

## **FALL OF NAPOLEON PATHAN: ACADEMIC APPRAISAL**

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### **Abstract**

*International politics is a very strange phenomenon. Some areas and people suffer heavily and others gain due to power politics. The great game in Afghanistan had badly affected Bajour, Chitral and Dir. The most popular ruler of Jandul and Dir, Umra Khan of Jandul lost his khanate due to the Durand Agreement. He opposed the British appeasement policy at the cost of Bajour and Dir. He resisted the British decision of accepting the Afghan occupation and annexation of Asmar, a small khanate of Bajour. The Indian government arranged a special force, the Chitral Relief Force to expel Umra Khan's men from Chitral. The British Commissioner in the Asmar Boundary Commission, Sir Richard Udny gave more areas of Bajour and Dir to Afghanistan while delimiting of the border. These areas are located on the southern side of Kunar River and now form part of Kunar province of Afghanistan. These include Asmar, Barikot, Narai and Dangam etc. In this way, the border in the vicinity of Bajour and Dir was pushed over 100 km towards the south. Bajour and Dir suffered enormous territorial losses due to the Durand Agreement and delimitation of the border. Dir and Jandul also lost a brilliant ruler, Umra Khan.*

**Key Words:** *Umra Khan, British government, Jandul and Dir, Durand Agreement*

### **Introduction**

The Durand Agreement and demarcation of the border by the Asmar Boundary Commission has left deep impressions on the history and geo-politics of Bajour, Chitral and Dir. The people of these areas were deprived of their land and merged in Afghanistan. Mortimer Durand acknowledged the Afghan sovereignty over Asmar which was occupied by Kabul in 1892.

Earlier, the Viceroy had sent a strong worded warning to Amir Abdur Rahman about the Afghan occupation and annexation of Asmar. Umra Khan of Jandul resisted the Afghan occupation and annexation Asmar. Therefore, he refused to cooperate with the Asmar Boundary Commission in the demarcation of the border in the vicinity of Jandul and Dir. In this way, the border in the vicinity of Bajour and Dir was pushed over 100 km towards the south. Bajour and Dir suffered enormous territorial losses due to the Durand Agreement and delimitation of the border. Dir and Jandul also lost a brilliant ruler, Umra Khan.

### **Umra Khan of Jandul**

Umra Khan is known, in Pathan history, as the Pathan Napoleon. The Gilgit based British Agent Dr. George Scott Robertson termed him as the brave and clever<sup>1</sup>. Some writers have termed him as “a Khan of lion-like mind”<sup>2</sup>. The Gilgit Agency Report of April 1890 speaks of him as “the most important man between Chitral and Peshawar”<sup>3</sup>. He was a great warrior and spent his whole life in fighting. “The people of Dir proudly narrate his life story glorifying his personality through folk songs and poetry”<sup>4</sup>.

Umra Khan was born in Summer Bagh, Jandul (Lower Dir) in 1860. He belonged to Mast Khel tribe living mainly in Lower Dir. Examining the family tree of Umra Khan reflects that Haya Nawaz, a resident of Astanbul (Turkish name of Constantinople), came to this region for the cause of endorsing Islam and joined the troops of “Mehmood of Ghazni in his expedition towards India especially in Bajour, Dir and Swat”<sup>5</sup>. Haya Nawaz impressed the people through his courage and bravery, they, therefore, gifted him a vast area in the north of Timergra, the headquarters of Lower Dir, later named as Haya Serai (the land of Haya Nawaz). Haya Nawaz did not reside in Haya Serai rather moved to Kandahar, Afghanistan for residing permanently. However, Mast Ali Khan, the grandson of Haya Nawaz shifted to Jandul and settled there. His descendants extended a clan known as Mast Khel. Ayub Khan, son of Mast Ali Khan also spent his whole

life in Jandul and won name and fame for the family through his character, passed his legacy to his grandson, Hayat Khan who became the ruler of Jandul in 1791. Hayat Khan died of natural death in 1820, having appointed his elder son, Abdul Ghafar Khan the ruler of Jandul. The death of Abdul Ghafar Khan created chaos within the ruling family because Faiz Talab Khan, a brother of Abdul Ghafar Khan wished to become ruler of Jandul. Faiz Talab Khan was confronted by Mahiddin Khan, son of Abdul Ghafar Khan and his nephew. Ultimately, Faiz Talab Khan won the race and became the ruler of the khanate of Jandul. He maintained an army of 10,000 men including 2,000 horse riders. He occupied Maidan and Barawal areas and annexed them with Jandul<sup>6</sup>.

