*, dated the 7th of October, 1896.

Kafiristan

The road from Kunar to Munjan, through Kafiristan, is now ready for traffic, and the Governor of Badakhshan has been ordered to extend it from Munjan to Badakhshan. Posts and masjids are being constructed along the line for the use of travellers.

Four regiments of Kafirs are undergoing training at Kabul, and the Amir is said to show great interest in them. Each regiment is to be named after one of the sons of His Highness. A number of Kafirs who have embraced the Muslim faith have been granted lands in Pughman. Hakim Ahmad Jan, the confidential agent of the Sipah Salar, who recently visited Peshawar, stated that a census had been taken of the population of Kafiristan, and that it was found that the country contained less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants. This is less than one-half of the estimate formed by Sir George Robertson.

The Afghans are widening the road to Kamdesh, and sending up supplies for the garrison there, which will consist of 100 sepoy. Three masjids have been built at Kamdesh, and 112 Afghan mullahs are employed in the Kam district teaching the principles of Islam. A hundred Afghan sepoy have arrived at Lutdeh to garrison that valley. A few Kafirs still continue to cross over into Chitral to settle there.

8th October, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 19*, dated the 8th of October, 1896.

Kabul

(1) The Amir is said to have summoned the Sipah Salar to Kabul for an interview.

Kafiristan

4. The Sipah Salar has sent for 10,000 Arabic Primers, through Naib Muhammad Siyar Khan, to be distributed among the Kafirs

by the Mullahs. The Sipah Salar appears to be anxious to teach the Kafirs the first principles of Islam.

10th October, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 10th of October, 1896.*

Fifteen Kafirs collected a large quantity of dry fuel in Laghman with the intention of setting fire to it, and of throwing themselves into the burning pile. They considered it better to die than to continue as Mussalmans forsaking their ancestral religion. A guard heard about it, arrested them and took them to the Kotwal, who sent them to the Amir. His Highness said they were great infidels; that it was very difficult to convert Kafirs to Islam. Then he ordered five of them in a batch to be executed in the presence of the others.

27th October, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Tuesday, the 27th of October, 1896 (Confidential).*

Asmar and Kafiristan

A recent arrival from Asmar states that "the Sipah Salar is now busy with matters concerning the revenue assessment of Asmar and Narsat. No new roads are being constructed on the left bank of the Kunar river, and the rumours regarding the coming of Umra Khan to the Bajaur frontier are without foundation."

2. A Lutdeh Shaikh, named Watmir, gives the following information:—

(a) The new road between Veron and Munjan is now in good order. The stages between Veron and Munjan are as follows, *viz.*—

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Badeo | 4. Foot of Kamar Pass |
| 2. Pashigram | 5. Panun Shah |
| 3. Shiti | 6. Munjan |

(b) The Lutdeh people are contented. One or two Mullas are stationed in each village to teach them the precepts of the Muham-

madan faith, but otherwise they are not interfered with. The Afghans pay for all supplies which they take.

(c) The Sipah Salar has suggested to the Amir that the sum of Rs. 2,500 (Kabuli) should be fixed as the amount of revenue payable by the people of the Lutdeh district.

(d) Thirteen masjids have been built in the Lutdeh district, and there are 28 Mullas in charge of them.

(e) There are 100 Afghan sepoy in Lutdeh and 120 in Kamdesh.

3. Later information received from Kafiristan shows that the Amir has issued orders that the amount of revenue to be levied in Lutdeh should be fixed at Rs. 2,000 (Kabuli).

10th November, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending 10th November, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. A deputation of Wai Kafirs consisting of the following men has arrived in Chitral, *viz.*, Aitchai Khan of Birgil, Maraz of Chimi, Sozonok of Waramdesh [The village of Waigel, which gives its name to the whole valley, is divided into two main parts: Varomdesh, the 'upper village', also called Perinta, and Bramdesh 'lower village', also called Bergele], and Babir of Birichigal [Zhönchigal]. They state that they were sent by their headmen to enquire from the Assistant British Agent and the Mehtar whether anything could be done to save them from the tyranny of the Amir's officials. The Assistant British Agent informed the Mehtar that, if the deputation really wish to see him (the Assistant British Agent), they should be sent out to his camp. When these Kafirs first entered Chitral territory, they represented that they merely came to seek a place of refuge. They now tell a different story. A further report will be made concerning them when they have been interviewed by the Assistant British Agent.

5. With reference to entry in the diary for week ending 3rd November 1896 under heading 'Chitral' on the subject of the Dir Khan's intrigues in the village of Damer, the postal overseer at Ziarat reports that he saw Azar Khan, the Bashgali refugee, on the 28th October. Azar Khan was on his way back from Dir and stated that the Khan of Dir had promised to send 40 Pathans to assist him in cultivating his land at Damer.

A complaint has also been received from the people of Damer to the effect that Azar Khan has stolen some of their cattle. The matter is being enquired into by the Assistant British Agent.

Kafiristan and Asmar

On arrival in Chitral the Waigal Kafirs (mentioned in paragraph 3 under heading 'Chitral') gave the following information to Munshi Azizuddin:—

(a) The Afghans take supplies from their countrymen daily without paying anything. The Afghans further compel them to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 8 (Kabuli) and half the produce of their crops per family.

(b) The Wai Kafirs are very discontented and are conspiring with the Ramgal Kafirs with a view to rising against the Afghans.

(c) The following is the strength of the Afghan detachments in Waigal, *viz.*—

In the village of Prent [Perinta]	20 sepoy and 1 mullah
„ Birgil [Bergele]	15 sepoy and 2 mullahs
„ Hamish [Ameshdesh]	18 sepoy and 1 mullah
„ Jamamish [Jemamesh]	15 sepoy and 2 mullahs
„ Munchai [?]	10 sepoy
„ Mildesh [Muldesh]	20 sepoy and 1 mullah
„ Chimial [Chimi]	15 sepoy and 2 mullahs
„ Akun [or Kun]	40 sepoy and 3 mullahs
„ Kaigal [Kegal]	15 sepoy and 2 mullahs
„ Nishigrom [Nisheigrom]	12 sepoy and 1 mullah
„ Wat [Want]	20 sepoy and 2 mullahs

These detachments are under the command of a Colonel who travels about from place to place.

