

The Malakand Jihad (1897):

An Unsuccessful Attempt To Oust The British From Malakand And Chakdara

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The fall of Constantinople, in 1453, to the Ottomans, "made the European Powers, interested in the Eastern trade, anxious to discover a new route beyond the control of the Turks."¹ Due to their favourable position, Portugal and Spain took the lead in the search for a direct sea-route to the East. Finally the Portuguese sailor, Vasco de Gama, with the help of an experienced Arab sailor, Majid, crossed the ocean and landed at the port of Calicut on the West coast of the subcontinent on 20th May 1498.²

The Portuguese were followed by other European nations, such as the Dutch, the Danes, the Germans, the English and the French. With the passage of time other European nations faded out and only the English and the French remained in the field in the subcontinent of South Asia. In the Anglo-French rivalry and struggle for supremacy, the English emerged victorious.

On the other hand the rapid decline and disintegration of the Mughul Empire had begun with the death of Awrangzib in 1707. Taking advantage of the internal disharmony, tug of wars and disputes, the English strengthened and increased their power and influence: The English East India Company became the paramount power and the "Muslim rulers were destined to receive the rudest shock of their history from a trading company backed by the naval might of the country of its origin".³ Thus like the Pashto proverb:

اور لسه راغله اود کور میرمن شوه

Came to take fire and became housewife,

The English became masters of the subcontinent.

In 1849, the English rule was formally established in Peshawar with the annexation of the Punjab; however, the Afghan tribal belt remained independent and Swat became a harbour of refuge for outlaws and refugees and opponents of the colonial rulers from the British territory,⁴ and a centre of anti-British sentiments. The Pakhtoons under the British control were, thus, constantly inspired from Swat, to rise against the British. Nevertheless, the British did not dare to attack and enter Swat and lift the, "veil that had not been raised since Akbar's armies had been driven out nearly three hundred years before."⁵

The Chitral Crisis and the Occupation of Malakand

Malakand is the first pass which pierces the mountains and "opens the way into the paradise of Swat".⁶ It is traversed by an ancient Buddhist road and early in the sixteenth century, the Yusufzai Afghans entered into Swat through this pass. During his campaign against the Yusufzais, Zayn Khan, Emperor Akbar's foster brother and general, built a fort here.

A reference to the crisis of Chitral is unavoidable. The first negotiations of the British government with the Mehtar (*mihtar*: Ar. chief, ruler) of Chitral, Aman al-Mulk, for the establishment of friendly relations and British influence in this region, took place in 1877. Due to his deep rooted hatred and dread of the Afghans and fearing aggression by the Amir of Afghanistan, Aman al-Mulk placed Chitral under the suzerainty of the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1878. This brought him in direct contact with the British Government of India. Since then, till his death in 1892, Aman al-Mulk did all that he could to maintain friendly relations with the British

Government.⁷

On August 30, 1892, Aman al-Mulk died leaving behind seventeen sons, who wrangled for succession to the Mehtarship of Chitral. Besides the sons of Aman al-Mulk, his brother Sher Afzal (Shir Afdal) also made his bid for the Mehtarship. He murdered Afzal al-Mulk, son of Aman al-Mulk who had become Mehtar after his father's death. At this Nizam al-Mulk, elder son of Aman al-Mulk, made a bid and, "securing the concurrence of the British authorities at Gilgit, he advanced towards Chitral, won over the people to his side, and caused the flight of his uncle back into Afghanistan (December 1892)."⁸ However, on January 1, 1895, Nizam al-Mulk too was murdered by his half brother, Amir al-Mulk and Chitral was again plunged into strife.

Finding himself in trouble, after the murder of his brother, Amir al-Mulk invited 'Umara Khan⁹, the ruler of Jandol,¹⁰ to his assistance. Accordingly, 'Umara Khan proceeded to Chitral with 3,000 men to assist Amir al-Mulk in spite of severe weather. In the mean time Amir al-Mulk repudiated his invitation and asked 'Umara Khan to go back.