Faiz Talab Khan put up a friendly posture to Afghanistan and dispatched a contingent to Jalalabad, the capital of Nangarhar province during the 1<sup>st</sup> Anglo-Afghan war. Faiz Talab Khan also participated in Ambela campaign along with his several thousand soldiers. The campaign ended with the British burning of Malka (Buner) and Faiz Talab Khan returned to Jandul where he did not survive for long and died. Faiz Talab Khan was succeeded by his son, Aman Khan who, unlike his father, lacked in courage and character thus, was hated by the subject. Aman Khan had six sons ; Muhammad Zaman Khan, Mir Afzal Khan, Muhammad Shah Khan, Mir Hassan Khan, Umra Khan and Zainullah Khan<sup>7</sup>. Aman Khan during his life distributed his moveable and immovable property among his sons before his death in 1879<sup>8</sup>. Aman Khan was succeeded by Muhammad Zaman Khan but his authority was challenged by Umra Khan's defiance, who refused to recognize Muhammad Zaman Khan as the ruler of Jandul thus creating unrest in the area. When Umra Khan failed to dethrone Muhammad Zaman Khan, he left Jandul and moved to Swat. He came to Peshawar in 1881, purchased a rifle, went straight to Jandul and killed Muhammad Zaman Khan, He also snatched Tor and Munda from his brother, Mir Hassan Khan<sup>9</sup>. Umra Khan continued achieving unremitting victories. He defeated Muhammad Sharif Khan, the ruler of Dir who after the trounce, ran away to Swat and started living in Mingora in 1890. These victories made Umra Khan the

ruler of relatively bigger khanate spreading over a massive area from the northern side of Kunar River to Swat River in the south joining Chitral at Lowari top

“Umra Khan was known as noble saviour of the borders, ruled by right of moral superiority as much as by physical ability, a pent-up eagle of the mountains pining for a wider scope of his activities”<sup>10</sup>. Amir Abdur Rehman of Afghanistan wanted to occupy Bajour, Jandul, Dir and Swat at every cost. “In 1888 efforts were made by the Ameer [Amir] of Afghanistan to extend his influence in Bajaur [Bajour], of which Jandul forms [it was not part of Lower Dir at that time] a part”<sup>11</sup>. He made all out efforts to create nuisance for Umra Khan. Amir Abdur Rehman directed his agent, Abu Bakkar alias Makrani Mullah, to ruin Umra Khan’s reputation among the local people by propagating that he (Umra Khan) was not ruling in accordance with the Islamic teachings<sup>12</sup>. Makrani Mullah was able to win the sympathy of the Khans of Nawagai and Pashat. The Khans waged a war against Umra Khan but they could not succeed in their plans, hence were defeated by him. Umra Khan arrested Makrani Mullah and deported him to Afghanistan.

### **Alliance with the British**

Umra Khan was aware of impending threats from Afghanistan therefore, he needed a strong ally to counter any eventuality. He contacted the British authorities in 1890 to fabricate cordial relations. Umra Khan sent his advisor, the Sahibzada of Hajiabad (located near Timergara) to Peshawar. The Sahibzada participated in the official Darbarin of Peshawar. Umra Khan sought help from the British authorities in case of any threat to his khanate from Afghanistan. The British Government accepted his request and warned Kabul of dire consequences in case of any interference in Bajour, Janduland or Swat. The British administration assured they would not allow the Amir of Afghanistan to intervene in the territory of Umra Khan<sup>13</sup>.