(d) The Afghans have constructed a good road (Note. — Further enquiries will be made regarding this road when the Kafirs are interviewed by the Assistant British Agent) from Lughman to Munjan through Waigal.

The stages on this road are as follows:—

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Barzai | 5. Urigram |
| 2. Guru | 6. Notigram |
| 3. Urshadesh | 7. Archalam |
| 4. Lotalam | 8. Gushilak [Gusalak] |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 9. Chubgel [Chukgel] | 14. Kushtiki [Kushtegi] |
| 10. Garamsane [Gramsandesh] | 15. Dewarig [Dewa] |
| 11. Sondesh | 16. Panza [Pronz] |
| 12. Pshaw [Pashki] | 17. Ushti [Shtiwe] |
| 13. Tisim [Tusum] | 18. Mraoo Pass |
19. Munjan

[It will be noted that this route, contrary to the statement in (d) above, does not go through Waigel, but follows the Parun-Pech valley.]

The Amir has issued orders for a detachment of sappers and miners to be permanently employed on the up-keep of the road.

(e) The Amir is displeased with the behaviour of the Wai Kafirs and intends shortly to send a punitive expedition against them.

(f) Sixteen villages in the Ramgal valley are still unsubdued by the Afghans and the Amir intends to send a force against them.

(g) Large quantities of supplies are being collected in Jalalabad and the Afghan sepoy in Waigal state that ere long the Amir will probably be at war with the Indian Government.

2. The following news has been received from Drosh:—

(a) The Afghans have made two roads to Munjan, the first starting from Asmar and passing through Birkot, Kamdesh, and Lutdeh; and the second starting from Chigharserai and passing through Pech, Waigal, and Veron. The latter is the better and shorter of the two routes.

(b) Kamdesh fort is garrisoned by 100 Asmar men, and there are 100 Khassadars living in the village of Lutdeh.

(c) The following Afghan troops are in Asmar:—

The Kandahar Regiment

„ Sufi	„
„ Wardak	„
„ Zarposh	„
„ Siahposh	„
„ Turki	„
„ Herati	„

In addition to these the Afghan Highland Regiment is at Chigharserai, and there is one regiment at Birkot.

(f) The Sipah Salar will not undertake any large expedition this winter. . .

(g) The people of Asmar are weary of being oppressed by the Afghan officials.

17th November, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 17th of November, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

With reference to the deputation from Waigul referred to in the last diary, it appears that the Wai Kafirs merely wish to know whether they will be permitted to seek refuge in Chitral. The Assistant British Agent will inform them that refuge will be granted to them.

It is unlikely however that many Wai Kafirs will be able to elude the vigilance of the Afghans owing to the central position of their country and the treacherous character of the surrounding Kafir tribes. The men have not yet been dismissed, as the Assistant British Agent wishes to confront them with some of the Kafir refugees from Kamdesh and Lutdeh with a view to checking statements they have made regarding the new roads in Kafiristan.

Badakhshan

The Khwaja of Munjan (now residing in Lutkho in Chitral territory) gives the following information, which he has received through his servant, Abdul Hamid, who has lately arrived from Badakhshan:—

(d) One thousand and four hundred sheep have recently been sent from Badakhshan *via* Munjan and Veron [Parun] to the Sipah Salar.

2. Saiyid Mirza Rehan, a son of the Khwaja of Munjan, who has recently arrived in Chitral from Badakhshan, states:—

(c) The Sipah Salar's Nazir recently bought 30 ponies and 1,500 sheep in Badakhshan, and took them to Asmar *via* the Veron valley of Kafiristan.

(e) It is rumoured in Faizabad that the Amir intends to appoint Umra Khan of Jandol as Naib of Badakhshan.

24th November, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for week ending the 24th of November, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan and Asmar

1. The Assistant British Agent dismissed the deputation of Wai Kafirs referred to in this diary for week ending 17 November 1896.

2. Before starting the Kafirs informed the Assistant British Agent that their real object in coming was to ascertain whether he would undertake to write to the Sipah Salar and urge him to treat them more leniently. The Assistant British Agent replied that he had no authority to correspond with the Sipah Salar on such matters, but added that, if they or any of their fellow countrymen desired to take refuge in Chitral territory, they were at liberty to do so.

3. The Wai Kafirs give the following details regarding their journey to Chitral:—

They started about a month ago from Waramdesh [Varomdesh] (a large village of 240 houses in Waigal) and marched the first day about 35 miles to Abrigal (no houses).

2nd day about same distance to Yamanigal (no houses).

3rd day crossed the Oradah Pass and marched to Kashtan [Kaštá, Nechingal Valley]. The snow on the Oradah [Urla] Pass was up to their waists, and they describe the route as being very difficult (they say the pass is now closed and that they will have to return to Waigal *via* Asmar and Chigharserai).

4th day they marched to Kamu.

5th day they marched to Ishtratt (also known as Gaurdesh and Istorgat).

6th day they marched to Utzun (in Chitral territory) *via* the Patkun Pass.

4. The Wai Kafirs give the following information (*Note.* — Compare this with statement under paragraph (d) Kafiristan and Asmar of diary for week ending 10th November 1896.) regarding the new road from Chigharserai to Munjan:—

(a) The distance from Chigharserai to foot of Marudah Pass (called Kamah Pass in map attached to Mr. Robertson's Kafiristan report: Kumar is name of valley leading from Shtergram to the pass) is about 200 miles, and the road is now in good order throughout and fit for laden animals.

(b) The Marudah Pass is slightly more difficult than the Dorah (this from hearsay): none of the men have seen the pass.

(c) There are cantilever bridges at Doshakali (across Pech river: Doshakali is situated on right bank of river), Nogalam (across Waigal river), Gramsenrya and Sanudesh (both Gramsenrya and Sanudesh are on right bank of Pech river).

(d) After crossing the river at Doshakali, the road lies up the left bank as far as Chukgel (opposite Gramsenrya). Here it crosses to right bank. At Sanudesh recross to left bank and continue up left bank of Veron (or Presun) river as far as Prunz: here cross to right bank and continue up as far as Shertergram.

(e) Fodder and supplies generally are more easily obtained than on the Chitral route to Badakhshan.

5. The Wai Kafirs also give the following information regarding affairs in Waigal:—

(a) The Afghans have built a fort at the village of Mildesh [Mul-desh] in Waigal. The garrison consists of one hundred and eighty Eljaris. The Afghan Hakim also lives at Mildesh. There are no other Afghan troops in Waigal.