However, the latter occupied Kila Drosh (Fort of Drosh) with the help of the leading men of the place. Sher Afzal, returning from Afghanistan, also joined him. 'Umara Khan asked Surgeon-Major Robertson, who had arrived at Chitral, that he should return to Mastuj. The latter reproved 'Umara Khan for the manner in which the demand had been made, and informed him that he had applied to the Government of India for instructions in this matter. In the mean time Major Robertson thought it advisable to occupy the fort (of Chitral) with the forces he now had with him, amounting to 400 men. Amir al-Mulk was deposed, and Shuja' al-Mulk, a boy of ten was recognized provisionally as Mehtar.¹¹

'Umara Khan and Sher Afzal made their advance into Chitral, ignoring the warnings and advice of the British officials at Chitral, Gilgit, Peshawar, or of those with the Asmar boundary mission.¹² 'Umara Khan was warned to withdraw from Chitral before April 1895, and to implement the order it was deemed necessary to dispatch the Chitral Relief Force. So, "orders were given for the mobilization at Peshawar of the First Division of the field army under Major-General Sir Robert Low."¹³ The main British army of some 15000 men was organized in three brigades to take part in the expedition.

A proclamation informed the tribes about the reasons for the passage of the army through their territory. They were assured that if they remained neutral and did not try to, "molest the passage of the troops no harm would be done to them or to their property, and that (the) Government had no intention of annexing their country."¹⁴ However, the sentiments and feelings of the tribesmen about the Chitral Relief Force and its passage through their country may be judged from the folk verse:

چرتہ لندن چرتہ چترال دے
بی ننگی زورشوہ فرنگیان چترال تہ خینہ

London and where is Chitral (how far-off are they from each other)?

Dishonour increases, Ferangis (the English) are proceeding to Chitral.

There were three passes from which the British troops could enter into the tribal country i.e., the Malakand, the Shakot and the Morah. So in spite of the British proclamation the tribesmen strongly held these three passes. To keep them divided the Government decided to threaten Morah and Shakot, and make the main attack on the Malakand¹⁵. The

Chitral Relief Force left Nowshera on April 1, under Sir Robert Low. The 1st Brigade was to threaten Shakot, and later to join the main body opposite the Malakand, while the Cavalry turned to the Morah pass. On April 3 the attack on Malakand was carried out by the 2nd Brigade, supported by the 1st, with the 3rd in reserve.¹⁶ The orders were issued to the Guides and 45th Sikhs to ascend the Malakand hills and to push the tribesmen to the right. However, the nature of the ground and the determined opposition of the tribesmen made their progress unexpectedly slower. So a frontal attack was made even before the effect of the fully developed counter-attack on the British left.

The tribesmen, half of whom were unarmed, at first defended themselves with great gallantry, against the well-equipped and well organized British troops. However, finding their retreat threatened and pressed in front by the resolute British advance, they were compelled to give way, and retreated towards the Swat river.¹⁷ They continued their resistance and according to Muhammad Shafi' Sabir, These unarmed Mujahids stopped the advance of the troops and artillery of the largest State of the World up to 7th April."¹⁸ Any how, in spite of their determined opposition, the British forces succeeded in making their advance and, "for the first time since the days of Zayn Khan, leader of Akbar's armies, a host from the south entered the green belt of the Swat valley."¹⁹

Being victorious in Chitral the British did not withdraw their garrisons from Malakand and Chakdara and contrary to their proclamation, occupied these sites. They established the Political Agency of Dir and Swat; which remained, "under the direct control of the Central Government due to its importance"²⁰ and Malakand was made its headquarter and a military post.