The two sides became allies, each one pursuing its own interests and agenda. Umra Khan required the British arms and ammunition to counter the Afghan designs against Bajour, Jandul and Dir. The British agreed to his demand and allowed him to procure arms and ammunition from Peshawar. The British on the other hand wanted Umra Khan's help in launching a postal service between Chitral and Peshawar via Dir. Umra Khan agreed to the British proposal and the postal service started in April 1892. Nine check posts were established in Dir, from Chakdara to Lowari Top to ensure smooth operation of the service. This service continued without any disruption till January 1895, when Umra Khan intended to levy tax on the British for this service. Alongside this development, there was an escalating tension in Chitral-Jandul relations. Umra Khan requested the Indian government in 1890 to "mediate between him and Chitral with regard to their respective claims to the land which, he subsequently captured after Mehtar, Amir-ul-Mulk's death in 1892"<sup>14</sup>.

### **The Asmar issue**

There were four khanates in Bajour including Asmar, Khaar, Nawagai and Pashat and the rulers of these khanates belonged to the same family (Ibrahim Khel) of Qamardin Khan of Nawagai<sup>15</sup>. Asmar "was a small independent principality, situated on the left bank of the Kunar river, between Jalalabad and Chitral, embracing an area of less than 500 square miles"<sup>16</sup>. Afghanistan, for a long time, wanted to occupy Asmar, Bajour, Dir and Swat. Amir Sher Ali Khan made several abortive attempts to occupy Asmar and other surrounding areas. Besides, he gave 6,000 rupees to the chief of Asmar, Jandul, Nawagai and Khar and 80,000 rupees to Khan of Dir in 1878 and 1879<sup>17</sup>. But Sher Ali Khan did not succeed in his designs and lost power as a result of 2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Afghan war. Amir Abdur Rahman continued to pursue his designs of capturing Asmar. He arranged the engagement of his son, Habibullah Khan with a girl from the ruling family of Asmar and waited for a appropriate time to capture Asmar.

When W.W. McNair visited Bashgal valley (Kafiristan) in 1883, Hazrat Ali was the ruler Asmar. He lost his life due to incidental firing in 1886 and was succeeded by his son, Tamash Khan who himself was assassinated in 1890<sup>18</sup>. With this, Amir Abdur Rahman accelerated his efforts to gain control over Asmar. The Amir pleaded that:

“Timur Mirza Shah [Tamash Khan], the ruler of Asmar, gave me the oath of allegiance in 1887, and put himself as well as his country under my protection against any expected attack from his powerful enemy, [Omra]Umra Khan of Bajour; and he being killed by one of his slaves, General Ghulam Haidar Khan, my Commander-in-Chief, occupied Asmar in December 1891, which caused great indignation to the Indian Government, which had their eye on all these so-called neutral provinces: Yaghistan (Chitral, Bajaur, Swat, Buner Dir, Chilas and Waziri: all these countries were included in Yaghistan)”<sup>19</sup>.

The Amir sent his Commander-in-Chief, Ghulam Haider Khan to Asmar taking the plea to escort the financier of Habibullah Khan to Kabul. His (Ghulam Haider Khan) main task was to block the entry of Umra Khan's troops in Asmar<sup>20</sup>. Justifying the penetration of the Afghan troops in Asmar, Amir Abdur Rahman remarked “the Sipah Salar [Commander-in-Chief] is proceeding with the troops to settle the frontier districts of the God-granted Government, everything will be properly arranged”<sup>21</sup>. The Amir succeeded in occupying Asmar but this occupation was challenged by Umra Khan taking the stance that Asmar belonged to Bajour not Afghanistan in historical and geographical perspective. The British Foreign Secretary expressed annoyance over the Afghan occupation of Asmar and said, “the Amir has taken Asmar, in spite of our prohibitions against meddling with Bajour”<sup>22</sup>. Mortimer Durand wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary Punjab on June 28, 1892 asserting that Asmar was actually part of Bajour [Bajour]. Asmar was certainly not