(b) The following taxes are realized from them annually for payment to the Amir:—

4 oxen or cows out of every 20 animals,

4 goats or sheep out of every 20 animals,

8 rupees (Kabuli) per man.

(c) In addition to the above they have to supply each month at Mildesh for the use of the garrison —

8 maunds wheat,

20 goats,

100 seers ghi.

No payment is made for these supplies, and, in the event of any zamindar [زمیندار, landowner] being unable to supply his share, his women and children are seized and carried away to Kabul. Thus since the Afghans occupied the valley, about eighty Waigal women have been carried away to Kabul.

6. The Wai Kafirs and a Veron Kafir, who accompanied them to act as interpreter, give the following information regarding the population and products of the Pech, Sano, Waigal and Veron districts (e.g., the villages above the junction of the Wai and Veron streams at Nogalam [Ningalam]):—

(a) *Pech* [Valley]

Name of village	Number of families
Barzai	120
Garul	40
Ushadesh	120
Urigram	40
Lotalam	60
Natigram	40
Archalan	200
	<hr/>
total	620

(b) *Sano or Shemi*

Name of village	Number of families
Gushalak	40
Chukgel [Chukgal]	60
Gramsenrya [Gramsandesh]	20
Sanudesh	200
	<hr/>
total	320

(c) *Waigal* [Valley]

Name of village	Number of families
Akala	20
Want	20
Kegal	60
Akunr [Akun or Kun]	16
Mildesh [Muldesh]	120
Nashigram [Nisheigrom]	500
Jamch [Jemamesh]	120
Umdesh Jamch [?]	40
Warchigal [Zhönchigal]	580
Ameshdesh	240
Waigal	340
Waramdesh Waigal [Varomdesh]	240
	<hr/>
total	2296

(d) *Veron or Presun* [Parun]

Pashaw (or Puhigram) [Pashki]	500
Sasum Bram [Tusum]	120
Kishtiki [Kushtegi]	120
Deorgram [Dewa]	240
Pranz [Pronz]	160
Shtai (or Shtergram) [Shtiwe]	240
	<hr/>
total	1380

Grand total 4616

(e) In Pech, Sano and Waigal – wheat, barley, cheena and dal are grown. In Veron – wheat, barley and cheena are grown. With the exception of Veron where there are only apples, grapes, walnuts, apples and apricots are found.

7. The Wai Kafirs give the following information regarding routes in Waigal and Veron:–

(a) From Waramdesh Waigal there is a path leading over a difficult pass only practicable for men on foot to Shigal, the country of the Shinwaris – two days' journey – (*Note.* – The Kafirs as a rule travel about 25 miles in a day) the pass is closed from beginning of December to end of February – name of pass is Ashidal.

(b) From Waramdesh Waigal to Kam over a pass only practicable for men on foot – three days' journey – Pass closed from beginning of December to end of March – name of pass is Oradah [Urla] (This is the route by which the Wai deputation came to Chitral, *vide* paragraph 3, page 1).

(c) From Waigal village a road leads over the Jandah [Jauda] Pass to Pashaw [Pashki] in Veron [Parun] – one days' journey – practicable for ponies – pass closed for only one month in year, *viz.*, February.

(d) There is a route leading up the Budgah nala, which joins the Veron river a little below the village of Archalam to Ashkun, another Kafir State.

(e) From Pashaw in Veron there is a difficult route to the Kalwar [Katwar] (*Note.* – Also known as Kti) valley – one days' journey – pass difficult and closed in January and February.

(f) From Pranz [Pronz] in Veron there is a difficult route to the Katwar [Kantiwo] valley – one days' journey – pass very difficult and closed from end of November to beginning of June.

(g) The route leading from Shtai [Shtiwe] in Veron to Munjan over the Marudah Pass (*vide* paragraph 4, page 2).

(h) From Shtai in Veron a road leads up the Wezgal across the Pabrukdah Pass to Pabruk [Papruk] in Lutdeh [Katrgul] – one day's journey – not fit for ponies – closes from middle of December to end of March.

(i) From Shtai [Shtiwe] in Veron [Parun] a route leads to Kashtan [Kaštá] in Kamdesh [Kamdesh is in Kam territory, not Kaštá] over the Kunjinri [Kunjenida] Pass – two day's journey. (This route was traversed by Mr. Robertson *vide* his report.)

8. Gul Nabi of the village of Baburabad (close to Chitral), who was recently sent to Asmar to obtain news, states:—

(a) The Bashgalis (*Note.*—Chitralis call all Kafirs Bashgalis) seem to be contented. They come to Asmar and Birkot without fear and take service under the Afghan officials.

(b) The Sipah Salar is constructing barracks for the troops at Asmar: wood is being brought from the Dangam Gol.

(c) Thirteen mule loads of warm clothes for the sepoy's have arrived at Birkot.

(e) It was rumoured in Asmar that Umra Khan had asked the Amir to appoint him ruler over Bashgal or Asmar, and that the Amir had replied that those places were too near to British territory, and that he would not allow him to leave Kabul.

9. Jana, Mirag and Patel of Lutdeh and Araba, Maril and Shayuk of Madugal report as follows:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is collecting revenue in the Bashgul valley at the following rates:—

In Madugal Re. 1 (Kabuli) per adult (men and women).

In Lutdeh Re. 1 (Kabuli) per family.

The Madugalis are assessed at a higher rate, because they burnt their villages during last year's fighting and generally gave more trouble.

(b) The Sipah Salar has issued orders that the roads are to be repaired as he intends to visit (*Note.*—Since the above was written, news has been received that the Sipah Salar has arrived at Birkot.) the valley.

(c) There are three hundred Afghan sepoy's in Veron.

Badakhshan and Wakhan

2. Mir Afzal Khan and Saidad Khan, merchants of Miankili, who left Faizabad on the 25th October 1896 and travelled to Chitral with a kafila *via* the Dorah pass, state:—

(e) Lali and Muhammad Mir, traders of Chingai in Bajaur, bought one hundred and twenty sheep in Faizabad about a month ago and took them *via* Veron [Parun] to Asmar. About the same time an agent of the Sipah Salar took five hundred sheep by the same route. (*Note.*—Compare this with entry in Mr. Davis's diary under date 16th November 1896.) No other kafilas have gone by the Veron route. The construction of the road on both sides of the Marudah Pass is now finished, but the road

on the pass itself requires improving. The pass is much like the Dorah and closes for about the same length of time. The Veron route is shorter by about five days than the Dorah route, but fodder is scarce on the Veron side of the pass. (*Note.* – All the other men consulted by the Assistant British Agent state that fodder and supplies are plentiful.)