Outbreak of Jihad

In 1897, within barely two years of the occupation of Malakand and Chakdara, there started the most formidable revolt against the British arms that was ever witnessed even in the North-West Frontier of India, known for its frequent struggles against the foreigners.²¹ Though the tribesmen had been defeated but their hearts could not be won. They considered the presence of the British as a common danger. So, emotions ran high and there was great unrest in Swat and elsewhere in the tribal belt on the border. Under these circumstances the Sartor Faqir²² appeared in the Upper Swat in July 1897. He established himself at Landakai and announced that someone had sent him, and that other four (legendary) leaders were also to join him About the 20th and 21st July besides other claims of magical powers and that unseen support the Faqir proclaimed that his mission was to turn the British out of the Malakand and Peshawar.²³ Winston Churchill's first-hand account is:

As July advanced, the bazaar at Malakand became full of talks of the Mad Fakir (Sartor Faqir). A great day for Islam was at hand. A mighty man had arisen to lead them. The English would be swept away. By the time of the new moon, not one would remain.²⁴

In spite of all the prevailing excitements and developments Sartor Faqir was regarded as

a mad man by the authorities and their allies. The Thana (Thanra).Khankhel headmen, who were consulted on the subject, said on the 25th July to Major Deane (Political Agent) that no importance need attached, to his proceedings. The Mianguls²⁵ also advised to ignore him, and said that, "they would send a servant to remove him."²⁶

Therefore, the English gave little importance to the new movement at first. Later, due to the developments towards the end of July, the gravity of the situation could no longer be ignored. There fore, the troops stationed in the neighbourhood were alerted and asked to be ready, "for action at the shortest notice."²⁷ On the 26th July the situation became so grave that the authorities at Malakand summoned the Guides from Mardan.

The Sartor Faqir started his march from Landakai, on the 26th July. He announced that he would sweep away the British forces from Malakand and Chakdara within eight days. At first he was followed only by a few boys one of whom he proclaimed as the King of Delhi.²⁸ However, there was a marvellous response to his appeals and people began to join him as he proceeded. His progress, from Landakai to Thana and thence to Aladand, both villages in view of Chakdara post, appears to be a triumphant one and the British levies hastily retired, except such as joined his standard. All the headmen, with one solitary exception, were carried away by the popular enthusiasm, and by nightfall a resolute body of tribesmen was on the move to attack Malakand, while another party turned its attention to Chakdara.²⁹

Fighting at Malakand.

At 9:15 p.m. the news of the tribesmen's, approach at Malakand were brought to Major Deane. The alarm was sounded before the commencement of the attack by the tribesmen and a detachment of the 45th Sikhs was sent to stop their advance. The tribesmen compelled the British force to fall back and in a determined attack on the north and centre camps, they carried a detached post at Serai without resistance. They also succeeded in entering the camp, occupied by the sappers and miners, and carried off "a considerable quantity of ammunition before they could be ejected."³⁰

On 27th July the Guides arrived from Mardan. The tribesmen were now attacking all along the line. They were repulsed on other places except at Serai where they succeeded to set it on fire and compelled the garrison to retreat to its main position. On 28th July the 24th "Punjab Infantry made a counter attack while at the same time mobilization of (more) troops in India was ordered.³¹ However the tribesmen again made attacks, chiefly against the centre, and the troops were practically besieged. They occupied all the heights and continued firing all the day at the camp. At the evening they, again "displayed their usual energy on the centre."³²

The Faqir's standard became a rallying point for thousands of fighting-men from the Upper Swat, Buner, the Utmankhel country "and even more distant parts."³³ The tribesmen, who barely exceeded 1000 men on the first night, rapidly increased in number to some 12000 or more at Malakand and more than 8000 men at Chakdara. During the night of the 29th July the tribesmen attacked the flanks, especially the left. At the forenoon of 29th they began to trouble the forces on all sides; and in the afternoon and the night of 29th/30th they renewed their attacks all along the line. They rushed up to the *Sungars* (parapets of rock and stones, thrown up as a

barricade or fortification) in different parts as that was the night of the appearance of the new moon and of Friday and they "evidently meant to fulfil their promise of making their biggest effort on the night."³⁴ On the 30th July though relief in the form of the 35th Sikh and 38th Dogra arrived, "the wire between Malakand and Dargai was cut and the levy posts were burnt."³⁵ On the night of 31st the tribesmen made another all night attack "with great force and time after time charged right up to the Sungars."³⁶

