

Orientalist Lens of Olaf Caroe: A Critical Review of The Pathans
A. D. 1957



Kashef Khan*
Noor Hamid Khan
Mahsud

Doctoral Candidate at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences;
School of Social and Political Sciences; The University of Sydney,
Australia at kkha4953@uni.sydney.edu.au
Lecturer Department of Pakistan Studies, The Islamia
University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan.

Abstract

The writing of history consists of multiple perspectives with each perspective having its own role and significance attached to it. Orientalism by Edward Said helped academicians by providing them good enough lens to study more closely the literature produced by western scholars in colonial and post-colonial periods. This paper critically reviews one such orientalist work titled, The Pathans 500 BC- AD 1957 written by Olaf Caroe (1958). In its assessment, the proposed work here analyses Caroe's scholarship and his subsequent engagement with how the orient objectified and presented Pashtun history, society, and its ethnicity. Similarly, the paper responds to the question of Occident reflection in Olaf Caroe text. Said's theory of Orientalism thereby is incorporated to serve as the paper's conceptual framework. Parallel secondary sources have been consulted in order to maintain the reliability of arguments presented.

Keywords: Orientalism, Pashtun, Colonial Scholarship, Olaf Caroe

Introduction:

Orientalism is a scholarly discourse which includes the study of state, knowledge, language, traditions, society, culture, politics, and customs of the Orient-East. In the subcontinent, it is claimed that Orientalism appeared during the time of the first de facto British Governor General Warren Hastings (1773-1785). During his time, one sided or biased literature was intentionally produced to help expand British imperial boundaries and rule the colonies efficiently. Furthermore, orientalists' work differentiated India from the colonizers, the concept of "Us/them" or Occident and Orient was introduced instead. This was "othering" or the next segment of state, society in academia. The colonizers or the western writers looked at historical issues and incidents from a place of detachment: most of them were British administrators cum scholars who were appointed on administrative or military positions in India. However, later upon their return to their United Kingdom they had the privilege to write about India's people, culture, society, economy, warfare, genealogy, and behaviors.

Edwards Said as an architect of the of Orientalism Discourse

The concept of Orientalism as a discourse about the Orient was coined by Edward Said in his well-known book *Orientalism* which was first published in 1978. The work provides a long history of European scholars' style to relate to the Orient as a counterpart of the Western culture. According to Edward Said;¹

Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident." Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poet, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on ... the phenomenon of Orientalism as I study it here deals principally, not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a "real" Orient (Said, 1978, pp. 2-3). Said's focus is on 19th and 20th century British and French and current American Orientalism. Similarly, his focus is limited to the Muslim societies of the Middle East (Jouhki, 2006). The main argument of Said is that the purpose of Western study of the Islamic civilization was a political discourse aimed at self-reaffirmation instead of a genuine scholarly and academic investigation. Thus, Orientalism served their purpose of cultural discrimination for political domination by inventing the claim that Orientalists know more about the Orient than the Orientals themselves (Singh, 2018).

Orientalist Conceptual Framework

In recent times, several scholarships were produced in consideration of an Orientalist perspective, especially covering the Middle East region and India. Similarly, Orientalism in India is considered as one of the most famous discourses in academic writings. Orientalism in an Indian context focuses on the British Indian administrators-cum-scholars' academic scholarship produced to comment on the indigenous events, incidents, genealogy, sociology, history, politics, and culture etc. It argues that the academic work produced on India by the British administrators and academicians is based on biases, distortion, portrayal of false image, irrelevant information, and exaggeration for safeguarding Britain Empire's politico-economic interests. As most of these writers were British administrators and military personals stationed in India, they looked at historical issues and incidents superficially. However, later they wrote about India's people, culture, society, economy, warfare, genealogy, and behaviors etc. in a very biased way. A very apt manifestation of Western writers and policy makers of Orientalism can be found in the words of Thomas Babington Macaulay who delivered a speech in the British Parliament on 2nd February 1835. He noted;

I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalist themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. (Sharp, 1920, p. 10).

