



## RESEARCH ARTICLE

**The Representation of Pashtuns in Alexander Burns' Cabool Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in That City in the Years 1836, 7, 8.****Wajid Riaz and Tasadduq Hussain**

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Email: [wiji\\_sami@yahoo.com](mailto:wiji_sami@yahoo.com)Received: 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2015, Revised: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2015, Accepted: 13<sup>th</sup> June 2015**ABSTRACT**

*Representation in the colonial and post colonial academia has become a key tool through which simplistic images of the other such as; colonized are constructed by colonizers. Colonialist writers are dubbed as Orientalists whereas; the term Orient is applied to the Colonized. From time to time, the Orient has been represented in various genre of literature by Orientalists such as; Novel, Drama, Prose and Poetry, but the most influential instrument employed was Travelogue by them. Many travellers and colonial Officer had visited the colonized regions and wrote about them. Generally, Orientalists have misrepresented Orient in their writings because their observations most often based on vague assumptions and molded to serve their political purposes. As a matter of fact, Indian sub-continent also remained under the supremacy of British colonialism, where many British officers had passed with natives and write about their various aspects. Every colonial officer had his own notion towards Orient, the representation of some writers was clear, while others had misrepresented. Pashtuns nation was also the part of Orient and they were represented by many colonial writers such as the prominent British Officer Mountstuart Elphinston had given the detailed and appropriate description of Pashtuns. Alexander Burns an officer in British Army was also one amongst those whom wrote about Pashtuns. He visited Indian sub-continent twice and wrote about the natives people in his two travelogues, *Travels Into Bukhara, Being The Account Of A Journey From India To Cabul, Tartary And Persia-Performed Under The Supreme Government Of India In The Years 1831, 1832 and 1833 (1834)* and *Cabool Being A Personal Narrative Of A Journey To, And Residence In That City In The Years 1836, 7, 8 (1842)*. He reports about every hook and nook of Indian sub-continent in his writings, describing Pashtun nation across both sides of the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The central objective of this research is to find out the representation of Pashtuns in Alexander Burns's travelogue *Cabool Being a Personal Narrative of a Journey To, And Residence in That City in the Years 1836, 7, 8(1842)*, showing that Pashtuns representation is appropriate representation or misrepresentation.*

**Key words:** Representation, Orientalists, Pashtuns**INTRODUCTION**

Travel narrative is an interdisciplinary genre which encompasses a host of issues, such as: imperialism, gender, identity, post colonialism, multiculturalism, globalization, colonialism and representation among many. Travel makes a person to move away from one place to another quite different place from that of the travellers'. The pattern continues through ages and also can be seen making its way in the modern period. The genre of travel narrative springs newer interests in post colonial era. Travel writings in post colonial era are the anthology of events and incidents which unveil the imperialistic designs of travellers. Generally, travel narratives narrate the stories of travelers and explorers to foreign regions but during colonial and post colonial periods they describe the stories of colonized regions and people. However, Colonization is the process of establishing colonies in foreign territories. The colonizers enforce their authority by force and expand their rule over colonized regions. In other words, the process which protects the interests and power of a group and making others subjected to submission of that group is called colonialism. Therefore, travel narratives of colonizers describe the stories of colonizers and their relationship with the natives.

Since the inception of the universe countries, nations and religions have followed and practiced the philosophy of colonialism and envisaged the desire and dominated the poorer and weaker nations and countries all over the world. British imperialism was deemed the prominent imperialistic power and it had expanded its colonies in various continents like Asia, Africa and North America. British had established its colonies in America in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries while in Africa and Asia it had established its governance between 18<sup>th</sup> century to 20<sup>th</sup> century; “at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century larger parts of the world belonged to the British Empire which continued to rule over those territories for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well” (Grebe, 2010).

British entered in the Indian sub-continent in 16<sup>th</sup> century under the umbrella of East Indian Company and started consolidation for getting control of the Indian sub-continent. The process of expansion continued till the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when they took over the reign of the entire Indian sub-continent. British colonizers had established their colonies and remained in close contact with the local people. A large number of British travellers have written travelogues in which they have represented the people of the Indian sub-continent. The travelogues touched upon a variety of themes like their culture, society, language, politics and economy etc. The prominent writers of the time were Richard Francis Burtons (1821-1890), Fanny Duberly (1829-1903), Henry Walter Bellew (1834-1892), Frederic Drew (1836-1891), Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903), Harry De Windt (1856-1933) and Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). They gave a detailed narration of their journeys and exploration in their writings about Indian sub-continent. They mixed with the local people of the area which helped them to gain apt knowledge about their tradition, culture, religion, politics, civilization, customs and languages. They have covered almost the entire Indian sub-continent and its residents. Pashtuns also find their representation in these writings.