(f) The Amir recently ordered that all merchants trading with Badakshan should use the Veron route. The merchants protested that they would find difficulty in obtaining supplies in Kafiristan. Their real reason for objecting to this route is that they fear the exactions of the Amir's officials, and they do not believe that His Highness's promise to exempt them from payment of tolls for three years will be kept. When asked by the Assistant British Agent whether the Amir would be able to enforce the use of the new route, the merchants replied in the affirmative. . . .

28th November, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Diary of the Kabul Agency* for the week which ended on the 28th November, 1896.

Last year or so, after the submission of Kafiristan, a large number of Kafirs were made captives and sent to Kabul. Many of them died on the way and those who reached here alive, adopted the Musalman religion. They have since been properly fed and clothed by His Highness, and are also being instructed in the Muslaman faith. It is also stated that now His Highness wishes to make one of these men a respectable Sardar and to grant him a handsome annual allowance. The idols of worship, which were brought here from Kafiristan, have been broken and destroyed.

16th December, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. *Letter No. 196*, dated the 16th of December, 1896.

Kafiristan

Early in November, a deputation of Wai Kafirs arrived in Chitral to ask the Assistant British Agent and the Mehtar if they might seek refuge in Chitral, or if anything could be done to save them from the tyranny of the Amir's officials. They say that the Afghans exact supplies without payment, besides levying revenue to the extent of half their crops, and eight rupees a family. One hundred

and ninety sepoy and 17 Mullahs are located in their country, and a report says the Wai men are conspiring with the Ramgal Kafirs, some of whose villages have never yet been subdued, with a view to rising.

A good road has been constructed from Lughman to Munjan through Waigal, and a detachment of sappers is to be permanently employed in keeping it in repair.

Chitral

The Amir has issued a notice to the traders of Badakhshan that he wishes them in future to travel to Asmar and Bajaur through Kafiristan, instead of by Chitral as hitherto, and he promises to exempt them from all tolls for three years if they will do so. The merchants seem doubtful about accepting the Amir's proposal, but the Political Officer in Dir and Swat reports that the route is already beginning to be used, and that a caravan of 600 donkeys came down by it from Badakhshan in November. The tolls on through trade between Badakhshan and Bajaur form an important part of the revenue of Chitral State; and it will be a serious loss to the Mehtar if the Amir eventually induces traders to adopt the Kafiristan route. His Highness has sanctioned the expenditure of a large sum for the construction of the road, and for building serais and establishing villages along it.

6th January, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2,* dated the 6th of January, 1897.

Jalalabad. – From information received from the Khyber, it seems that the Amir has become somewhat suspicious of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and his special agent, Hakim Ahmad Jan.

Kafiristan

Work has been suspended on the road through Kafiristan to Badakhshan, owing to the severe cold.

The Assistant British Agent in Chitral interviewed the Wai Kafirs who came in to see him (see last Journal) before their return to Kafiristan. They informed him that their real object in coming was to ascertain if he would write to the Sipah Salar and urge him to treat them more leniently. Lieutenant Gurdon informed them that he had no authority to correspond with the Sipah Salar

on such matters, but that if they, or any of their fellow countrymen desired to take refuge in Chitral territory, they were at liberty to do so.

A great many Kafirs are said to have been recently sent to Kabul for disobeying orders given to them by the Afghan officials.

3rd February, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 19*, dated the 3rd of February, 1897.

Kunar Valley. – There are six infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment and two batteries of artillery at Asmar, and 800 infantry at Birkot.

Kafiristan

The Sipah Salar is reported to have announced his intention of personally visiting the Bashgal country with a strong force, as he was not satisfied of the loyalty of the Bashgalis. The latter begged him not to do so and offered to surrender all the arms still in their possession, and to pay the revenue fixed by him. The Sipah Salar agreed, and a very large number of arms of every description has been sent to his camp at Asmar.

The Afghans are said to have taken the forts of Shukur and Paigal [Surich and Pägil] in the Kulam valley, which had hitherto succeeded in holding out against them. The garrison were put to death, women and children being spared. The Afghan losses in the fighting are believed to have been heavy.

There are 500 Afghan sepoyes at Kamdesh and a regiment in Veron. Some Badakhshanis recently brought large flocks of sheep from Badakhshan by the new Veron-Munjan road, intending to sell them to the Commissariat at Drosh, but the Sipah Salar bought most of them for the Afghan troops.

A report from Peshawar states that two Russian officers have visited Kafiristan, and, after preparing a rough map of the country, returned to Shighnan.

3rd March, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 32*, dated the 3rd of March, 1897.

Kafiristan

Four Afghan Mullas are said to have been murdered in Kafiristan for committing rape.

Some Kafirs from Lutdeh have been to Chitral to see the Assistant Political Agent. They informed him that some forty families from Lutdeh were going to leave their homes and settle in Chitral in the spring. Their principal grievance is that the Afghans are calling upon them to supply fresh hostages in place of those who have died at Kabul.

7th April, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 45*, dated the 7th of April, 1897.

Kafiristan

Early in March a deputation of Lutdeh and Kamdesh Kafirs visited Lieutenant Gurdon, and represented that they were much distressed owing to a new order published by the Amir to the effect that they were to furnish men for military service. They asked whether they should obey these orders, and said they seriously contemplated revolting. Lieutenant Gurdon believes that they have no intention of rising, and told them they had better obey the Amir's orders. A deputation of Wai Kafirs have also been in to see Lieutenant Gurdon and air their grievances. The Assistant Political Agent says that their real object was merely to get presents from the Mehtar and to ascertain whether there was any truth in a prevalent rumour that relations between the Government of India and the Amir were strained.

5th May, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 58*, dated the 5th of May, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Assistant Political Agent in Chitral has received another message from the Kamdesh Kafirs, asking whether the Government of India cannot induce the Afghans to treat them better. He has replied as before (see last Journal) that the Government of India does not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Mer Jan, the headman of Istorgat (Gaurdesh), sent a message to the Assistant Political Agent, that he and his relations proposed to take refuge in Chitral territory. He was told that he could come if he wished, but it is thought improbable that he really intends leaving Kafiristan.