Early in the morning of 31st July the tribesmen gave an easy time to the left and centre of the British forces, they concentrated on their right and sent a detachment to cut off the approach of the new British troops. As the arrival of more troops on the British-side marked the 31st, the Bunerwal came to assist the tribesmen. During the night of 1st August, the tribesmen, once more vigorously attacked the right and left of the British positions. However, the British forces succeeded to relieve Malakand and a relief column was ordered to move out to Chakdara. When the relief forces stepped into the valley, the tribesmen swarmed down from the heights and in the most reckless manner rushed to certain death.³⁷ The relief forces were strongly resisted on their way especially at Batkhela and Amandarah.

Like Malakand, the attack on Chakdara (Chakdarah) was also made on the night of 27th July simultaneously. At 10.15 p.m. (the alarm was sounded and the garrison manned their posts. The tribesmen attacked from the west, but due to incessant firing from the posts they gave up, and after a short while resumed their attack from the north-west. They made strenuous efforts to scale the walls with ladders but were repulsed. Their next attempt was the eastern side, however it was not sustained for long as they had to withdraw before the day light. At the same night the tribesmen also cut the telegraph wires and prevented communication with Malakand. On the 27th July they commenced their most determined attack. Time after time standard bearers, backed up by swordsmen, would charge straight up to the walls of the fort, only to fall riddled with bullets.³⁸

Their attack was resumed on the night of the 28th July as well and they surrounded the fort on all sides. They came up close to the wall but were again repulsed. After some hours they returned back with ladders and attacked the north-east corner of the fort. However, having failed in their attempts, they went back to the hills before day light. On the evening of that day they again advanced to the attack with 200 standard bearers. They worked their way up under the walls of the fort. However, all their attacks were repelled by steady fire from the walls. On 29th July they made a concerted attack against the signal tower and in spite of a very heavy fire, both from the tower and fort, they succeeded in reaching the doorway itself, and attempted to put it to fire.³⁹

More attacks were made from the 30th July to 1st August. The tribesmen loop holed the walls of the hospital, which was situated between the fort and the signal tower, and were thus able to command the interior of the fort.⁴⁰ On August 2, they made one more bid for victory and the situation became most critical for the hard-pressed British garrison, however, the relief forces reached to its rescue from Malakand, and it was saved. Thus heavy fighting continued at Malakand and Chakdara (relieved on August 1st and 2nd simultaneously), never actually ceased, and the tribesmen engaged the mighty British army for a full week to fight, "against untold odds."⁴¹ However, getting discouraged at the failure of their attempts to turn the British off the Malakand and Chakdara, they disappeared as quickly and as strangely as they had come, leaving behind them several hundred of their own and (of the) British dead.⁴²

Causes of the Outbreak

Describing the role of the Sartor Faqir, as the only possible and probable explanation of the rising H.W. Mills points out the difficulties of fully explaining the origin of the unprecedented outbreak. What was the lever that moved the 'mad Fakir'? Was it fanaticism pure and simple? If not who was responsible for initiating the whole movement which ended in convulsion around the British outposts? These questions still remain un-answered.⁴³

As has been already pointed out, the British arms faced the most formidable outbreak in 1897, on the North-Western Frontier of India, due to a number of causes.

The main cause of the whole matter appears to be the visit of the Durand Mission to Kabul and demarcation of the Frontier; and the subsequent movements of the British officers into the tribal territories made the tribesmen more suspicious and aggrieved. The result of the Turko-Greek war was also exploited by the religious leaders to sow the seeds of fanaticism against the Christian power. They further propagated that, "the subsidies paid by the Indian Government to various tribes were the price of that peace which the force of arms was powerless to insure (in the tribal belt)."⁴⁴

The successful operations of the Afghans in Kaffiristan also had inspired the tribes. It induced them to listen to the *mullahs'* call for *Jihad* to exterminate the British.