within the limits of Afghanistan, and so long as it continued to be occupied by an Afghan force, there could not be any security for peace upon this part of the frontier<sup>23</sup>. The Viceroy also wrote a letter to Amir Abdur Rahman complaining about the Afghan aggression in Bajour. The Viceroy asked Amir Abdur Rahman “to withdraw his forces from Asmar without any delay as it has become evident that further conflict will be inevitable unless Afghan force retires from Asmar”<sup>24</sup>. There was no reply on the part of Kabul and the Indian government had chalked out a plan to give Asmar to Umra Khan. Commissioner Peshawar Division said, “..... Asmar might be made over to Umra Khan on the understanding that his somewhat indefinite relations with us would be maintained, whilst he in return for this concession might agree to give up his designs on Swat”<sup>25</sup>.

In his negotiations with Mortimer Durand in October-November 1893, Amir Abdur Rahman asserted that his troops would not vacate Asmar and Mortimer Durand acceded to the Amir’s stance. The acceptance of Afghan occupation and annexation of Asmar by Mortimer Durand badly damaged Umra Khan’s ties with the British. The British thought that Umra Khan would not go to such extent. The British did not regard of Umra Khan’s attitude as a matter of importance and hoped that “an understanding may arrive at with-him in the course of the Afghan frontier delimitation...”<sup>26</sup>. Umra Khan did not reconcile with the new situation and came forward with an open confrontation with the British. He boycotted proceedings of the Asmar Boundary Commission and turned a deaf ear to the repeated requests by Commissioner Peshawar Sir Richard Udny. The British in-vengeance gave extra territorial concessions to Afghanistan at the cost of Jandul. This further enraged Umra Khan and he planned to put the British in hot water by meddling in the affairs of Chitral where British officers were stationed to keep watch on the activities of Czarist Russia in the region.

On the other hand, Amir Abdur Rahman paid handsome amount to Mukhtar Shah Badshah of Kunar and Haji Mirzaman Khan, chief of Shamoza branch of Utman Khel

(Bajour) to promote the Afghan interests in the region including the Afghan occupation of Bajour and Mohmand. He tried to cement ties with Safdar Khan of Nawagai by offering him assistance. But Safdar Khan understood the Afghan plot and rejected the idea of accepting human or material help from Kabul. The Afghan Commander-in-Chief tried to trap Umra Khan by offering him 50, 000 rupees on annual basis if he handed over Jandul and Dir to Afghanistan. These Afghan steps were harbinger both for Safdar Khan and Umra Khan therefore, they pledged to work together in close coordination to foil the Afghan designs and protect their territory from their northern neighbour<sup>27</sup>. This enraged Amir Abdur Rahman and he put the entire state machinery of Afghanistan into top gear to occupy Bajour, Jandul and Dir through coercive means. The British authorities issued him a stern warning not to meddle in the affairs of Jandul, Dir and Swat and halt giving allowances to the people across the border (Bajour, Dir and Swat etc).

### **Siege of Chitral**

The Situation in Chitral deteriorated after the death of the Lott or Great Mehtar, Aman-ul-Mulkon August 30, 1892<sup>28</sup>. His succession became the main reason of tension and turmoil in the royal family. Two successive Mehtars i.e. Afzal-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk were murdered in this struggle for power. First Mehtar, Afzal-ul-Mulk was killed by Sher Afzal, (brother of Aman-ul-Mulk) who was later ousted by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk was murdered by his younger brother, Amir-ul-Mulk who after him became the Mehtar. He asked the Acting British Agent at Chitral, Lieut. Gurdon to grant him recognition but Lieut. responded that he would not recognize Amir-ul-Mulk's administration without the consent of the Government of British India. Lieut. Gurdon in order to engage Amir-ul-Mulk argued that the orders of the British Government must be waited for before any taking any action into consideration. This infuriated Amir-ul-Mulk, who along with his supporters put a siege dubbed as the minor siege or the siege of Chitral on Lieut. Gurdon and Indian soldiers under his command in the historic fort Chitral creating great

turbulence in the region. Amir-ul-Mulk requested Umra Khan for help at this critical juncture and got positive response in form of man power by Umra Khan. Umra Khan's soldiers crossed Lowari Top and occupied Chitrali fort at Drosh. Richard Udny, Commissioner Peshawar Division warned Umra Khan that "the Government of India has never approved his interference in the affairs of Chitral"<sup>29</sup>. Militia of Amir-ul-Mulk arrested two British officers Fowler and Lt. Edwardes and several other soldiers, handed them over to Umra Khan in Chitral, who took them to Jandul where they were treated with honor and dignity.