The Kafirs in the Bashgal valley are much disturbed owing to a rumour that numbers of them will be enlisted as sepoy.

The Kafirs in Pech Darra have rebelled against the mullas appointed to convert them, and have killed some of them.

8th June, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 78*, dated the 8th of June, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Lutdeh Kafirs have rebelled against the Amir, destroyed the road leading to Kamdesh, and killed a number of Afghan khasadars and mullas in their country. The cause of the rising is not known, but a report ascribes it to the deportation to Kabul of boys and girls for immoral purposes, and a demand for fresh hostages to take the place of some who had died at Kabul. Akram Khan, the Amir's representative for Kafiristan affairs, at once left Birkot for Kamdesh with 200 sepoy and 240 irregulars, and reinforcements were sent up from Asmar. The Lutdeh and Madugal Kafirs opposed Akram Khan's march and fighting ensued, in which the Kafirs suffered heavy loss, one report stating that the troops spared only old men and women. Some 3,000 escaped into Chitral territory, where they have not the means of subsistence.

The Mehtar is unable to provide for so large a number, and it was proposed to the Kafir headmen that they should move to the country between Panjkora and Shishikuf, which is known as Bishghar. There the Dir Khan has land enough to support 3,000 families, and he offered to allow them to settle. The refugees have been disarmed, and the Government of India have authorized the grant of pecuniary assistance for feeding them, and for transporting those who may accept the offer of the Khan of Dir. The Amir is being informed and asked whether the Government of India can assure the refugees that their lives will be spared, and their property restored if they return to Kafiristan and submit themselves to His Highness's authority. No refugees will be compelled to return to Kafiristan against their will, whether the Amir gives a guarantee or not. Latest news is to the effect that those who have submitted are leniently treated, and are being restored to their property. Many of the refugees are expected to return to their homes.

Reports received at Peshawar state that Umra Khan is in high favour with the Amir, and has been appointed commandant of the battalion of Kafir converts to Islam.

7th July, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 101*, dated the 7th of July, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Amir has replied to the letter sent to him by the Commissioner of Peshawar (see last Journal), enquiring whether the Government of India could assure the Kafir refugees in Chitral that their lives would be spared and their property restored, if they returned to Kafiristan and submitted to His Highness's authority. The Amir writes – "If they repent and return to their homes, their lives will be spared, and they will be allowed to lead a humble and rural life, but repent they must. In case they are not satisfied with this, they should not be permitted to remain in the dependencies of Chitral, and should go towards Gilgit, because their proximity would create a great many disturbances in the State. It is absolutely essential that they should not be allowed to remain in Chitral and its dependencies, because it would prove injurious to neighbourly relations." Major Deane has been instructed to make the Amir's decision known to the refugees and to allow those who wish to return under the conditions stated to do so.

Many are returning to Lutdeh, having heard that the men seized by the Afghans in connection with the recent rising are generally treated with clemency. It is thought probable that most refugees of the poorer classes will go back and that only the headmen will remain. Some of the latter with about 100 followers have gone over to the Khan of Dir's lands in Bashgar, and the Khan has given them an advance of money to help them for the present. The stories of the massacre of Kafirs, which were at first circulated, are reported by Major Deane to be incorrect.

The total number of Kafir refugees in Chitral territory at the beginning of June was about 1,600; they are scattered about the country and are working for their food. Up to the present, the Chitralis have made no complaint against them. There is only one Afghan regiment now in Lutdeh. The rest of the troops sent up to quell the rising having been withdrawn. As soon as the

Afghans have completed the fort which they are building there, the remaining regiment will be replaced by 120 khassadars.

On the 30th June, a letter was received from the Amir, stating that the refugees, in a body, wish to return to their homes, but that they are being prevented from doing so by the officials in Chitral. His Highness asks that orders may be sent to the officials not to interfere with those who may desire of their own free will to go back to Kafiristan. A similar letter has been written to the Mehtar by the Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh, and the Assistant Political Agent in Chitral has replied to him that, so far as he is aware, no Kafirs who wished to return had been prevented from doing so, but that he would make enquiries and sent messages to the refugees that they were free to go back whenever they pleased.

4th August, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 119,*
dated the 4th of August, 1897.

Kafiristan

The total number of Kafir refugees in Chitral at the beginning of July amounted to 630 men, women and children, inclusive of the Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs, who came to Chitral in the winter of 1895. Those who have recently returned to Lutdeh have been kindly treated by the Afghans: they have been given two bullocks each and some seed-grain for cultivation purposes. Refugees continue to return in small parties, but it is rumoured that some of them meditate coming back to Chitral as they are afraid that, when the winter sets in, and the passes between Chitral and Kafiristan are closed, the Amir will have them deported to Kabul. In reply to the Amir's letter (see last Journal) stating that the Kafir refugees wished to return to their homes, but were being prevented by the Chitral officials, His Highness has been informed (9th July) that the refugees have been told that they could return to Kafiristan whenever they pleased, and that he might rest assured that neither the Chitralis nor the British officers in Chitral would do anything to prevent the return of any Kafirs, who wished to go back of their own free-will.

8th September, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 129,*
dated the 8th of September, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Kafir refugees in Chitral continue to return to Lutdeh in small parties; eventually only those who have special reasons for fearing punishment at the hands of the Amir's officials, will remain in Chitral. The Afghan Governor of Narsat is trying to induce the Kafirs who have settled in Dir to return to their homes. The Afghans have finished the new fort they were building in Lutdeh. Only 200 Afghan troops will now remain in the Lutdeh valley to garrison the fort.

Chitral

Some Lutdeh Kafirs made a raid into Lutkho early in August, and carried off some sheep and goats. The Kafir refugees in Chitral say that raiding into Chitral is being encouraged by the Afghan officials.

7th October, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 139,* dated the 7th of October, 1897.

Chitral

The Lutdeh Kafirs have carried off many bullocks and sheep belonging to Chitralis, and Lieutenant Gurdon has in consequence warned the refugee Kafirs in the Bumboret valley that, if any more cattle are raided, they will be called upon to replace them from their own herds. There is little doubt that some of the refugees have been helping the raiders. The refugees told Lieutenant Gurdon that, after the recent rising, the Afghans took away all the bullocks from Lutdeh and that there are no animals left for ploughing, and that consequently the Lutdehchis cannot resist the temptation to replace them by raiding. The Afghan Hakim, if he does not encourage the raids, as the Kafirs say he does, evidently makes no effort to stop them.

