

State-tribal relations in the British India: a study of the Yousafzai's armed resistance in the Northwest Frontier region

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Abstract

This paper aims to shed limelight on the Pakhtun tribal resistance in the North-West Frontier region (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) against the colonial masters of British India. The purpose of this research is to highlight the induction of the British troops into the North-West Frontier tribal areas in the form of different war campaigns and the local Pashtun tribes' responses in the form of armed resistance. This subject is essential for the researchers to know the reality of the Pashtun tribes and, more importantly, different wars fought between British India's army and the Pashtun tribes on different battlefields. The methodology adopted for this research is a descriptive study, and the data collection is based on secondary data, which is analysed through content analysis techniques. The period from 1862 to 1888 is taken under consideration, and the causes that triggered the clashes, such as the Siege of Malakand (North Camp), the Ambeyla Campaign (near Buner) and the Black Mountain Expedition (Hazara areas). The findings of the study are that the Yousafzai tribe presented massive resistance and proved their effectiveness in the wars.

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1. Introduction

The Indian North-West Frontier is now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Province, situated in Pakistan adjacent to Afghanistan. The inhabitants of this region are Pashtuns (also known as Pukhtuns and Pakhtuns or Pathans). Yousafzai is one of the most popular and brave tribes that resisted British colonial imperialism. This study investigates the wars fought between the Pashtun and the British army before the independence of Pakistan. The exact period from 1862 to 1888 is taken into consideration. This study has found the brief history of the Pashtun, their origin, especially the Yousafzai, also spells as the Esefzai tribe, and their main residing areas. The academic work will unleash the wars between Yousafzai Tribe and the British army with the underlining causes that triggered the clashes. Many have written about Pukhtun tribal resistance however no such research has yet been done specifically on the Yousafzai tribe. Ambeyla campaign, the siege of Malakand, and the expeditions on the black mountains are such historical events that are strategically and geographically some of the essential areas in the Pashtun territories having the majority of the Yousafzai Population. The research methodology is essential where the secondary sources are utilized to retain the relevant facts related to the academic works and support the subject with solid arguments. The theoretical framework is of intertextuality level in which the meaning and contextual backing of the subject will be utilized. Then the Ambeyla campaign at the present Swabi district near Buner and Hazara areas. The basic questions about the study will revolve around Yousafzai's resistance against the Britishers with several associated factors. The study concluded that Yousafzai and the sub-tribes stood rock solid against the British forces despite being outnumbered and outsourced by the latter. The prolonged siege and attacks never were fruitful and worthwhile for Britishers as they ruled undivided across sub-continent.

The present-day Pashtun novelist and poet Khalid Hussaini described the Pashtun (Afghans) in golden words “the only enemy an Afghan cannot defeat is himself,” the quotation portrays their worst enemy. Any foreigner with aggressive means cannot defeat them. The vast Afghan territory is a challenging, driven area and a nightmarish campaign for renowned warriors. The list stretches from Aryans to Alexander and Turkish (Central Asian) warriors to the recent military misadventures by the USSR and USA. The Pashtuns in the border region of Pakistan and Afghanistan are considered violent warriors in the literature. Furthermore, the literature presents that the representation of the tribe of Pashtun is based on overviews made at the time of the British army expeditions against the Pashtun tribe. Moreover, these stereotypes and generalizations against the Pashtun tribes have persisted since the Independence of Pakistan (Yousaf, 2019).

A famous historian once said that nothing is a more complicated ethnological issue than the Pashtun because they are true Muslims; perhaps Pashtun is the only cast in the World who are all Muslim. These are also true Muslims who do not compromise on their self-respect and independence. Pashtuns live in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Two terms are used for them, one is Pashtun, and the second is Pukhtun or Pakhtun (Clemmesen & Gen, 2010).

The study concludes that the presence of resilient forces from Yousafzai tribal forces showed massive resistance and proved mighty effectiveness despite being on the declining side numerically and by the scale of military skills. The research work is mightily concerned about determining the associated aspect that backed the resistance and how the resistance was the source of inspiration for the locals while proving a gigantic task for the Britishers. The terms and factors associated with the various British campaigns against the Yousafzai tribe will be unleashed. A statement of purpose for this academic work includes the induction of British states towards the Northwest Frontier tribal areas in the form of different war campaigns.

2. Theoretical framework

Intertextuality is used as a theoretical framework. Kristeva (1980) made an essential contribution to it as she introduced the term intertextuality. She also gives importance to the text's potential. A text is based on a heterogeneous collection of text. The text is constructed within the sphere of culture. The author and the reader connect in the horizontal dimension, while the text communicates with a frontal and synchronic literary corpus in the vertical dimension. Kristeva sees the text as a collection of texts rather than a single substance (Raj, 2015). The possible openness that the text contains unbolts the possibility of reading it from various perspectives. This shifts the text's hermeneutic and elevates the work of text interpretation to one of deft intervention into historical, cultural, social, and institutional domains. Interpretation must no longer be limited to academic precepts but must also consider the relationship between text History and politics (Raj, 2015).