The British had retained Malakand and Chakdara, contrary to their proclamation, which generated fear of further annexations in the hearts of the tribesmen. The publication of a book on ' *Jihad* ' by the Amir of Afghanistan "impressed upon the people" the fact that the Amir "desired a *Jihad* and would actively assist those who raised it."⁴⁵

It has also been suggested that the rising was a 'scheme preconcerted from both Kabul and India' (and it) was intended to be a simultaneous one along the border, but the Faqir in his rashness precipitated the matters.⁴⁶

The Faqir's travelling to both India and Afghanistan and his stay there for many years do indicate that he might have had contacts with the Indian Mujahideen, the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and with the Amir and other influential persons of Afghanistan. The Indian factor, in the outbreak, is evident by the presence of the Faqir's second-in-command and companion,⁴⁷ "who is said to have been a *mullah* from India."⁴⁸

As far, as the Afghan factor is concerned, the religious figures and *Sipah Salar* at Asmar, Ghulam Haider, played an important role in collaboration with the Amir. Though the Amir denied any responsibility and disavowed the tribesmen and their action, his role cannot be minimised. The conference of the influential religious men (ulema) of his country, who are considered as the levers by which the fanaticism of a frontier tribe is set in motion,⁴⁹ held by him, paved the way for it. Obviously such a conference for maintaining peace was not required as the frontier was at peace at that time.

It may safely be concluded that due to the aforementioned causes "the rising was a purely religious affair",⁵⁰ and that inspite of his denial, the instigator was the Amir of Afghanistan; who excited the sentiments and fanaticism of the tribesmen by issuing a book on *Jihad* and worked through the religious men, the *mullahs* . He persuaded Ghulam Haider Khan, the *Sipah Salar* at Asmar, to write to the Faqir on the 20th of July to commence a *Jihad* and promised him help.⁵¹

Causes of the Failure

The attempt, of the Sartor Faqir and the tribesmen, to oust the British from Malakand and Chakdara was not a failure simply by the gallantry, undaunted courage and bravery etc. of the British forces, as H.W. Mills claims. He may be justified for such expression because: "It is especially difficult to rid ourselves of all bias in our feelings for our own people"⁵² and that the stone, "is the only thing that may be described truthfully as unbiased."⁵³

On the other hand, the tribesmen, each one of whom, according to Ghani Khan "will wash his face and oil his beard and perfume his locks and put on his best pair of clothes when he goes to fight and die";⁵⁴ too possessed and showed the same gallantry, courage and bravery etc. which Mills himself admits. Nevill's comments seem to be more relevant to the situation when he says that:

"At Malakand and Chakdara the same reckless impulse is to be seen which hurled the Mahdists against the British squares at Abu Klea, El Teb, and Omdurman, for the sake off a martyr's crown. To some extent the North-West Frontier tribes of India present an anomaly to the world in their methods of warfare. At times they show all the characteristics of well-armed but unorganized adversaries, at others the latent fire of the untamed barbarian blazes forth, and no epithet but savage can be applied to the class of warfare which is the result. The desperate and repeated attacks on the garrisons of Malakand and Chakdara are conspicuous examples of the savage side of the methods of war practised by the Muhammadan tribes inhabiting the north-western borderland of Indiabefore Malakand and Chakdara the tribesmen were religious maniacs for eight days, and advanced to the attack with a bravery which fully entitled those that fell to any reward that such a death may bring."⁵⁵

The tribesmen failed to achieve their goal due to a combination of causes such as: lack of planning for a long drawn war; the Faqir's false claims; no proper discipline and organization in their ranks; their unacquaintance of a long drawn war; false promises of help from the Afghan *Sipah Salar* at Asmar; lack of proper arrangements for the provision and supply of ammunition and food grain to the fighters and the Faqir's precipitation of matters, while the British supremacy in arms and ammunition, communication system and a regular, trained and disciplined army, made their success certain.