4th November, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 153,* dated the 4th of November, 1897.

Kafiristan

A number of Kafir headmen from Lutdeh and Kamdesh have been summoned to Asmar, and the Kafirs are much disturbed in consequence. Some twelve families have fled from Munjan

and taken refuge in the upper part of the Lutkho valley. They complain bitterly of the oppression of the Afghan garrison quartered in Munjan. In reply to their request for land to cultivate, Captain Gurdon has told them that there is no objection to their settling on waste land after obtaining permission from the Mehtar's officials.

The Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh has restored to the people of Ayun some of the cattle recently carried off by the Lutdeh Kafirs. Captain Gurdon had given permission to the Ayun people to visit Lutdeh to claim their property, but declined to give them letters to the Hakim.

1st January, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 1*, dated the 1st of January, 1898.

Chitral

A young Lutdeh Kafir has been sent to Chitral by the Amir, with a letter in His Highness's own handwriting, addressed to the principal Kafir refugees, urging them to return to their country and promising pardon for past offences if they will do so at once.

6th January, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2*, dated the 6th of January, 1898.

Chitral

Twenty-five Kamdesh Kafirs have taken refuge in the Utzun valley, eight miles below Drosh. They complain of the oppression of the Afghan Hakim. Some Lutdeh Kafirs were also preparing to take flight into Chitral, but the Afghan Governor received news of their intention and prevented them. On the other hand, it is reported that the Afghan Hakim has restored their lands to those Kafirs who, having fled to Chitral after the rising last spring, have since returned to their own country.

3rd March, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 42*, dated the 3rd March, 1898.

Kafiristan

All is reported quiet in Kafiristan. The people, however, are said to be generally discontented, and though they outwardly profess

Muhammadanism, they still worship idols in secret. The Kafir hostages, who have been in Kabul for the past two years, have been allowed to return to their homes in Kamdesh and Lutdeh, on being relieved by a like number of fresh hostages. Those who have gone back to Kafiristan say they were well treated by the Amir, and that all received presents on leaving Kabul.

1 April, 1898. *Memorandum of Information received during the month of March, 1898, regarding affairs on and beyond the North-West Frontier of India.* Enclosure of a letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 60, dated the 14th April, 1898.

North Western Frontier

Khyber . . . Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, died at Jalalabad some time about the 20th March. His body was taken to Kabul for burial.

[Generally believed in Afghanistan today is the story that Ghulam Haidar was poisoned at Asmar by order of the Amir. The Commander-in-Chief is buried at Charkh in the Logar Valley.]

14th April, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 60,* dated the 14th of April, 1898.

Kafiristan

The Afghan Mulla of the Pittigal Masjid was recently murdered by a Lutdeh Kafir. Some sixty men of Lutdeh have been arrested in connection with the crime.

9th June, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 86,* dated the 9th of June, 1898.

Kafiristan

Little news of interest is forthcoming from Kafiristan. There are 80 Afghan sepoy at Lutdeh and 20 at Domuk, a hamlet on the river about fifteen miles below the village of Lutdeh. The Officer Commanding the garrison treats the people well, but the sepoy oppress them and only pay nominal prices for supplies. The country seems to be perfectly quiet.

7th July, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 104*, dated the 7th of July, 1898.

Kafiristan

The road through Bashgal to the Ahmad-i-Diwana Pass has been repaired and widened; and 200 more Afghan sepoy's have arrived in Lutdeh, the garrison of which place is now 500 men.

Two hundred and forty men from Lutdeh were recently collected by the Afghan Hakim and taken to Kamdesh, under the pretext that the Sipah Salar was shortly expected there, and that he wished to see them. On arrival at Kamdesh, it is said that they were imprisoned, but that the reason for this action on the part of the Afghans is not known.

8th September, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 157*, dated the 8th of September, 1898.

Chitral

Twenty-five Bashgal families have fled from Ustargat [Gawardesh] in Kafiristan and taken refuge in the Chitral Urtsun valley. They have been settled down near Kanti, in Chitral, on agreement to pay revenue to the Mehtar. During the absence at Chitral of the headman of this party, a band of fifteen Kafirs from Ustargat came to Urtsun to carry off his family. Orders were sent to the Urtsun people to detain the raiders pending enquiry, but they allowed the band to return taking the family with them.

The Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh has sent a message to the Bashgalis in Chitral, urging them to return to their homes and promising the restoration of their lands and houses. The messenger brought an unsigned letter from the Hakim, asking that the Bashgalis should be expelled from Chitral, and saying that as, by the Amir's orders, five hundred Bajauris had been refused admittance to Afghan territory, reciprocity of treatment was expected on the part of the British Government as regards the Bashgalis. The messenger was told that, if he could induce the Kafirs to return, no obstacles would be raised to his doing so. A number of sheep were raided by Bashgal Kafirs from the Bidir valley on the 29th July, but nearly all have been recovered. It is difficult to prevent these raids at this season of the year, when the range that forms the Chitral-Kafiristan boundary can be easily crossed. Captain

Kennion is arranging to make the Bashgalis, who have settled in Chitral territory, responsible for safeguarding the frontier.

6th October, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 179*, dated the 6th of October, 1898.

Kafiristan. – It is reported that the Kafirs of Deogal, in the Pech valley, have rebelled and killed eight Afghan sepoy. The Sipah Salar has ordered the garrisons in Bashgal to be reinforced, and has himself gone to the scene of the outbreak.

The Amir is settling a large number of Afghans in Kafiristan. Three thousand families are said to have already arrived in the country, and more are being sent there.

Chitral

Some refugee Bashgalis, now living in Bomboreth, recently brought a herd of cattle over from the Lutdeh valley, stating that it was their own property. On enquiry, it was ascertained that the cattle had been looted, and the Political Officer had them sent back to the Afghan Governor at Lutdeh, with a letter from the Diwan Begi of Chitral.

10th November, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 206*, dated the 10th of November, 1898.