The British asked Umra Khan to withdraw his soldiers from Chitral by 1<sup>st</sup> April 1895 but he did not comply with. The British issued a proclamation asking the people of Swat and Bajour not to extend helping hand to Umra Khan. The proclamation said that the Government of India had no intention to permanently stay on any territory which its soldiers needed to go through for reaching Chitral. "Safdar Khan of Nawagai, sent his brother to Peshawar to arrange terms on his behalf and accepted an offer of Rs. 12,600 per annum and 1,000 rifles on the condition that he would maintain order among the tribes furnished supplies and assistance to the troops"<sup>30</sup>.

The British arranged a force (the Chitral Relief Force) to expel Umra Khan's militia from Chitral and restore law and order in the state. When Umra Khan came to know about this development, he returned to Jandul along with the two British officers and the Indian soldiers detained in Chitral. He deployed his soldiers at Malakand pass to block the entry of the British troops in the area. The Indian Government decided "to threaten Morah [pass] and Shakot [pass], and make the main attack on Malakand"<sup>31</sup>. British mobilization of force started on March 26, and within seven days, it concentrated at Hoti Mardan and Nowshera<sup>32</sup>. "Not surprisingly, their advance was bitterly contested at every point where the natives could mount an ambush"<sup>33</sup>. When the force reached Malakand, 12, 000 men hindered entry of British troops in the

area<sup>34</sup>. The locals fought bravely and this was even acknowledged by the British officers.

When the British troops reached Dargai, the ex-Khan of Dir, Muhammad Sharif Khan came there from Swat and met Major Dean offering his services. He was sent ahead of the British troops to prepare ground for their safety, entry and passage through Dir. The British troops constructed a temporary bridge at Swat River at Chakdara by using local timbers but it was soon replaced by a pontoon bridge. Twelve pontoons of the bridge were brought to Chakdara on elephants<sup>35</sup>. However, both the bridges did not work properly and were replaced by a suspension bridge which was opened for traffic on June 26, 1895. On their arrival in Chakdara, the British troops tried to dismantle Umra Khan's fort at Ramora by exploding explosive materials however, they failed as the fort stood as it was before, without any damage at all because forts of Umra Khan were very strong having wide walls and solid structure thus, made British artillery incapable of making any impression on his forts<sup>36</sup>.

As Kamrani Pass (3300 feet above sea level) was unfit for vehicular transport, therefore, the British troops marched along Panjkora River and reached Sado where they set up their headquarters<sup>37</sup>. They also constructed a bridge on Pajkora River near Sado so that they could easily penetrate into Jandul.

### **Release of British Prisoners**

It was difficult for Umra Khan to continue the war in Chitral because of two reasons firstly, it was impossible for him to fight the British troops in that state secondly; local population of Chitral did not like his presence in their territory and considered it interference in their matters, so he called back his militia (3,000 - 4,000 men) from Chitral. The General Officer Commanding Chitral Relief Force wrote to Umra Khan from his camp at Sado that Government troops had arrived at his boundaries and if he wished to save his life and property from being ruined, he should hand over the two

English officers and submit to whatever conditions the government of India might impose. Umra Khan replied that “I have called back my forces from Chitral...On the strength of former services rendered by me, I have asked that the Government troops may go to Chitral by some other road, because Jandol [Jandul] is near to other tribes, and if anyone should show hostility I shall get into trouble”<sup>38</sup>. Contrary to the Government expectations, Umra Khan treated the prisoners in a dignified manner and eventually released all of them without any harm<sup>39</sup>. Lieutenant Fowler and other prisoners reached Sado camp on April 16, 1895. Umra Khan replied to the letter that he had not only called back his forces from Chitral but also released the prisoners. However, the government informed him that the conditions laid down were cancelled owing to his delay in accepting them. Umra Khan was told, that “he will best serve his own interests if he offers no opposition. If he chooses to surrender himself, he will be offered honourable asylum in India to himself, his family, and a reasonable number of his supporters”<sup>40</sup>.