Similarly, according to famous British anthropologist Mary Douglas, India is "a mirror image" of Europe and thus a totally opposite world to the West (Jouhki, 2006). likewise, British novelist

Rudyard Kipling expressed his views in these words "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" ((Jouhki, 2006, 1). According to Said, William Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal was the founder of Orientalism in the Indian context. Jones wanted to have more knowledge of about India than any other European scholar with his aim being to rule, learn, and compare the Occident and the Orient (Singh, 2018). The fact of the British imperialism, according to Said, was present in almost British writer of the 19th century focusing on India (Singh, 2018). even John Staurt Mill was an indubitable supporter of British imperialism and worked as an employee of the East India Company for almost half of his life (Tunick, 2006). Though he would otherwise advocate liberty and representative government in case of India he considered these rights as inapplicable because to him Indians were inferior civilizationally (Singh, 2018).

Though the focus of Said's was mainly on the Arab Middle East, his approach to the discourse of Orientalism can also be applied to contexts other than the Middle East. That is the reason that several scholars expanded Said's theoretical frame to India (Singh, 2018). Gyan Prakash, for example, argues that Orientalism from the very start was a European phenomenon. The Orientalists looked at Indians as objects of knowledge and thought of them as outside and opposite to the European self (Prakash, 1990). according to Prakash, the scholars and the audience were European with Indians figuring as inert objects of knowledge (Singh, 2018). Prakash critically explains the courses of producing knowledge based on India by its British masters (Prakash, 1990). Bryan Turner has explained oriental discourse with the reference of postmodernism and globalism perspective. He analyzes the notion of the orientalist approach as he explains the relationship of Orientalism with the new concepts of postmodernism and globalism. Additionally, he has highlighted the Orient's approach in how they themselves exaggerate ideals by claiming democratic values and advanced modern civilization (Turner, 1994). Ronal Inden in one of his research articles explains the available direction for producing academic knowledge on India. He tries to explain the misperception of flows in British produced knowledge while othering Indian civilization from the west, especially, Great Britain. While trying to deconstruct the oriental discourse, Inden comments on how orients have distorted Indian rituals, texts, and similar interrelated themes. He also discusses Hindus civilization and the Vedic golden period (Inden, 1986)

Olaf Caroe: The Author

Olaf Caroe was a British officer and stationed in India while serving the British Empire. He worked on key military and bureaucratic positions throughout his life. His career started with the military services when he joined the British Army. Later, he joined British Indian civil services. Inside a colonial bureaucracy, Olaf Caroe worked, among others, as foreign secretary to the Government of India and governor of the then Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). He played crucial role in devising policies during the Great Game and soon became a famous officer. He was then posted in the Pashtun belt, adjacent to Afghanistan. During the Second World War, Caroe served as governor for ten years in the then NWFP province of British India (Khan, 1986). In his language abilities, Olaf Caroe was well versed in speaking Pashtu and also understood several of its dialects.

The Pathans, 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957

The Pathans 550 BC-AD 1957 written by the last British Governor of the erstwhile N. W. F. P Olaf Caroe (1958) is considered as one of the most comprehensive books on the subject of the

Pathan, Pakhtun, or Pashtun. The book covers a long history of Pashtuns from 550 BC to 1957. It carries lots of information about the subject matter. At the same time, it contains novel photographs of the region and its people.

Examination of Insider Perspective

As mentioned earlier, Caroe remained among the Pashtuns for a long time. He dealt with Pashtuns as a soldier, administrator, and a visitor in the last years of his stay. As a result of long interaction with the Pashtuns, Caroe was very fluent in speaking and reading Pashtu language which enabled him to look at the society and people closely. Moreover, he was able to read Pashtu literature produced in honor of the people of the region. Similarly, he learned many Pashtu proverbs which helped him in understanding the language and people's psychology. Thus, in the beginning of *The Pathans* he mentions that his love for the country and its people encouraged him to write about the region. Caroe writes that "[t]his is a book I was bound some time to write, having had the fortune to spend half a lifetime among Pashtuns." (Caroe, 1958, p. vii). Hence, there is vivid insider reflection in the book. Being a colonial administrator and soldier in British India, and being an insider is his strength. He understood the people and their culture deeply.