Kafiristan

The cause of the Kafir rising in the Deogal valley is said to have been an order for the confiscation of 120 rifles from the people of Badel and Deogal. Seven Afghan sepoy were killed at the outset. The Sipah Salar, on hearing of the outbreak, marched to the scene with four regiments, and, after some fighting in which thirty Afghan sepoy are said to have been killed, completely dispersed the Kafir gathering.

22nd December, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 215*, dated the 22nd of December, 1898.

Kafiristan

About the middle of October, a section of the Pech valley tribes was still holding out and occupying a narrow defile commanding the entrance to their country. They have since been defeated

with heavy loss, and forty headmen were taken prisoners and sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar. The losses among the Afghan troops were also heavy.

The Afghan garrison in Kamdesh has been reinforced by 100 levies from Barkot. Both the Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs are showing an inclination to disobey the orders of the Afghan Mullas.

5th January, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 4,* dated the 5th of January, 1899.

Jalalabad district. – The recent rising in Deogal is said to have been caused mainly by the exactions of Mir Atta Khan, the new Sipah Salar. The disturbance is now at an end, and the people have made their submission.

The Sipah Salar is encamped with a force of 2,000 men at Narang on the right bank of the Kunar river below Chighar Serai. He is most unpopular with all classes, owing to his bad temper and covetousness.

The following is the disposition of the Afghan forces in Asmar and Kafiristan:—

At Asmar, eight regiments, aggregating 4,800 men, with 32 mountain guns. At Birkot, the Zabardast Regiment, 500 strong, 4 mountain guns, and a company of Hazara Sappers and Miners. At Lutdeh, 200 Lughmani khassadars.

At Kam[desh], 86 Asmari khassadars.

In the Veron [Parun] valley, 100 Lughmani khassadars.

At Pech, one company of Sappers and Miners.

Kafiristan

There are said to have been 3,000 Kafir hostages at Kabul: A Kafir Regiment is being enlisted, and the rest are being released. As a rule the Kafirs are well treated. The Afghans estimate the population of Kafiristan at above 60,000.

2nd February, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 18,* dated the 2nd of February, 1899.

The Amir is said to have appointed General Faramurz Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Herat, the Commander-in-Chief of Afghanistan in place of the late General Ghulam Haidar Khan.

A batch of 100 Kafir men, women and children have arrived in

custody from Kafiristan, and will be kept in confinement until they consent to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

Jalalabad. – It is rumoured that the Sipah Salar Mir Atta Khan will shortly be succeeded as Sipah Salar by the son of the late Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan.

Kafiristan

General Mir Atta Khan is reported to have made a clearance of the Pech Darra population, killing many and sending others to Kabul. It is said that the Amir has sent for Mir Atta Khan to Kabul. The Amir has sent some trustworthy men to the Bashgal valley to enquire into the numerous complaints of oppression received by him from Bashgalis. The mission will also visit the other valleys of Kafiristan. It is rumoured that the Hakim of the Veron valley having incurred the Amir's displeasure has fled to Peshawar.

9th March, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 41*, dated the 9th of March, 1899.

Kafiristan. – Of 13 Kam headmen, who were kept as hostages at Kabul, 12 have returned to their homes: the Amir has ordered the thirteenth to remain at Kabul another year. Fifty slaves from Kam and Mujash recently returned to their homes, having been set free by the Amir. All but four have announced their intention to return to the Amir's service. Thirteen persons were recently deputed by the Amir to visit Kafiristan, and enquire into the condition of the people and whether they were oppressed by His Highness's officials. The deputation travelled by Pech to Veron, Waigal, Kam, Mujash and Lutdeh, and then returned by Asmar to Kabul.

11th May, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 85*, dated the 11th of May, 1899.

Asmar. – The Afghans are constructing an 8-foot road along the right bank of the Kunar river, between the bridges at Asmar and Narsat, in continuation of the road from Jalalabad to Asmar. Some discontent is being evinced by the Narsat people, who are compelled to work on the road without payment.

Kafiristan

The Amir is said to have given orders for the raising of six new regiments, all the men for which are to come from Kafiristan. The majority are to be enlisted in the Ramgal valley; but the Wai, Veron, Katwar and Bashgal valleys are to be indented on.

8th June, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 106*, dated the 8th of June, 1899.

Chitral

The Afghan officials in Asmar and Kafiristan are reported to be in the habit of sending messages to the people of Lower Chitral, promising them grants of land if they will settle in Afghan territory. Several families of Kafirs from Lutdeh and Istorgat have emigrated to Chitral during the month.

6th July, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 131*, dated the 6th of July, 1899.

Chitral

A Bashgali Sheikh from Lutdeh has arrived in Bimboret with messages from the Amir to the Kafir refugees in Chitral territory. The messenger promises that, if they will return at once to Kafiristan, their lands and property will be restored to them, and adds that, if they do not avail themselves of this opportunity, they will not be allowed to return to Kafiristan hereafter.

11th August, 1899. *No. 80 C./Camp*, dated Nathiagali, the 11th of August, 1899.

Regular and Irregular Troops, Communications, &c., in Ningrahar, Jalalabad, Laghman and Kafiristan.

From – F. D. Cunningham, Esquire, C.I.E., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

To – The Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose, in original, a memorandum drawn up by the Political Officer, Khaibar [J. G. Lorimer], regarding the strength of regular and irregular troops in Ningrahar, Jalalabad, Laghman and Kafiristan and other particulars connected therewith, and to suggest that it be printed confidentially.

At *Barikot* is the Sofi or (so-called from its late Commanding

Officer) the Said Gul Khan Regiment. It is armed entirely with Sniders. There are six companies and the strength is about 500 to 550 men. There are two mountain guns (not screw) at Barikot: they are carried on bullocks (gaobar).

There are now no regular troops at *Bashgul*. The whole of the troops from *Shewa* to *Barikot* are under General Bahawal Khan whose head-quarters are at Asmar.

15. The following is a description of the route from the Kunar up the Pech Darra or Parun to Turkistan. This road was commenced by the late Sipah Salar Ghulum Haidar Khan and carried on by his successor Mir Ata Khan: it is really only a sort of track. *Chaghar Sarai to Barkandai* – about 6 miles. The road lies along the east or left bank of the Pech or Parun Sind. This river is 20 to 30 yards broad in its lower course, and logs can (at times at any rate) be floated down it. Barkandai consists of about 300 houses of Saufis (Muhammadan), supplies are abundant, and there is space for a considerable force to camp.