3. Research methodology

Research methodology is the backbone of any study through which the data collection and conceptions are unfolded to attain the essential belongings. The research methodology can be defined as “research methodology simply refers to the practical “how” of any given piece of research. More specifically, it is about how a researcher systematically designs a study to ensure valid and reliable results that address the research aims and objectives” (Jansen & Warren, 2020). As the present study is about the wars fought in the past century, the research methodology comprises secondary sources, which can be defined as: “It refers to the data collected by someone other than the user, i.e., the data is already available and analyzed by someone else. Common secondary data sources include various published or unpublished data, books, magazines, newspapers, trade journals, etc.” (Ajayi, 2017). The sources of this study are books, research articles, commentary by historians, and periodical articles.

4. Theories about racial belonging of Pashtuns

About ten million inhabitants live in Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan. They are living under the identification of Pukhtun, Pashtun, Pathans, and Afghans. The population is extended one with much to offer in the dark and barren lands as the society is rich in terms of culture and

traditions with adherence to the pride associated with warrior ancestors who never bowed to foreigners and considered any fierce allegiance to anyone even fellow Pakhtuns as a defeat of their centuries-old traditional belonging (Yousuf, 2019). The racial organizations of Pakhtuns are the story of controversies as their written History is on the lesser side with much destroyed due to the quality of being perpetually under attack both locally and by foreigners (Yousuf, 2019).

One of the perhaps most controversial racial histories is Pathans, where multiple claims about their belonging are made and considered their war-related involvement with many nations ranging from Aryans to Turks till the 18th century, treating them as a homogenous caste will be considered called the wrong shots. The true identity of these people is still to be discovered. There are several theories about the origin of these people. Different theories have their views about these people; few have stated that they are Jews. Another theory states that they are Armenian, Hazarat Ibrahim s descendants, another theory states that they are from Bani Solymi, and another theory states that they are Aryans. Later on, they converted to Islam. Several Pashtun historians have stated that they are initially from the Bani Israel tribe. This concept has been taken from Khwaja Ni'mat Ullah. According to Khwaja Ni'mat Ullah, the origin of Pashtuns was indeed discussed during the rule of Mughal King Jahangir.

One Persian ambassador insulted the Pashtun people by saying that they were the offspring of DEVS, and he presented this story to the King. When the Afghan King Amir Khan Jahan Lodhi ordered heard this terrible story of the beginning of the Afghan people, the King ordered his secretary to rewrite the History of the Afghan or Pashtun people. The secretary sent a trustworthy delegation to different areas of Afghanistan to know the origin of the Pashtun. The delegation concluded that the Afghan people had come from Jerusalem. There are many stories about the origin of the Pashtun or Afghans that is yet to be discovered. However, the reality is that people live in Pakistan and Afghanistan permanently.

There is commendable work done in recent times by Olaf Caroe with the book name *The Pathans* and Sadullah Jan Barq, a local author, songwriter, poet, and researcher in his famous book "Pashtun our Nasliate E Hindukush," where the Pathans or Pakhtuns originality is being somehow established. Olaf Caroe established much of his work on Pathans' strategic importance and psychological settings and how the leadership's vital and decisive role, like other nations, is missing. On the other hand, Sadullah Jan Barq's book mainly emphasizes the notion of their racial belonging as he rejected the theory of Pakhtuns being the 12th Tribe of Israel (Jews) (Barq, 2012). For Barq, the missed link where the Pathans are attributed to some mysterious castes is false. He thinks that History is witnessed by the presence of a nation with a commendable force that resisted the foreign warriors, which can be used as a witness to the notion that even before the theories and associated nations, tribes, and castes, there was the presence of a strong nation in the territories of Pashtun belts (Barq, 2012). Thus, they are local with a rich and prolonged history of now six thousand years. The local nature has also proven that they never attack far-flung areas to take back the so-called belonging territories but

constantly get attacked, which means that their presence is local with the absence of any migration in the known and traceable History (Barq, 2012).

5. History of the Yousafzai Tribe

Yousafzai (Esapzai) is one of the largest tribes of ethnic Pashtuns. The caste enjoyed some prolific high life and was majority were considered in the Aristocratic caste as they got the lion's share in ruling Afghanistan. According to Sadullah Jan Barq, the Yousafzai name can be traced back to the ownership of “horses” they possess and are termed “Auss” and “Auspa” which means horses (male and female respectively), and “Zai” which means offspring (Barq, 2012). Thus, the Yousafzai name was associated with the tribe because of their horse-owning and horse breeding, which symbolized power and strength in those days (Barq, 2012). Nowadays, the people of this tribe live in KPK, Pakistan, and live in Afghanistan, including Kandahar, Kabul, and Kunar. This tribe also resides in India.

5.1. Military history of Yousafzai

History tells us that this tribe was a great warrior tribe. They fought against every aggressor on their land. It turns out that the ancient Yousafzai people of Kunar (Afghanistan) and the Swat Valley (Northern Pakistan) offered resistance to Alexander the Great when he invaded their lands in 327-326 BC (Majumdar, 1977). Yousafzai also resisted all Mughal rulers who tried to subdue them. However, it is said that the first interaction occurred when Ulugh Beg Mirza, (the Mughal Emperor Zahir-ud-Din Babur's uncle), is alleged to have murdered roughly 700 Yousafzai's in Kabul. Since then, tensions between the Mughals and the Yousafzai have started. Later on, Babur, Akbar, and Aurangzeb also attempt to conquer them successive have only heightened the resistance.