The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957 as an Orientalist Text

Although Caroe's work due to its detailed account of Pashtuns received fame among academicians, intellectuals and scholars, the reflection of oriental despotism is clearly visible in his approach. Caroe might have tried to be unbiased and present objective information but still his work reflects him to be an orient. In the following paragraphs, we try to highlight different aspects of Caroe's work to show that the work is a typical example of Orientalist text.

Arbitrary categorization of same people

He categorically divides Pashtuns into different groups. For example, he calls the Pashtun living in Peshawar valley as civilized and those living in peripheries as odd and or backward. For many Pashtun researchers and intellectuals, this division is unacceptable, and they challenge his arguments because they are of the view that Pashtuns all around the region are the same and their social values, customs and behavior too are almost similar. They believe that there might be some minor differences in socio-cultural practices of the Pashtuns of different areas but broadly they share same character and habits. Even Caroe himself confesses this similarity of Pashtuns which he then divides into two categories. He writes "[y]et at the time the tribal nexus was strong on both sides of the border, coming and going was continual and neither socially nor economically were the people to be seen as belonging to different strata" (Caroe, 1958, 346). These critics argue that Olaf Caroe was an orientalist, and this was his deliberate action to divide Pashtuns on the basis of geography.

Different yardsticks for two different external occupiers

In his book Caroe tries to show Sikh rule in the Pashtun region as unjust with flaws in its administration while at the same time he praises the British rule. He writes; "These relate not to the post-1849 period when the Panjab had been taken over as a British Indian province but to the year 1847- 1848, the lull between the stormy gusts of the two Sikh Wars, when Edwardes and others came to the North- West Frontier as assistants to Henry Lawrence, Resident in Lahore, to do what the Sikhs could never do, win the confidence of the Pathan tribes and inject justice and fair dealing into the administration. The Sikhs raised revenue by sending armies to plunder, and never held but the local headquarters of each district; the new pioneers sought to arrive at settlements with the people, and, while raising levies from among those very people as a force in reserve, to secure the consent and good-will of the governed. In this task Edwardes was

remarkably successful. In Bannu, where he first came, he found a population living in forts, and he left a smiling countryside Partly by firmness, partly by cajolery, but most of all because he made himself liked and trusted by the people, he was able when the Second Sikh War broke out to raise an army from the Bannu region and march upon Multan. (Caroe, 1958; p. 335).

Caroe tries to portray the Sikh rule in the Pashtun belt as unjust and terms its forces as plunderer while forces of another external occupier (British) as pioneers and administrators who according to him secured the goodwill of the locals and injected justice and fair dealing into the administration. Though Caroe boasts of fairness and justness of their system, an official correspondence itself puts question mark over the working of their judicial system. A letter written by the chief secretary to the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies to the commissioner and superintendent Derajat Divisions in 1896 states; In one case which came up on revision, the Magistrate had appointed the whole of the witnesses for the prosecution as Jirga, who, needless to add, convicted the accused. On recently holding temporary charge of the Peshawar Division, I found Magistrates appointing time after time the same men to serve on Jirgas whom I remembered as constantly employed in the same capacity in former years of my charge of the District.....(Fanshawe, 1896).

The above text from an official letter explains the system of justice which Caroe terms as just and fair. Had they introduced a fair and just system why would the colonialists rely on a few selected maliks (local elders) whose interests had been interlinked with the occupiers.

Portrayal of Imperialist Policies as Pro-People Activities

Caroe seems to be trying to give the impression that raising of levies from among the locals was something pro-people or for the good of the people. However, the purpose of the frontier militias, scouts, and levies, as they were called in different areas, was the protection of British interests. The basic objective of militias, scouts, levies, and Khasadar force was to protect government servants and property and keep communication lines in the tribal territory open. Provision of employment to the locals was subsidiary objectives of this system ((Ewart, 1922). In 1851, the Punjab Frontier Force (PFF) was established to protect the newly acquired frontier (NAM, 2014). However, this force failed to fulfil its duties. Need was felt for a more loosely organized and locally constituted force to act as the first line of border defense (Ewart, 1922). As tribesmen like Wazir, Mahsud, Orakzai and Afridi etc.fiercely resisted British penetration into their lands, the Britishers were so much impressed by their fighting qualities that they went to great lengths to recruit these tribesmen into the Indian Army and the various militias of the frontier (NAM, 2-14). Caroe also neglects people's resistance which the Britishers faced during the arrival of British Indian forces in the region.