Barkandai to Nangalam. – About 5 miles on the same bank. Nangalam has about 400 houses of Muhammadan Saufis, and there is no want of supplies or space to encamp for an ordinary force. *Nangalam to Rachalam*, about 5 miles still on the left bank of the river. The village of Racholam is on the right bank, so is the camping-ground, which is confined. The river when high can only be crossed here by a bridge impassable for animals. The village consists of about 200 houses of Saufis.

Racholam to Sindzai, about 4 miles. Just before Sindzai the road crosses to the right bank by a bridge fit for camels. Sindzai is a village of 60 to 80 Saufi houses. There is plenty of space to encamp a force at Sindzai.

Sindzai to Gosala and Kalla, about 7 miles. The road now runs along the right bank. Gosala has about 350 houses of Saufis and there is room for a considerable force to encamp at Kalla.

Gosala to Safargar, 6 or 7 miles on the right bank of the stream through a deserted country. No supplies and no space for a camp at Safargar.

Safargar to Acharnu, 6 or 7 miles. This is a bad bit of road full of ascents and descents. At Acharnu there are about 10 houses of Kafirs converted to Muhammadanism and space for about 3 companies to encamp.

Acharnu to Butkhana, about 7 miles. The road is stiff, but not so difficult as in the preceding stage. There are no houses and no space for a camp at Butkhana.

Butkhana to Badgora, 6 miles. There is no village, and no supplies are obtainable on this stage, but there is room to encamp two regiments at Badgora.

Badgora to Kishtaki, 6 or 7 miles. Kishtaki is one of the 6 Parun villages which extend about 10 miles along the upper course of the Parun sind. They are (in order from south to north) Pashki (140 houses), Sasum (20 houses), Kishtaki (40 houses), Diwa (30 houses), Proz (50 houses), and Ishtawi (70 houses).

The inhabitants are Kafirs converted to Muhammadanism.

Kishtaki to Ishtawi, 5 miles.

Ishtawi to Kotal Sar, about 6 miles. In this last 6 miles there are 9 separate ascents. From the Kotal Sar to Minjan is a two days' march, and it is understood that the road to the Kotal from the Minjan side is not quite completed. At Minjan there is a detachment furnished by the troops in Turkistan: at present it consists of a company of the Logari Regiment under Captain Dad Muhammad, Logari. There are two natural ponds on the Kotal itself. Loaded camels can get up as far as Ishtawi: beyond that to Minjan baggage must be carried on ponies or mules. Stores are generally carried over the Kotal on coolies, however. Even in summer there is snow on the Kotal and at other seasons it is too deep to remove, and animals can only pass after a path has been consolidated through it. In winter snow falls as low down as Gosala, but there is not ordinarily enough to seriously impede traffic below the Parun villages.

The opening of this road into Turkistan and another by Bashgul and Zebak was due to the enterprise of the late Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who was a man of large ideas and wished to encourage trade. There were some signs of a commencement of trade, and some sheep and goats had been brought from Turkistan by the Bashgul route, and about 4,000 sheep and goats and 100 horses by Minjan, when the Amir closed both roads for traffic; the idea of freer intercourse between Turkistan and Peshawar *via* Nawagai being distasteful to him.

16. The following irregulars are said to be employed in the Kafir country:—

In the Parun villages at the head of the Pech Darra (see above) 40 Khassadars armed with English muskets under Sadbashi Babaji (Laghmani). In Katwar 30 Khassadars under Pinjhabshi Gholam (Kunari). These Khassadars are probably not men of the locality. At Mundesh (in the Darra-i-arangsiyah which runs into the Pech Darra from the east) 50 Khassadars (Muhammadan Saufis) under Pinjhabshi Mirgul (Saufi). At Kamdesh above (i.e., apparently north of) Bashgul 50 Khassadars (Asmaris) under Nawab Khan, Logari. At Baragamatal described as "on the frontier about 20 miles up the Landai Sind [Bashgul Valley]" two Behraks of Khassadars; one of Laghmanis armed with English muskets and one of Kunaris armed with country flintlocks.

17. The civil divisions of the country dealt with in this note are – (1) Jalalabad, (2) Laghman, (3) Kunar, Asmar and Kafiristan. Each of these is an independant charge: its revenue accounts are submitted direct to Kabul. The civil Governor of Jalalabad is Muhammad Umar Khan; of Laghman, Muhammad Ali Beg (better known as Wakil Khan); and of Kunar, Asmar and Kafiristan, Saifullah Khan of Kandahar. The civil subordinates in the last-named division were appointed by the military authorities, but it seems that the general administration has now been transferred from the military to the civil, as these subordinates now send their accounts to Saifullah Khan, who forwards them to Kabul, and not to General Bahawal Khan who commands the troops.

12th October, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 188*, dated the 12th of October, 1899.

V. *Kafiristan*

(3) *Kafiristan affairs.* – The Mullas originally sent as missionaries to Kafiristan have been recalled. The conduct of many of them has been unsatisfactory: they are said to have ill-treated the people of the country and in some cases taken their women by force for wives. Some of their number have been murdered by the Kafirs on account of their behaviour. It is reported that all of those now returned to Kabul who are found to have married Kafir women will be punished, and that the Governor of Jalalabad

has received orders to collect and send a fresh band of missionaries.

(4) The Amir's news-agent in Kafiristan was murdered there on the 13th of September, it is suspected by the people of the country.

(5) A large new grant has been made for constructing roads in Kafiristan, and it is believed that use will be made of compulsory military service in order to confirm the Kafirs in the national religion which has been forced upon them.

24th May, 1900. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 66*, dated the 24th of May, 1900.

Chitral. – Some Kafir refugees have returned to Istargatz [Gawardesh] in Afghanistan, leaving deserted the village of Kaoti where they had resided for two years. Their departure is not to be regretted, as they had been suspected for some time of encouraging their relatives in Kamdesh to carry off cattle, goats and sheep from Dammer and Arandu. Mer Jan, a refugee Bashgali headman and perhaps the most influential man among the Kam Kafirs, has also returned to Afghanistan. The Mehtar informed Captain Gurdon that there were seven hundred Kafir refugees in Chitral, of whom 28 were from Kamdesh and the rest from Lut-deh. The majority have settled in the Rumbur and Bumboreth valleys above Ayun.

Acknowledgments

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