They also joined the Roshnai Movements of Pir Rokhan against the Mughals in 1580 and killed many Mughal soldiers sent by Mughal king Akber including the famous Beerball in Karaker pass between Swat and Buner under the leadership of Kalu Khan (Richards, 1993). Similarly, they revolted and even proclaimed Swat and adjoining valleys as their State. The Mughal emperor tried but failed to take back Swat from the Yousafzais (Gommans, 1995). To overthrow the Mughals and establish their reign, they even went as far as to proclaim themselves king and attack other areas. So, the resistance efforts of the Yousafzais in 1667 caused the last uprising between these long time rivals (Rashid, 2005). Yousafzai also resisted the Sikhs on many occasions. The famous battle was fought in 1823 in Nowshera in response to Ranjit sings aggressions on Peshawar had started in 1818 by pushing Azem Khan the Durrani Governor for Peshawar (Singh, 1986).

5.2. British Colonisation

The Britain's triumphant rise from imperial conflict with European powers allowed it to expand

faster than other nations. His aggressive policies to protect India, his most prized possession, brought him into contact with the Pakhtuns on India's northwest frontier. It was the annexation of Punjab in 1849, when British India approached the Pukhtun community, inhabiting the North–West rim of the Sub-continent, and established an immediate contact. History declares that the region inhabited by Pukhtun settlers was previously part of or under the jurisdiction of Sikh dominions in the neighbourhood. The dynamics at the time of the annexation of Punjab were such that Sikhs were in an administrative set-up and the Pukhtun community co-existed with that reality. However, with the annexation of Punjab, the Sikh lost its control, and the British Imperial administration took over.

Geographically, this region was a pathway for the intruders and the Pakhtuns had a long history of fierce determination to resist a single central authority who would want to rule them. The case was not different for the British India. During the First Anglo-Afghan War, the British Imperial administration of the India had some sort of interaction with the Pakhtuns (1839-40). However, after the Punjab was annexed in 1849, a consistent and direct interaction started between the British troops and Pashtun tribes. Up until 1901, the region was still a part of Punjab, but for administrative reasons, it was divided. The newly created province was subsequently split into five settled districts from tribal regions.

6. Analysis and discussion

6.1. Ambeyla campaign 1863

The Ambeyla pass is situated on the north side three hours' distance from Islamabad of Pakistan. A tinny road goes up around mountains rising on both sides. The old name of Ambeyla was Umbeyla with the same pronunciation but spelling differently. Still today few people use the road, and most people are aware of the dramatic events that happened in past between October and December 1863. The Ambeyla Campaign was not a small battle on the frontier. The British army did forty-two expeditions from 1857 to 1890 in which the British army suffered near about two thousand casualties, and they face almost one thousand casualties only in the Ambeyla campaign against the Pakhtun tribe.

The Ambeyla pass is still the same as in the past with little changes. The Ambeyla pass is still fully strewn with huge stones. Both sides of Ambeyla pass are rough and covered with bushy and dense herbs and shrubs. The main position of the Ambeyla campaign is still certainly identifiable. The main difference may be there because most of the vegetation is cleared from the valley top. The author visited Ambeyla top two times first in 1993 with a team of military experts and an American diplomat, and second in 1994 with a British defence advisor. Sadly, no foreigner and no diplomat cannot visit the place without a personal security squad.

The British fully established their authority in the whole sub-continent afterward the 1857 war of independence. However, the Yousafzai Pakhtuns were not fully suppressed. In 1824, a sect

with the name of Wahabi Islamic ideology had been established that fought against the Sikh rule. The founder of that sect Mubarak Shah declared Jihad (Holy war) against the British. Mubarak Shah who are deserter from the 55th Native infantry, later on, he was defeated by Brigadier John Nicholson. Fortunately for the British, Mubarak Shah appealed for support but that was limited. He set on a camel with his caravans and visited the Mardan, Peshawar, and the Attock areas to make the people against the British. In the year 1863, the British Indian government decided on a final expedition against the Mubarak Shah, the British called him a “Hindustani fanatic”. The Wahabi sect of Islam started by the Mubarak Shah is more similar to that practiced nowadays in Saudi Arabia and Al Qa’ida on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Mitchell, 1895).

On October 20, the British army move into the Ambeyla Pass, but the situation suddenly went on wrong. Initially, the artillery and baggage proved sadly insufficient on the top of the Ambeyla Pass. The expedition is called up for 48 hours on the first night because they are waiting for baggage and artillery to arrive. By making fail the plan of the British army the opposition won the loyalties of other Yousafzai sub-groups. The failure of the British army was because of poor planning and weak intelligence. The 6,000 British armies face the 15,000 local people in a country other than his own with an undependable and extensive line of supply. The British face hugely losses of 238 killed and 670 wounded personnel in the Ambeyla Campaign on the other hand the rebels (in the eye of the British army) lost 3000 men.

Craig Pickett betrays little of his fierce past excluding the few pebble breastworks that have lasted. The Pakhtun gave the name Katlgar or “the place of Slaughter”. Nowadays, people know very little about these campaigns to feel proud of the resistance presented to the British rule, especially the people who are confused regarding the Ambeyla Campaign with later battles in the Malakand rea in 1895 and 1897. For the British, the memories are still alive in the form of well-preserved graves in the old cemetery at Mardan near the chapel of the Corps of Guides.