Declaring the locals as immigrants

The absurdity is that Caroe terms the Wazir tribesmen who had migrated from Waziristan and settled in Bannu as "immigrants" instead of calling the Britishers as colonizers. He writes; When the Englishman arrived in Bannu, one of his most difficult tasks was to settle with the Wazir immigrants who had been encroaching on the Bannu oasis by virtue of their greater fortitude and superior armaments as compared with the Shitak Bannuchis of the plains. (Caroe, 1958, p. 336). Here Caroe writes about the difficulties the colonialists faced due to the migration of Wazir tribesmen from Waziristan to neighboring Bannu. The irony is that the Britishers came from thousands of miles away to occupy other people's lands but their administrators in the occupied lands term indigenous people as immigrants. Caroe tries to portray the locals as troublemakers

due to which the Britishers who in Caroe's opinion had every right to encroach upon other people's lands.

Using/Endorsing foul language for the Pashtuns

Caroe seems not only to be totally in agreement with Al-Biruni and British officers who served on the frontier like Herbert Edwards and Roberts as far as the use of words like 'savage,' 'rebellious,' 'wild and lawless tribesmen,' 'wildest,' and 'rudest' for the Pashtun tribes is concerned but he also himself employs words like 'wild hillmen,' 'wild and war-like tribesmen,' 'fanatics,' and 'marauders' for the Pashtuns. The major reason for Caroe and his predecessors to use such words is armed resistance and struggle by the Pashtuns against the Britishers. Caroe even goes to the extent to compare two major tribes of Waziristan with animals. For example, Caroe while differentiating between Mahsud and Wazir tribesmen writes; "[t]he nearest I can get to it is to liken the Mahsud to a wolf, the Wazir to a panther (Caroe, 1958, p. 393). Caroe might have some point in his mind which he wants to make clear by calling the two tribes as panther and wolves, but his demeanor cannot be condoned. On occasions, he even relies on mythical explanations about Pashtuns' history making it a part of this literature (Caroe, 1958).

Condoning Barbaric Colonial Laws

Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) was introduced by British India as a special legal and administrative code to curb resistance to the British rule. The first version of FCR was introduced in 1872. It was revisited several times, and its scope was extended by adding new acts and offences to it. The FCR which Pakistan inherited from the British India was introduced in 1901 (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 2005). The basic purpose of introducing this special code was to increase conviction rate without due process of law. John William Kay, Head of Political and Secret Department of Indian Office in 1901 justified FCR by noting "We cannot rein in wild horses with silken overhaul." ((BDISBF, 2009). Though the FCR was also enforced in some other areas but curbing resistance from Pashtuns to the British rule was one of its main objectives. out of the total 54 sections of the Regulation of 1887, 33 were enforceable only against Pashtuns and Baloch tribes and such other sections of society which the Local Government, with prior approval of Governor General in Council, could notify in official Gazette (Nichols, 2013). Even though FCR was the main legal code for governing the Pashtun lands, Caroe does not pay much attention to this inhumane and draconian colonial law in this book. Introduction and then implementation of such a cruel and special legal and administrative code concentrating vast administrative, financial, and judicial powers in same hands must have attracted Caroe's attention, which is unfortunately not the case.

Caroe even justifies the harsh sections of the FCR such as collective responsibility.² He writes;The punitive expedition was by no means the only remedy for controlling tribal depredation on the districts. Apart from the stoppage of allowances there was blockade (bandish) and baramta. Blockade is a means of exerting economic pressure by excluding a tribe from markets, land, or grazing in the neighbouring district; such pressure was sometimes effective but slow, and there were always difficulties of enforcement, both along the border line it- self and in the centres of trade...(Caroe, 1958, p. 350). He not only justifies the policy of collective punishment but also tries to give the impression as if this system was a common practice among the Pashtuns. He argues;It follows from this principle that an aggrieved party can enforce his remedy against