The government told people of Jandul that “if they offer no further opposition, their villages and property will be spared. This does not preclude destruction of forts, towers, or anything necessary on military considerations”<sup>41</sup>. Umra Khan was not in a position to face the British army, therefore decided to surrender.

### **Voyage to Afghanistan**

Feeling himself insecure in Jandul, Umra Khan went to Shahi on the night between 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> April from where he sneaked into Asmar along with his family members including his brothers Mir Hassan, Mir Afzal Khan, Zainullah Khan where they were provided with temporary accommodation. The Afghan Commander- in- Chief, Ghulam Haider Khan arrested all of them and sent them to Kabul, confiscated 250 rifles and 60 horses of Umra Khan. On his arrival in Kabul, Amir Abdur Rahman told Umra Khan that he (Umra Khan) would be given an annual allowance of 25,000 rupees and he would be considered as his (the Amir) servant in future but

Umra Khan declined to accept this offer. Umra Khan was not happy in Kabul but he was left with no other choice due to blunders he committed in the past like provoking a mighty neighbour, taking shelter with his arch rival, the Amir of Afghanistan and misadventure in Chitral.

The British deposed Amir-ul-Mulk and made Shuja-ul-Mulk as the new Mehtar of Chitral. The government presented rewards to all those who extended help in relief of Chitral. Some were conferred upon the title of Khan Bahadur, others were given lands, cash besides appointment of their sons and brothers in different departments.

The British also restored Dir to Muhammad Sharif Khan who was given 500 rifles, 25, 000 rupees in addition to an annual allowance of 10,000 rupees. He was given the title of Nawab by the British in June 1897. He not only got the whole of Dir but occupied Jandul also.

Muhammad Sharif Khan signed an agreement with the British authorities on December 5, 1898 at Thana, Malakand whereby the boundaries of Dir state were drawn. Article No. 5 of the agreement says, that "My (the Nawab) boundary with the Amir of Kabul is that which has been fixed and determined by the Government"<sup>42</sup>. The bank of Swat River was determined as the boundary with Swat and Lowari Top with Chitral state. The British established Malakand Agency comprising Dir, Swat and Chitral and H. A. Dean was posted as the Political Agent of the agency.

### **Arrival at Quetta**

With prior approval of the viceroy, Umra Khan arrived in Quetta in February 1896 on his way to perform Hajj, from there he went to Bombay and then to the holy land by sea. On his return from Hajj on July 27, he was treated as a guest and Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan J.A. Crawford invited him to have a meeting with him in Ziarat. He stayed in Ziarat from 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> August where he was told that the Government of India had cleared him of the blame in respect

to unpleasant events in Chitral and Bajour because he had extended generous and dignified attitude to English officers who were detained by him. Umra Khan requested that he should be restored on Jandul Chief ship to which J.A. Crawford did not agree. However, he said that the government was prepared to give him a liberal allowance, to enable him to live in security and comfort in Baluchistan but Umra Khan did not accept the offer and replied, "If I am not allowed to return to Jandul, I will not live in India as a pensioner or on any term whatever. It is intolerable for me to accept such a position while my enemies rules in my own country"<sup>43</sup>. The agent again requested Umra Khan to live at liberty and with complete comfort in Baluchistan. To this, Umra Khan replied that he had no such love of life and he needed a prize which is certainly very high.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1886, he returned to Quetta and stayed there for a night. Next morning, he went to Chaman and sent a messenger to the Afghan fort at Spin Boldak, to enquire whether any arrangements had been made for his onward journey, got reply in negative. He along with his party went to the border post and met Khairullah, an Afghan official who informed Umra Khan that no orders had been received about making arrangements for his journey towards Kabul. Umra Khan waited for several hours at the boundary, disconcerted and depressed at this treatment. His followers urged him to return and accept the Government's offer but he replied that he would have done so without hesitation if his family and money had not been left near Kabul. After much delay and in a very dejected state, Umra Khan and his party crossed the border. They had no horses or bedding; and they spent night outside the Spin Boldak fort. Next morning, instead of going to Kandahar, he took the other route (via Kalat-i-Ghilzai) to Kabul to evade the official escort. Umra Khan was very upset at the behaviour of Afghan government and wanted to come back to India but his family and a treasure of 20 lakh rupees stood as stumbling block in his way. After this unpleasant experience, he never returned to India, died in 1903 and was laid to rest at Waisalabad locality of Kabul. Dir and Bajour have so far failed to produce a man of his stature. Though he is