There are many memorials of British officers in churches in India and Pakistan. The most important element of the Ambeyla campaign was the Yousafzai warriors, who show great courage while fighting on both sides. Similarly, after 150 years, the Pakistan army has also tribal composition fighting Jihadists, enthusiastic to the same firm interpretation of Islam, in the same region. “One small glimmer of hope is that the most famous Yousafzai today is spreading a message of peace” (Biddulph, 1940). The Yousafzai tribe members gave a tough time to the British forces, and the War was dragged on for almost two months. Chamberlain believed that Yousafazai would not stand a week and soon be dispersed. However, to his amazement, they persisted and fought bravely. These tribesmen are known for their warrior nature, and they never fall back. Out of his pride, Chamberlain did not call for reinforcement or withdrawal.

There was a fierce fight on both sides. However, the British forces were superior in weaponry

and were more of an organized military. On the other side, the tribe members were not army men and were not well organized. They also lacked advanced weapons such as rifles and ammunition. Some tribesmen even could not use the rifles, even if they got them by chance in the fighting. During the fight, Crag Piquet became the centre of the War. As the British commander was charging from there, the tribe members focused on this side more.

The Crag Piquet was lost to Pakhtuns twice but was soon recaptured by the British. The British government also demanded an immediate victory and an end to the expedition and asked Chamberlain about the War's situation. The government wanted the Campaign to be ended by November, but it was not that easy. After three weeks, Chamberlain could not hide the situation from his superiors and called for reinforcement. After the call for reinforcement, the British government sent General Sir Hugh Rose to help Chamberlain subdue the Pakhtuns. Hugh Rose gathered many animals for transportation — some 2100 mules and 4200 camels from Nowshera and Mardan.

Chamberlain was seriously wounded after leading a counter-attack on the Crag Piquet himself by this time. General Rose quickly sent Major-General Garvock to replace Chamberlain. General Rose also gave strict orders not to take any offensive action until he arrived at the place himself. However, before General Rose could reach the battlefield to take charge, the three new battalions under the command of the Garvock took charge and attacked the tribe members. When Major-General Garvock arrived at Ambeyla Pass and observed that the tribe members had suffered heavily, any wait could strengthen them again. He thus charged the Yousafzais on December 15, and a quick victory followed.

The Garvock forces were also supported by the 11th Bengal Cavalry led by Colonel Dighton Probyn VC, strengthening the British position on the battlefield. The British forces descended the Ambala Pass and entered the Ambala village by December 16. Soon the counter-attack reversed everything, and the British forces withdrew to Ambala Pass. The British realized that they could not win the War by force but by talks. They tried diplomacy instead of War and won over a few local influential Khans who set the scene for agreement. The agreement's content was that the British forces would leave Buner peacefully if the tribe members let them burn the outpost of Malka village.

The agreement was acted upon, and on December 22, the British forces went to Malka and burned a house that they thought was the hiding place of rebels who attacked the British caravans in the plains of Nowshera and Mardan. On December 23, the Ambala Field Forces withdrew peacefully to Hassan Abdal — officially ending the expedition by Christmas. The losses were significant on both sides. However, the British did not anticipate such a significant loss due to this small Campaign. The fallacy of British commanders met disappointment when they confronted the brave warriors of Pakhtuns.

Pashtuns also lost much to the British might in this little war. According to Glasgow Cathedral,

the British lost 1000 soldiers in this battle. These 1000 soldiers were only British. The number of deaths on the official documents and sites is considered an understatement. Also, this number is shown by the British government itself. According to local sources of the Buner, the British lost almost 3000 men in the battle. Most British lost their lives on Crag Piquet as their commander was charging from there. The tribe members targeted Crag Piquet, and the soldiers showed robust resistance. On the other hand, according to the sources, the Yousafzai tribe members lost some 3000 men.

This was the costliest battle for men, and 1,000 British soldiers lost their lives in a single war. Also, it was one of the few wars in which the British gained nothing but tried to find means to withdraw. They were given easy passage to withdraw to Hassan Abdal soon. According to local sources, the British burned an empty mud-house according to the truce and ended the fight. The British forces could not realize their dream of conquering Buner like the Mughals and Sikhs, who tried to subdue this region but failed miserably. The locals renamed the Crag Piquet 'Qatalgah' 'Place of Slaughter' after the end of the War. After this War, the British and the Yousafzai Tribe remained in relative peace and never fought again.

6.2. Black Mountain Expedition, 1888

The October to November 1888 Black Mountain Expedition, also known as the 'Hazara Field Force 1888' was one of the first significant operations on India's North-West Frontier in the latter two decades of the nineteenth century. The former Sikh state of Punjab was located in the North-Western Frontier of British India in 1888. This followed the Indus River till it came to a halt just before the Black Mountain. The tribes participating in this operation resided on the east or left bank of the northern stretch of the Indus River beyond the boundary, near the Black Mountain. Hassanzais and Akazais are Pathan tribes (both sub-clans of the Yousafzai, being descended from sons of Yusuf, said to be the ancestor of the tribal group). The Hassanzais were a ten-clan people who resided on both Indus River banks and had a military force of roughly 2,000 men (Wylly, 2012).

To the north of the Hassanzais, the Akazais controlled a part of the Black Mountain. The Akazais were divided into four sub-clans and could deploy roughly 1,500 combat men. The tribe members' primary weapons were long jezails or muskets, swords, shields, and knives. Malik's, headmen, and religious leaders would give orders to a group of tribal fighting men, but no Pathan felt bound to follow them. Rather than command, joint enterprise and combat experience led movement throughout the battlefield. Pathans were mountain combatants who were quick, agile, and experienced. Due to the Pathan code, individuals, communities, and tribes quickly became embroiled in blood feuds. The Pathans would set their quarrels aside and fight the invader when confronted with an external foe. Many of the tribes invaded British territory from over the border. There were strong ties between the people of the Agror Valley, who lived under British control, and their relatives beyond the border, heightening tribal anger toward the boundary, which was a foreign and unfathomable idea to them. The British pattern

of invasions into the North-West Frontier resulted in the construction of tracks, roads, and bridges and the establishment of garrisons at strategic locations.