any tribesman on whom he can lay his hands. That is the essence of tribal responsibility, a system which admits the justice of baramta as an effective weapon for securing rights and claims. (Caroe, 1958, p. 350) Wasai and Khalil have discussed this theme in detail. They argue that there were several differences between the concept of Baramta among the Pashtuns and the collective responsibility introduced by the Britishers. Unlike in Pashtun society where one had to take an equal number of people or amount of goods from the aggressor for compelling him to come to terms, the British administrators would use disproportionate power to arrest complete tribes for crimes of individuals. There was also great difference in the way the captives were treated by the Pashtuns under Baramta and Britishers under FCR. Those taken in custody under Baramta were to be treated with great respect with proper food, dress, and living conditions while those arrested under FCR were treated like prisoners kept under inhuman conditions. Unlike in Baramta, the Britishers would close businesses of complete tribes or sub-tribes and would even bar their entry into markets in territories under British India government (Wasai & Khalil, 2021).

Termining uprisings against the occupiers as mutiny

Caroe follows the typical approach of orientalists by calling uprisings against the colonizers as mutiny. While describing events, he generously uses colonial terms. For example, he writes; It is no part of this work to describe the long list of military operations, ranking as expeditions, undertaken on or from the Frontier. But there are two memorable affairs in the early days of much greater than military interest. The first is the reaction on the Frontier to the Mutiny of 1857, the second the Ambela campaign of 1863, and both are worth a record. The two are connected, for the remnants of dawn-country mutineers from the first provided the spark that lit the second. (Caroe, 1958, p. 360).

Eulogizing British Officers while Ignoring Local Resistance Movements

Though the Britishers were occupiers who colonized the indigenous people, still Caroe eulogizes British officers serving on the Frontier by referring to them as heroes, champions, and legends etc. For instance, he terms Robert Sandeman who played crucial role in expanding British Empire in Baluchistan as a 'legend.' He also showers praises on other British civil and military officers like Herbert Edwards, Nicholson, and Cavagnari etc. Caroe writes; If England had been represented on the Frontier by a succession of such men, much that was later lost would have been kept, and nothing that was won would ever have been lost. The righteousness of an Edwardes, the heroism of a Nicholson, the flamboyance of a Cavagnari, the cold grey eye of a Roos-Keppel, seem crude and insignificant beside the instinctive grasp, the deep humanism of Mountstuart Elphinstone. (Caroe, 1958, pp. 278-9). It is common knowledge that these officers were Britishers and did their best to expand, consolidate, and defend British Empire at the expense of the locals. They did everything possible to deprive the natives of their resources and freedom. On the one hand, Caroe lavishly praises British officers who played role in the expansion of British Empire to other people's lands, on the other hand he overlooks the anti-colonial armed struggle by certain people from among the Pashtuns. Although there were many movements that emerged against the British occupation of the region, Caroe does not pay due attention to them. Some very popular anti-British movements were led by people like Haji Sahib Turangzai and Faqir Epi. Fazl-i-Wahid, commonly known as Haji Sahib Turangzai was born in Turangzai village of Charsadda District in 1858 or 1859. He became a disciple of Najm-ud Din popularly known as Hadda Mulla who used to live in a village near Jalalabad, present day Afghanistan. Hadda Mulla was a strong anti-British scholar. Haji Sahib also interacted with known anti-British religious scholars at Darul Uloom Deoband and performed Hajj in the company of people like Maulana Muhammad Qasim

Nanautavi, Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi etc (Qadir, 2015; Yousafzai, 2023). Haji Sahib, along with Abdul Ghafar Khan, opened educational institutions in the name of Azad Madrassahs but this initiative was not liked by the British India government and thus the madrassas were banned, and he was arrested (Shah, 1992).