no more alive-yet he ruled over the heart of entire Malakand belt. He is always recalled with honour and dignity. George Younghusb and says, "if he had chosen to be the friend of British, he might have become a despotic ruler of the whole country which lies between Chitral and Peshawar with complete support of the British Government"<sup>44</sup>. Umra Khan knew the art of war very well but was not familiar with the art of international politics which proved vicious and lost everything as a result of the great game. The people Jandul and Dir lost a great ruler and a vast land due to the Durand Agreement.

## **Conclusion**

The Durand Agreement has left negative impacts on Bajour and Dir. If the Durand Agreement had not been signed, the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan will have now been the southern side of Kunar River. Asmar which forms a portion of Kunar province would have also been included in Pakistan. But Bajour and Dir were deprived of these areas due to the agreement. The British having a vast Empire did not bother to protect the interests of the people of Dir and Bajour. Mortimer Durand accepted the request of Amir Abdur Rahman to include Asmar in his dominion. Actually Asmar was one of the four khanates of Bajour. The others are Nawagai, Khar and Pasht. The Afghan troops occupied Asmar in June 1892. This was resisted by Umra Khan. But his position became feeble when the British accepted the Afghan occupation and annexation of Asmar. The area was given in the control of Afghanistan under article 3 of the Durand Agreement. This annoyed Umra Khan who openly challenged the British for this injustice with his people. He attacked Chitral and arrested two British army officers and several soldiers and shifted them to Jandul. This was a declaration of war. The British arranged Chitral Relief Force. Being unable to fight the British army, Umra Khan fled to Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the Commissioner Peshawar Division, Sir Richard Udny who was a member of the Asmar Boundary Commission adopted pro-Afghan attitude and gave maximum concessions to Afghanistan. He agreed to the proposal of his Afghan

counterpart, Ghulam Haider Khan and further pushed the border towards the south. In this way, an area of about 200 km long and over 100 km wide was given to Afghanistan. It was due to the Durand Agreement that people of Dir and Bajour were deprived of their in addition to their popular ruler, Umra Khan of Jandul.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Directorate of Archives and Library Peshawar, File Ex-DD, Bundle No. 13, Serial No. 1389, 6.

<sup>2</sup>H. C. Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign: A Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat, and Bajour* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1981), 63,

<sup>3</sup>Sir Winston Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (London: Longmans, Greens, & Ltd., 1901), 19.

<sup>4</sup>Asad Munir, *Umra Khan of Jandul*, the Express Tribune, June 12, 2012.

<sup>5</sup>Lutfur Rehman, *Durand Agreement: Impacts on Bajour, Chitral, Dir and Swat* (Islamabad: National Defence University, 2012), 20.

<sup>6</sup>Macgregor, *Central Asia*, part 1 (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871), 146.

<sup>7</sup>Who's who in the NWFP 1914 (Peshawar: Government Press, 1915), 164.

<sup>8</sup>Major Deane, *A Report on Chitral Relief Force* (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1895), 1.

<sup>9</sup>A.H. McMahon and A.D.G. Ramsay, *Report on the Tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajour Together with Utman-Khel and Sam Ranizai*, (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1981), 78.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *The Indian Borderland: 1880-1900* (London: Methuen and Co., 1901), 246

<sup>11</sup>The New York Times, May 12, 1895.