The single-shot, drop-action Martini-Henry breech-loading rifle was distributed to British troops. The Martini-Henry rifle was provided to Indian troops in 1888, and many regiments in the Hazara Field Force received it. The Snyder rifle, a straightforward adaption of the muzzle-loading Enfield rifle's breech-loader, was still used by the last Indian troops. Both guns were equipped with a bayonet. The RML (rifled muzzleloader) cannon, which was disassembled and hauled on mules, was employed by the Indian Mountain Batteries. The more contemporary 2.5-inch RML muzzle-loading rifled cannon was utilized by the Royal Artillery Mountain batteries. Brigadier-General Galbraith crossed the Indus on the west bank with 1,450 riflemen and three cannons on October 13, 1888, and burnt the Hindustani settlement of Maidan. The previous battle frightened the Hindustanis, and little resistance to the assault was made. On the same day, an escort led by Brigadier-General Channer arrived at Kanar from the Second Column (Wylly, 2012).

Before Hassanzai capitulated and dispatched a *Jirga* (the deputy of tribal elders) to Oghi to seek peace on November 2, 1888, many villages on both sides of the river, including Kotkai, were burned. On October 4, 1888, at 6 a.m., the First Column marched from Dilbori, a concentration site near Oghi Fort, to its first bivouac, a distance of about three miles across steep terrain with only the most basic of pathways. Before being forced back, tribe members assaulted the bivouac, injuring several camp followers and stealing 17 mules. The next day, the column advanced to the boundary and took control of the Chitabat ridge. Members of the column toiled to build the trail to allow the passage of baggage animals all along the route, despite constant harassment by tribe members in the surrounding woodlands and mountains.

The shortage of water and food for the animals on the Chitabat Ridge was a problem for the First Column on October 6, 1888. The 5th Gurkhas accompanied the cargo mules back to Dilbori, while the Hazara Mountain Battery was ordered back to Mana-ka-Dana. Five Northumberland Fusiliers companies and the 3rd Sikhs moved over the border to seek water. In the valley, a spring was discovered. When the 3rd Sikh companies were attacked, they were stationed atop the crest. The Sikhs moved quickly, and the Northumberland Fusiliers attacked the tribe members from behind, killing a number of them. Before returning to the main body on the Chitabat Ridge, the army burnt a nearby hamlet and grabbed the crops. There were no injuries among the army, but 30 tribesmen were slain. That night, the bivouac was not assaulted.

On October 7, 1888, the column remained in Chitabat. On October 4, 1888, the Second Column, led by Brigadier-General Channer, commander of the Second Brigade, departed Kulakka and marched down the Bachar spur, eventually reaching the boundary at Bampur Gali on October 5, 1888. There was very little resistance. On October 6, 1888, the Second Column marched southwest along the crest, which the border followed, to Nimal, taking up the Third

Column's bivouac. The Sappers improved the track during the march to allow the column and its luggage to pass, which was a time-consuming and challenging job. The column stayed at Nimal from October 7 until October 11, 1888, when the Campaign's first phase ended.

When the brigadier arrived in Thakot, the Seaforth Highlanders' pipers played the pipe melody 'Oh but you have been a long time coming as he marched his army through the hamlet. Because the British troops had not reached this region of the nation during the operations in 1868, the area's residents were thought to be invulnerable. The troops came under fire from the settlement of Daut, across the Indus River, and from the heights above Thakot in the afternoon of October 27, 1888. The Gatlings were used to put out the fire from the heights, which the Khyber Rifles and the 34th Pioneers then ascended. The following day, before departing the Thakot region, the artillery bombarded the burned-out settlement of Daut. That was not harmed since the locals did not resist. The troops then retreated to Serai and Maidan on October 30, 1888. The Allai tribe, farther to the northeast, was the penultimate hostile region. The Malik, Arsala Khan, failed to submit by the deadline, which had passed on October 30, 1888 (Ahmad, 2019).

6.3. The Siege of Malakand

Nowshera Cantt is situated on the bank of river Kabul from where the Malakand field force was operated. The Nowshera garrison consisted of the cavalry native and British, and one native battalion of infantry that was deployed at the front. The barrack of the soldier was used as a hospital. The Nowshera Cantt was under the command of Colonel Schalch at the time of the siege of Malakand. The distance from Nowshera to Malakand pass is forty-seven Kilometres, the distance was divided into four stages. At that time there was a Tonga service were used for traveling that took about four hours to reach its destination. At the time of deployment of field force and officers because of rush and traffic, the distance was usually covered ten to twelve hours later the Tonga service was reduced. While crossing the bridge on the river Kabul and traveling fifteen miles brings the traveller into Mardan. Mardan is the home of the Corps of Guides. At that time Mardan has excellent grounds for Polo and comfortable rest houses. It has the only world Guides' cemetery for the passer to see it. Mardan is a pleasant green spot. It was a resting place under the tree, and the field of playing and living barrack are very close to the fields. It has borne the dead bodies of wardens of the marches of successive generations killed during the frontier line. In the world there is not any place where soldiers might lie in the brave company. Passing from the area of Mardan, the road is dusty with the surrounding area is arid and barren.