He was a strong proponent of armed Jihad against the British government. In 1914, he was appointed commander of the Mujaheddin (Amirul Mujaheddin) of Tehrik-e-Hizb Ullah's militant wing. Following his arrest warrants by the government in June 1915, he moved to Mohmand territory (Shakoor, 2012) and visited Buner, Swat, and Kohistan to garner support of the tribes against the British government (Qadir, 2015). Skirmishes between British Indian troops and the lashkar of Haji Sahib also took place at Rustam in Mardan on August 17, 1915, and then at Thana later the same year (Qadir, 2015). In 1916, Haji Sahib, accompanied by fighters from Peshawar, Mardan, Bajaur and Mohmand attacked the Shabqadar Fort. The attack resulted in heavy losses on both sides (Shakoor, 2012). During the 3rd Anglo-Afghan War, Haji Sahib's activities at the Mohmand border created difficulties for the British to shift its forces from Shabqadar to some other place to fight against Afghan forces. When the British army launched operations against Mahsud tribe in Waziristan in 1923, Haji Sahib wrote letters to the leading maliks of Afridi and Safi tribes requesting them to raise combined voice against these operations. He continued his armed struggle against the British till 1935 after which his health due to some issues deteriorated and finally died in December 1937 (Qadir, 2015). Haji Mirzali Khan who is known as Faqir Epi. He was born in 1897 in the Tori Khel sub-tribe of Utmanzai Wazir. He raised to prominence following conversion and subsequent marriage with a Muslim boy of a Hindu girl named Ram Kor. Ram Kor was a Hindu girl who eloped with a Muslim boy named Amir Noor Ali. She converted to Islam and changed her name to Islam Bibi. The girl's mother filed a case in a court pleading that her daughter was a minor and had been abducted. The court sentenced Ali to two year's imprisonment.

To this, the tribes reacted angrily and held a Jirga in April 1936 at which they declared Jihad against the British. They formed a lashkar (army of military force) with Faqir Ipi as its chief. (Wazir, 2021; Asfandyar, 2020). Following declaration of Jihad against the British in April 1936, Faqir Epi went to South Waziristan to garner support of Mahsud tribe. In November 1936, the British dispatched two brigades to conduct operation against him. The colonial force suffered heavy losses due to which the operation was stopped after four days. In April 1937, a British convoy was ambushed in South Waziristan's Shaur Tangi area in which fifty-three British soldiers including seven officers lost lives (Munri, 2010). He continued his armed struggle against the British occupation till 1947 (Wazir, 2021) and even declared an independent state in Gurwek from where he would organize attacks against the Britishers (Munir, 2010). Interestingly, Caroe was made the Resident in Waziristan in 1936, exactly at the time when Faqir Epi was organizing his forces against the British Raj (Baqai, 1999). The above accounts of only two figures show that they were not just prominent individuals rather they spearheaded complete anti-British armed movements. Despite their striking role in the struggle against the colonialists, Caroe failed to write about them. He should have paid due attention the life struggle of these and other such figures. However, we don't find any such mention of these people in the book.

Sources Acknowledged and Glimpses of Official Historiography in the Book

The author has consulted works of researchers like A. D. H Bivar, research scholar of ancient history at Oxford and Henry George Raverty who was an officer in British Army and a linguist. Caroe also relies on official diaries of British officers serving in India like Edwards. As mentioned before, Caroe mainly relies on official sources. The reports produced by various institutions of British India and notes written by British officers serving in the Pashtun land form a major part of the literature he quotes. In other words, he relied on the works of other orientalist for producing the voluminous book entitled *The Pathans*. However, Caroe's firsthand experience as an administrator adds some strength to the general reliability of the sources and information.

Cross Examination of Facts and Figures Presented in the Book

Some researchers have also challenged some of the facts presented by Caroe in his book. For example, Caroe attributes the words “beloved of all the Roshanis” used for Bibi Alai to Khushal Khan but these words have been taken from the writings of Khushal Khan's grandson Afzal Khan. According to Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil's research as quoted by Mehmood et al., (2022), Caroe's claim that Khushal Khan's grandfather Akorey was killed by Yousafzais is incorrect as he was killed by a sub-tribe of Khattaks. Similarly, Caroe's claim that Khushal Khan went to Delhi under Shah Jahan and fought under the command of two nobles named Aslat Khan and Amanat Khan is claimed to be incorrect. It is pointed out that he fought under Aslat Khan and Bahadur Khan (Mehmood et al., 2022). Caroe also seems to have mixed up dialects of some Pashtun tribes of Waziristan. For example, he writes that Mahsud tribesmen call a snake as *mor* while the Pashtuns of the plain areas call it *mar*. Similarly, he adds that other Pashtuns call mother as *mor* while Mahsud as *mer*. (Caroe, page 394). This is not true. Mahsud tribesmen call a snake as *mangoor* rather than *mor* or even *mar*. Likewise, Mahsud tribesmen call mother as *moor* while it is the Dawar and Wazir tribesmen of North Waziristan who call mother as *mer*.