Nevertheless, "the inevitability of the outcome merely underlines the conceptualization of the rationale contained in *the jihad* by its participants; the struggle is more important than victory; the principle more important than the objective."⁵⁶

Consequences

Realising the serious nature of the outbreak, the Government of India lost no time and, on the 30th July, the Governor General in Council sanctioned the formation of the Malakand Field Force, under the command of Sir Bindon Blood, for holding Malakand and the adjacent posts

and for the punishment of the tribes involved. Early in August immediate formation of a reserve brigade was also decided upon to support the Field Force. Notwithstanding the fact that both Malakand and Chakdara had been relieved and saved by 2nd August "the task of punishment and prevention of further combination (of tribes) was taken in hand at once."⁵⁷

The Field Force under Sir Bindon Blood led the first punitive expedition in the Swat Valley, because it was observed that, "the waves of fanatical feeling which travelled from north to south along the western border of British India had its origin in the Swat Valley;"⁵⁸ and also because it was a recognized (so-called) religious centre for a long time. In spite of facing stiff resistance at various places in the valley and heavy losses, especially the death of H.L.S. MacLean and Lieutenant R.T. Greaves at Landakai and near village Kotah, the forces reached Mingora (Mingawarah) on the 19th August. From here reconnaissances were made to Manglawar, Charbagh and Gulibagh.

After a stay of four days at Mingora the force returned. So, the claim of the Swat Adabi Sangah cannot be corroborated that the, "Sartor Faqir did not permit the unholy steps of the English to be laid on the territory of Swat".⁵⁹

Similar punitive expeditions were sent against all those tribes who had participated in the Malakand Jihad. Similarly measures were taken to subdue the religious fervour and movements. Railway line was extended up to Dargai, in the foothills of Malakand. "A direct and far-reaching consequence was the creation of a separate North-West Frontier Province, under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, in 1901, and the quiet death of the 'Forward policy' on the north-western marches of the British Indian Empire."⁶⁰

Conclusion:

The English, like other Europeans came to India for trading purposes. However, misusing their trading privileges, slowly and gradually, they became King makers and King brokers and at last 'masters of the sub-continent'. The expedition to Chitral and occupation of Malakand and Chakdara bears testimony to the expansion and continuation of the 'Forward Policy' of the British in the North Western Frontier of India, against which the people of this region fought relentlessly.

Due to a combination of factors the sentiments of the people reached a point, in 1897, where, "only a spark was needed to set the whole Frontier ablaze."⁶¹

Religious in nature with inspiration from outside, the 'Malakand Jihad' indeed was a massive explosion which compelled the mighty British arms, for a full week, to fight, "against untold odds".⁶²

Notwithstanding the failure of the 'Jihad', it opened the flood gate of simultaneous tribal risings and brought far reaching consequences in the administrative set up of the region and formulation of a policy of containment. It also shows that religious sentiments could overcome all tribal jealousies and unite people to make the highest and supreme sacrifices even in the most divisive tribal cum feudal society, a fact which still holds true.

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. Hakim Mohammed Said, *et al. Road to Pakistan*, vol. I, Hamdard Foundation Pakistan, and Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1990,"p. 485.
2. For further details see the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. V, ch. I.
3. H. Qureshi (ed.), *A Short History of Pakistan*, University of Karachi, 1984, p. 699.
4. A.H. McMahon and A.D.G. Ramsay, *Report on the Tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajour Together with the Utmankhel and Sam Ranizai*, Reprint, Saeed Book Bank, Peshawar, 1981, pp. 69, 70.
5. Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1976, p. 368.
6. *Ibid.* p. XVIII.
7. H.C.Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign*, Reprint, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1981, p. 2.
8. Captain H.Lr Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, Reprint, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore 1977, p. 165.
9. 'Umara Khan of Jandoi: Umara Khan established his rule, on the death of Abbas"Khan, the Khan of Jandol, in 1879. In 1882 he occupied all the surrounding territories and half of the state of the Khan of Dir. He established his rule on firm footing and made progress. Though Makranay Mullah, a religious leader, sent by the Afghan Govt., ignited the flames and Dir, Nawagai, Swat, Utmankhel, Tarkalanris, Salarzai and small Memund collectively joined against him, nevertheless, Umara Khan faced them all courageously. A folk verse refers to the slaughters in these engagements:

د جندول خان عمرانہ
ڊيرے دي کونڊي کرے بنيري درته کوينه

O! Khan of Jandoi, Umara Khan!