“This description applies to the autumn season. In the winter and spring, the country is green and the air is cold for a time.”

While approaching the mountains of Malakand, the colourful mountain is seen from the Tonga. A shallow stream of Jalala which is the tributary of River Kabul from there a second stage is started. The journey is restarted after changing the ponies. During peacetime, a small mud fort

is an indication it was extended at the time of war into a large camp encircled with entrenchment. The road towards the mountain looks like a white line and the trees on both sides are ceased. The areas are crossed boiling heat having bitter dust. The country around is red having hot weather. In front, the darks and threatening wall of the mountains are rising. The Dargai is situated at the foot of Malakand pass, it has also a fort of mud which was enlarged during the time of operations. The fort is safeguarded by the mountain of Malakand pass can be seen which is cleft in the line of the mountain (Churchill, 1898).

The British writers plus Churchill and HC Thomson have mentioned in their writing about Umra Khan. Umra Khan belongs to the areas of Dir Barawal and was born in 1860. The different areas of Bajaur and Dir were ruled by the Khans at that time. The father of Umra Khan, Aman Khan was an influential and powerful person. After the death of his father the elder brother of Umra Khan got his father's seat which made Umra Khan vulnerable, and he leave the area and remained in Peshawar. He got a rifle from a British regiment, killed his brother and ruled the area, and present firm resistance in front of Britisher by earning the title of "Napoleon of Afghanistan" as a fearsome warrior. He presents a great role while representing the Yousafzai during the Malakand war and continued a step towards splendid resistance years.

The British garrison was besieged from July 26 to August 2, 1897, in Malakand. The Britishers were against the member of the Pashtun tribe whose land were divided by the Durand line- a border between British India and Afghanistan. The Durand line was made after the end of the Anglo-Afghan wars, the purpose of this line was to stop the influence and spread of the Russian Empire towards the Indian subcontinent.

The subsequent chaos led to the rise of Abdullah, who was *Faqir* (a Muslim mendicant) Pashtun of the Yousafzai tribe of 10,000 army personnel as least to stand against the British garrison in Malakand. Although the British troops were dispersed at various weak points, a small cantonment in Malakand South and the small fort of Chakdara managed to hold out against a much larger Pashtun force for six days. The siege was lifted when a relief column was sent south from the British positions to assist General William Hope McLean, the commander of the British forces in South Malakand. Second Lieutenant Winston Churchill accompanied the rescue force and published his experience in "The Story of the Malakand Field Force" (Churchill, 2010).

The competition between the British and Russian empires in the late nineteenth century, which Arthur Connolly called "The Great Game" centred on Afghanistan. In the eyes of the British, Russian expansion threatened to ruin India, the "jewel in the crown" of the British Empire. The British feared that Afghanistan would become a hotbed of Russian aggression as tsarist forces occupied Khanate after Khanate in Central Asia. In response, the British launched the first Anglo-Afghan War in 1838, attempting to establish a dummy administration under Shuja Shah. However, without British military support, the dictatorship was short-lived and unsustainable.

Tensions escalated when the Russians sent an uninvited diplomatic mission to Kabul in July 1878, and Britain requested the Afghan king (Sher Ali Khan) to accept the British diplomatic mission. In September, the operation was withdrawn from the Khyber Pass, and by November the British and Afghans were at war. After these two wars against the Afghans ended, British partitioned Afghanistan and British India (now Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces) in 1893, enforcing the Durand Line. It was named after Sir Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of the British government. The Amir of Afghanistan (Abdur Rahman Khan) and the delegates of the British Empire agreed, but the Afghans strongly disliked it. The intention was that it will act as a buffer zone to prevent Russian influence from spreading into British India.

In 1897, the British troops in Malakand received news of an uprising in nearby Pashtun villages. Major Dean, the British Political Agent, noticed growing resentment among the Pashtun soldiers stationed with the British. On July 23, his warnings were formally sent to higher commanders. However, little more than a minor encounter was expected. During July, rumours circulated in the Malakand bazaars that a new religious leader, Sayyidullah Sartoor Faqir (also known as Mulla of Mastun), would come to wipe out the British Imperialism and wage jihad. The British referred to Sayyidullah as “Azeem Faqir”, “Mad *Faqir*” or “Mad Mullah” while the Pashtuns referred to him as Lewanai Faqir or Lana, meaning “God's Intoxicant” (Beattie, 2013).

On July 26, local spectators enjoying a polo event near North Camp, Malakand became aware of the approach of a Pashtun resistant group and fled of the area. Dean told Brigadier Gen. MacLeohan, head of the Malakand troops, that “matters have taken a very bad turn” and that armed Pashtuns were gathering nearby. Lieutenant P. Elliott-Lockhart left Mardan (32 miles (51 km) away) with reinforcements at 1.30 am. At 9.45 pm the watchmen received the last message that *Faqir* had crossed the Khar and gone to Malakand. The telegraph also indicated that neither the Levies nor the masses would oppose him and that the Pashtuns had occupied the hills to the east of the camp. Shortly thereafter, the communication line was closed (Hopkirk, 2001).