Overlooking Important Incidents like Qissa Khwani and Bannu Massacres

On 23rd April 1930, the British Indian Army killed about 400³ unarmed protesters affiliated with the Khudai Khidmatgars. The protesters had gathered at the Kabuli Police Station where the administration shifted two Khudai Khidmatgar leaders (Vaqas, 2011). Though the Britishers alleged that the protesters tried to release the detainees from the police, but the Congress Inquiry Committee Report found that the protesters started dispersing after their leaders were taken inside the police station when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by the troops. The administration had already planned violence against the unarmed protesters and thus the subsequent developments led to opening of firing on unarmed civilians (Kumar, 2014). This bloody incident was shortly followed by another gory incident. On 31st May 1930, two Sikh children were shot dead by a British soldier (Hussain, 2021, para. 22). A peaceful funeral procession for the two murdered children was not allowed to proceed to the cremation site. A company of 36 soldiers commanded by Olaf Caroe, without any provocation, opened firing on the procession which resulted in the killing of twelve people while more than twenty people sustained injuries. Similarly, in May 1930, The British Indian troops killed about twenty people in Takkar, Mardan in indiscriminate firing and violence. Again, on August 24, 1930 a protest meeting of non-violent and unarmed people from Wazir tribe came under attack from the

British Indian troops in the Spin Tangi area of Bannu. More than 70 people were killed while hundreds were injured (Shah, 2013). Qazi Fazil Qadir, a local leader of the protesters was fired on at the meeting and then taken to the police station. There he passed away and was buried in the jail without letting his family perform rites for the dead body (Raajib, 2009).

These are some of the examples of major incidents of killings of innocent people by the British Raj. Though Caroe has written a voluminous work on the Pashtuns covering their territory, origin, history, tribal divisions, and relations with the Mughal, Sikhs, and British rulers, he did not think it appropriate to mention these events despite the fact that he was secretary to the chief commissioner at the time of Qissa Khawan incident while during the incident of May in Peshawar he was commanding the company which opened firing on funeral procession. This attitude of the author makes him a prime example of orientalist mentality. It is this casual and biased approach of writers like Caroe due to which a famous contemporary expert on Afghanistan Farrukh Hussain writes; Our histories have been written by the likes of Olaf Caroe, who was a participant in this bloodstained story, and his book reflects his amnesia regarding the crimes committed by the British military. It is indeed tragic that his writings continue to be regarded by many Pakhtuns in Pakistan as being representative of our history. (Hussain, 2021, para. 22).

Conclusion 2.9

In the conclusion of this paper, it can safely be argued that Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans* is a comprehensive account which covers a long span of history in the Pashtun region. In the initial chapters of the book, Caroe relied upon primary available sources, but his preferred sources were those that were written in English. Moreover, his book achieved widespread fame among academicians while at the same time inviting various types of critiques over his approach towards British rule in the Pashtun borderland. Olaf Caroe can be considered as an insider because he spent most of his life in the region. He possessed firsthand experiences of the state and society in the Pashtun region. Noteworthy, he was fluent in speaking Pashtu due to which we can call him an insider but on the other hand, he was a loyal servant of the British empire stationed in the region working for an imperial agenda. The facts that he was a British citizen, brought up in Western society, joined the British military, then entered Indian civil services, and took oath of loyalty to the British empire make him an outsider with his book as an Orientalist text. In his book, there are glimpses and reflections of Orientalism. In the last chapters of his book, the orientalist reflection gets clear and vivid in his writings. He openly defends British imperial policies and eulogies British officers who did everything to firmly establish the colonial rule at the expense of the colonized people. So, it can be safely argued that *The Pathans 550 B.C.- A.D. 1957* is an oriental piece of scholarship which is not any more different than other scholarships produced by British colonizers on the history, society, and politics of colonized nations like India.

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