You have made so many widows, who are, cursing you.

Umara Khan occupied all of Dir, and Sharif Khan, ruler of Dir, took asylum in Swat. He has been mentioned as an Afghan Napoleon by some English writer*. The invasion of Chitral, on the request of Amir al-Mulk, caused him In face the English and having failed he (led to Afghanistan in 1895. For detail please see Allah Bakhsh Yuiufi, Yusufzai Afghans, (Urdu), Mohammad "All Educational Society, Karachi, 1960, pp. 679-606.

10. *Jandoi*: The valley of Jandoi is a part of Bajour (Bajawar). it stretches upon the territory between Nawagai and the river Panjkora; surrounded by hilia. Its area is approximately 32 aq. miles. Due to Umara Khan, Jandoi became famous and well known. It's headquarter was Barwah now known as Samar Bagh (Thamar Bagh).
11. H.L: Nevill, *op cit.*, p166
12. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cil.*, p. 95.
13. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit*, p. 166.
14. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit*, p, 96.
15. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
16. *Ibid.* pp. 189, 191.
17. *Ibid.* pp. 191, 192.
18. Muhammad Shafi' Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Subah Sarhad*, (Urdu), University Book Agency, Peshawar, 1986.

19. Olaf Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
20. Bahadar Shah Zafar Kakakhel, *Pukhtanah Da Tarikh Pah Rara Kay*, (Pashto). University Book Agency, Peshawar, n.d., p. 1145.
21. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
22. For the life and career of the "Sartor Faqir" please see *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, vol. XLD., Part II Jan. 1994, pp. 93-105. 23.
23. Encl. 28 dated 8 August 1897, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*, out ledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976, p. 108
24. Akbar S. Ahmed, *ibid.*
25. Grandsons of the Akhund of Swat (Saidu Baba) and influential and ambitious figures. For Akhund of Swat' please see *J.P.H.S.*, vol. XL, July 1992, pp. 299-308.
26. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110.
27. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
28. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, North-West Frontier Province, Reprint, Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore 1979, p. 23.
29. H. Woosnam Mills, *The Pathan Revolts in North West India* Reprint, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 1979, p. 35.
30. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
31. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
32. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cil.*, p. 47.
33. *Ibid.* p. 35.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
35. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
36. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
40. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
41. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
42. James W. Spain, *The Way of the Portions*, Oxford University Press, Kura'chi, 1979, p. 67.
43. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
44. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
45. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 109. It Is noteworthy that the name of the book had been given differently, i.e., the *Takwim-ud-din*, by H.L. Novill (*op. cit.*, p. 212), *Twakimud-din* by H. Woosnam Mills (*op. cit.*, p. 2), perhaps *Takwim- ud din* may be mistakenly written so by Milld; and *'Targhib-ul-Jthaa'* by McMahon and Ramsay (*op. cil.*, p. 108).

46. *Ibid*, p. 112.
47. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
48. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
49. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cil.*, p. 2.
50. McMahon and Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
51. *Ibid*.
52. Ziya Gokalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*, translated and edited by Niyari Bcrkes, Georges Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1959, pp. 113, 114.
53. Ghani Khan, *The Pathans, A Sketch*, Reprint, Pushto Adabl Society, Islamabad, 1990, p. 50.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
55. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit*, pp. 249, 250.
56. Akbar S. Ahmed, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
57. *Imperial G-azetter of India*, *op. cil.*, p. 23.
58. H.L. Nevill, *op. cit*, p. 249.
59. Swat Adabi Sangah (Swat Literary Branch), Invitation (paper), for the celebration of the Sartor Faqir's day on October 9, 1992."
60. Akbar S. Ahmed, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
61. Olaf Caroe, *op. cit*, p. 387.
62. H. Woosnam Mills, *op. cit*, p. 35.