After 10 pm on the night of July 26, a messenger arrived with information that the enemy had reached the town of Khar, three miles from Malakand. Immediately the bugle started blowing inside the camp. Lieutenant-Colonel McRae, commanding the 45th Sikhs, two units of the 31st Punjab Infantry, two guns of No. 8 Mountain Battery, and a squadron of the 11th Bengal Lancers, were to be sent to Amanda Pass, four miles away — With orders to hold office. However, the Pashtun column had already reached the southern Malakand camp, surprised the British guards, and opened fire with guns. McRae hastily sent a small party of troops under Major Taylor along a road to the right of the camp to assess the enemy's strength and position. Lieutenant-Colonel Macra later followed him with his small force, where they intended to intercept the invading army by infiltrating the gorges.

McRae and a group of approximately 20 soldiers opened fire on the Pashtun tribe members and started a 50-yard combat retreat before coming to a halt to stop the onslaught. Taylor died instantly after being fatally wounded; McRae received a neck wound. Nonetheless, reinforcements under Lieutenant Barff's command had allowed the British to resist the Pashtun onslaught by 2:00 a.m. "There is no doubt that the gallant resistance made by this small body in the gorge, against vastly superior numbers, until the arrival of the rest of the regiment, saved the camp from being rushed on that side, and I cannot speak too highly of the behaviour of Lieutenant-Colonel McRae and Major Taylor on this occasion" wrote General Meiklejohn in his official dispatches (Churchill, 2010).

Meanwhile, Pashtun troops successfully attacked the camp in three other areas, and the picket lines of the 24th Punjab Infantry were quickly overwhelmed. The Pashtun snipers posted on the neighbouring roads took over the market and surrounding buildings while causing damage throughout the night. Other troops of the 24th, led by Lt. Clemo, recaptured the position and held it until 10:45 p.m. The shooters forced them back. The Pashtun forces achieved success in many other areas as well.

Lieutenant Watling, who was in charge of a detachment of British troops defending the ammunition depot at Quarter Guard, was wounded. As a result, the stock of ammunition was lost. McLean led a small detachment of sappers, including the 24th and Captain Holland's troopers, to recapture the ammunition dump of the previous attack, Clemo and Lt. Manley. Holland and the general were wounded, and the force was severely reduced, but the third attempt was successful. However, the constant firing of the besieged Pashtun forces wounded several British commanders, which allowed Klimov to take command of the 24th platoon. Lieutenant Edmund William Costello rescued a wounded Constable during a firefight on July 27 at 1:00 a.m. and was later awarded the Victoria Cross. As the night escalated, reinforcements arrived from the nearby British mountain fort that had been overlooked by the Pashtun troops until now. Around 4:15 p.m. the attacking soldiers withdrew with their killed and wounded. The British suffered heavy officers and 21 soldiers were killed (Khan & Bilal, 2018).

Although, the garrison at Malakand North was in an exposed position it did not face much action on the first night of conflict. They have spent their first night deploying artillery batteries and flares and shooting. Meiklejohn ordered surveying the area, during the survey Major Gibbs who was the commander of the force came across a large number of Pashtun tribe members in the valley. He was told to gather his soldier and supplies to them to the southern camp from Malakand North. The final soldier came out from the north camp at 8:30 a.m. on the 27th and reached Malakand South while fighting the Pashtun tribe. The news of the Malakand besieged garrison reached into the Nowshera Cantt where the 11th Bengal Lancers, together with the 38th Dogras, 35th Sikhs, No.1, and No.7 British Mountain Batteries, moved out to release the garrison. In the meantime, the Malakand South, units of the 24th headed by Climo deterred more Pashtun charges, capturing a Pashtun flag. The first of the British cavalries troops from the Corps of Guides under Lieutenant Lockhart arrived at about 7:30 p.m.(Churchill, 1898).

The 45th Sikhs mounted across the main road into the camp, armoured by 100 men from the Guides and two cannons, while the 31st Punjab infantry held the centre; the 24th, under Climo, protected the north side of Malakand South. Subadar Syed Ahmad Shah of the 31st controlled the bazaar surrounding area and leave the marketplace unattended. The Pakhtun tribe started a harmonized attack on the all-British position around 8:00 p.m. and fired “thousands of bullets”. The Pashtuns finally succeeded in breaking the defenders although Subadar Syed Ahmad Shah and his soldiers stop him for a lot of time. The Order of Merit was given to the outstanding sepoy and their commander. The 24th and VC winner Costello suffered an arm wound and faced many attacks. The Pashtun army went back two Kilometres because the Climo successfully led two companies in a counter-attack while using rifle fire and muskets. As per records of British archives, on the night of July 27, 12 sepoy were murdered, and Costello was wounded (Churchill, 1898). On July 28, Major-General Sir Bindon Blood was handed a division of “6800 bayonets, 700 lances or sabers, and 24 cannons” with commands to retain.

“The Malakand, and the surrounding posts, and of operations against the neighbouring tribes as may be needed.”

General Sir Bindon reached on July 31 to Nowshera to assume command, and on August 1, he received news that the Pashtun troops had switched their focus to the neighbouring British fort of Chakdara. Chakdara was a small under-supplied fort having out 200 men since the early Malakand raids began and had latterly transferred the signal "Help us" to the British troops. General Sir Bindon reached at noon on the same day into Malakand.