<sup>12</sup>Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, 84.

<sup>13</sup>Letter No. 154 sent by Chief Secretary Punjab, C. L. Tupper to Secretary Foreign Affairs, March 13, 1893, available in the File No. 7 (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1893), 9.

<sup>14</sup>Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign*, 27.

<sup>15</sup>C.R. Markam: *The Upper Basin of Kabul River*, Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series, Vol.1, No.2. (Feb.1879), 113.

<sup>16</sup>A. L'E. Holmes, *Gazetteer of the North-West Frontier: From Bajaur and the Indus Kohistan on the north to the Mari Hills on the south*, Vol.1 (Simla: the Government Central Branch Press, 1887), 176.

<sup>17</sup>Henry George Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Baluchistan* (Karachi: Indus Publication, 1978), 2.

<sup>18</sup>Ludwig Adamec: *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Austria* Vol. 6 (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 43.

<sup>19</sup>Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed, *The Life of Abdur Rahman: Amir of Afghanistan*, Vol. 11 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 158-59.

- <sup>20</sup>McMahon and Ramsay, *Report on the Tribes of Dir*, 91.
- <sup>21</sup>Dean, *A Report on Chitral Relief Force.*, (appendix 1, a), 3.
- <sup>22</sup> Sir Percy Sykes, *A Biography of Sir Mortimer Durand* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1926), 202.
- <sup>23</sup>Letter No. 1258 F sent by Secretary to the Government of India on Foreign Affairs to the Chief Secretary of the Government of the Punjab, Simla, June 28, 1892.
- <sup>24</sup>Kharita (Letter) No. 91 P. O, Simla, 28<sup>th</sup> June 1892.
- <sup>25</sup>*Note 196 C; Relations with Umra Khan of Jandol* sent by Commissioner Peshawar to Foreign Department, June 18, 1893, 4.
- <sup>26</sup>*Correspondence Relating to Chitral* presented to [British] Parliament by Command of Her Majesty (London: Ere and Spottiswoode, 1895), 32.
- <sup>27</sup> Extract from Peshawar Confidential Diary, No. 15 (Asmar), August 10, 1894.
- <sup>28</sup> Richard Udny, *Note on Chitral Affairs* (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1895), 1.
- <sup>29</sup>*Ibid*, 2.
- <sup>30</sup>General Staff of Indian, *Military Report and Gazetteer on Dir, Swat and Bajour, part 1* (Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1928), 12.
- <sup>31</sup> Captain H.L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North West Frontier* (London: John Murray, 1912), 189.
- <sup>32</sup> H.C Wylly, *Tribes of Central Asia; from the Black Mountains to Waziristan*(Lahore;Wanguard Books PVT Ltd, 1996), 164.
- <sup>33</sup>Paul K. Davis, *Besieged: 100 Great Sieges from Jericho to Sarajevo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 266.
- <sup>34</sup>Wylly, *Tribes of Central Asia*, 166.
- <sup>35</sup> W. Malleeson, *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India* Vol. 1, edit. (Quetta: Nisa Traders, 1979), 547.
- <sup>36</sup>G.J. Younghusband and Francis Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral* (Rawalpindi: English Book House, 1976), 101. The book was first published in 1895.
- <sup>37</sup>Wylly, *Tribes of Central Asia*, 170.
- <sup>38</sup>Telegram sent by General Commanding Officer Chitral Relief Force to Punjab on April 16, 1895.
- <sup>39</sup>*Correspondence Relating to Chitral*, 50.
- <sup>40</sup>Telegram sent from Simla to Lahore on April 17, 1895.
- <sup>41</sup>Telegram sent from Simla to Lahore on April 8, 1895.
- <sup>42</sup>C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. XI (Delhi: Manager of Publication, 1933), 432
- <sup>43</sup>J.A.Crawford, *Note on Journey of Umra Khan*(Quetta: August 31, 1896),2.
- <sup>44</sup>Young husband, *The Relief of Chitral*, 121.

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