Meiklejohn was leading the 24th and 45th and guns from No. 08 command of Malakand South when General Sir Bindon's force started marching from Nowshera to Chakdara. The Guide cavalry of General Sir Bindon faced casualties of two officer's ranks, one sepoy officer was wounded, and 16 other ranks were killed and injured while encountering the opposing force of the Pashtun tribe. General Sir Bindon arrived after the unsuccessful efforts and designated Reid as commander of the soldiers at Malakand South, giving Meiklejohn headship of the rescue mission. 1,000 soldier of infantry, two squadrons of the 11th Bengal Lancers, two squadrons of the Guides Cavalry, 50 sappers, two cannons, and a medical detail made up the rescue column. Despite a night-time attack by Pashtun soldiers, it was restored on August 1.

On the next day marched toward the Malakand North to save themselves from the Pashtun tribesmen sharpshooters who still held the heights nearby the Malakand South “cup.” The morale of the British army was down and formed a rescue force at 4:30 a.m. on August 02; however, they successfully broke the encirclement of Pashtun tribesmen without having casualties by using tactics of distracting attacks. General Sir Bindon said that “the Pashtun troops were like ants in a disturbed anthill”. In the meantime, the 45th Sikhs attacked adjoining Pashtun fortifications, while the 11th Bengal Lancers and the Guides cavalry got control of the besieged fort at Chakdara. The British army face suffered 33 casualties due to the fight (Edwards, 1889).

After the siege of Chakdara fort, Malakand South and North the Malakand Field Forces continued their campaign against the Pashtun tribesmen. The British army shortly after the siege ended evacuated two brigades of Malakand South to a temporary camp to ease the strain on the overcrowding. Saidullah's attack on August 05 was the light army, but on August 08, he regroups the Pashtun tribes and attacked the Shabkadr fort in Charsadda of the British garrison near Peshawar. The continuing loyalty of caring Pashtun levees protecting the British supply lines to Chitral is endangered due to these attacks, putting supply lines and their minute escorts at risk. In response, General Meilejohn used a tactic by dividing the Pashtun army into half while marching onward into Pashtun areas on August 14 and retreating them into Lanikai, while the British army engaged with several thousand Pashtun tribesmen. The British army lost two officers and eleven soldiers and continued to combat Pashtun tribe members the whole day (Burgess, 1908).

According to Churchill, the Yousafzai tribe under the command of Saidullah attacked the British army, and there was a considerable loss that the British army had to bear. The kind of courage and bravery which the Yousafzai tribe showed in the War against the Huge British army was commendable. They beat the British Armed forces even though the warrior of the Yousafzai tribe were in lesser numbers than the British army. The British army had modern weapons (then) and proper backup forces, constantly helping its warrior. The British army also had medical care and food, and weapon supply facilities, but despite all these resources, they were severely defeated by the Yousafzai tribe. History tells us that these tribes of Pakhtun tribes, especially the Yousafzai tribe, have never been defeated by any force. In those days, all the rulers of the subcontinent had tried to conquer these Northern areas, but they were defeated badly. Churchill says in his book that the Pakhtun, especially the Yousafzai tribe, were unbelievably brave and true fighters and that he has not met any other force or tribe which could compete with them in the field of War. In the view of Churchill (1897),

“Every inhabitant is a soldier from the first day he is old enough to hurl a stone, till the last day he has the strength to pull a trigger.”

7. Conclusion

The difficulties of the Pakhtuns' interaction with the British military were not resolved over the century. Since 1849, when the region was seized along with Punjab, the North-West Frontier problem has been of utmost importance to the British government. The local Pukhtun population did not readily accept British suzerainty as being acceptable in other Indian regions. The Pakhtuns' resistance to accepting foreign control was influenced by several causes. Additionally, the British Imperial administration of India had several reasons to restrain the locals who favoured independence. The study is about the struggle of the Pakhtun resistance in general while the Yousafzai tribe's wars is in particular. The time between 1863 and 1888 was under consideration because major expeditions against the Yousafzai areas were sent during these years.

In the Ambeyla campaign of 1863, the area and majority of the fighter were of Yousafzai's or its sub-clans. Similarly, the area of the Black mountains where the British sent many expeditions and Malakand where the history is full of wars and resistance by Yousafzais. During the siege of Malakand, the British army was severely defeated by the Yousafzai tribe in Pashtun. The gruff Yousafzai's warriors were seen as enemies. Churchill writes "Every inhabitant is a soldier the first day he is of stone-throwing age, until the last day he has the strength to pull a trigger ..." (1897), the food that the Yousafzai tribe, but other than all that, the Yousafzai fought courageously and defeated the British. The dream of the British did not come true. Before the British people, the Mughal Emperor and the Sikhs also tried to conquer these, but they were also severely defeated by these tribes, especially the Yousafzai tribe. In short, the Yousafzai tribe proved to be very energetic, a true warrior, and most importantly, no one conquered the regions of the Pashtun tribes. Later, when Pakistan was declared a separate state, these tribes decided to merge with Pakistan. Now, these areas are part of Pakistan.

The goal of the current study is to comprehend the phenomena of resistance in regions where Yousafzai Pashtuns predominates; ideally, it will spark fresh inquiries into the nature and mechanism of Yousafzai Pukhtun resistance. To integrate the Yousafzai Pakhtuns, the governments, or any agencies needs not resort to force or other forms of compulsion because history shows that such plans or strategies never manifested the goal. It will also be helpful to understand the current problems in Swat (re-emergence of Taliban) and easier to suggest solutions to them.

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