Pashtuns represent the largest ethnic tribal group of the world. They live in mountains region straddling the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan. They have their culture practices different from other groups which are given the name Pushtunwali to their culture practices, which is called ethnical code or code of Pushtunwali. Pashtuns society is divided into tribal system which is called khyel, qabila or tabar (Tribes). Pashtuns' tribes are; Khattak, Afridi, Bannusi, Yousafzai, Bangash, Shinwari, Lodhi, Moomand, Hassanzai, essakhyel and many more. Pashtuns language is called Pashto, Pushtu, Pukhto and Afghani which has different dialects and almost all tribes have their own dialects. Pashtuns occupy many parts of the Indian sub-continent mainly the bordering areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. They are known as Afghani, Pathan, and Pukhtun noted by Clammer (2007); The British called them Pathans, while Pashtuns have often simply referred to themselves historically as 'Afghans'... Pashtuns live mainly in east and southern Afghanistan, spreading into North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan in Pakistan. During 19<sup>th</sup> century, some of British Army officers and travellers (e.g. William Moorcroft (1770-1825), Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), George Trebeck (1800-1825), Sir Alexander Burns (1805-1841), Arthur Conolly (1807-1842), Eldred Pottinger (1811-1843), Henry Walter Bellew (1834-1892) and Sir Robert Warburton (1842-1899)) had traveled Pashtuns' territories and lived for quite some time with them. They described Pashtuns as brave and honorable. Sir Alexander Burns was one of those writers who wrote some books about the people of Indian sub-continent in which he also wrote about Pashtuns. He represented them in his travel narratives *Travels Into Bukhara, Being The Account Of A Journey From India To Cabul, Tartary And Persia-Performed Under The Supreme Government Of India In The Years 1831-33* (1834) and *Cabool Being A Personal Narrative Of A Journey To, And Residence In That City In The Years 1836-38* (1842) . His journey to Kabul provided him with an opportunity to describe Afghani people as well. He calls Pashtuns by the name Afghans in his travel narrative *Cabool* (1842).

Like other Orientalists Alexander Burns also represented Pashtuns in his travelogues. Since most of the British travelers have misrepresented Pashtuns and their representation is associated with the bleak images of Pashtuns because of prejudices to

their hospitality, bravery, revenge and courage. Likewise, Pashtuns have also seen the rays of colonization. They have been portrayed at times civilized, hospitable and sometimes people devoid of good qualities. Similar attitude has shown towards Pashtuns' region. It is described as the country of mountains, rigid Muslims, cruel tribal rivalries, violent warriors and a political complexity that entwines bloodlines, religion, history, opportunism and treachery into a mix as inexplicable to the outsider today as it had ever been. To them it is a land of mystery.

Therefore, in this research paper I have taken up the issue of representation of Pashtuns from post colonial perspective in 19<sup>th</sup> century travel narrative *Cabool* (1842) by a British Army officer Lt. Col. Sir Alexander Burns and to find out whether his representation of Pashtuns is apt or misrepresentation like other Orientalists.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many of the colonial writers have written about Pashtuns in their travel narratives, some of them have given appropriate descriptions while others have misrepresented them. Alexander Burns has also described Pashtuns in *Cabool* (1842), a narrative that is the result of his exploration and travelling. He gives the detailed descriptions of the contemporary 19<sup>th</sup> century Pashtuns' society. In *Cabool* (1842), he narrates the stories of different regions and people of Pashtuns. The study highlights that how Alexander Burns represented Pashtuns and their society in *Cabool* (1842). It also attempts to find out whether the representation of Pashtuns by Alexander Burns in 19<sup>th</sup> century, is an appropriate representation or misrepresentation of Pashtuns. It also seeks to reveal how Pashtuns and their society have been reflected in 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### RESEARCH QUESTION

1. How and why Alexander Burns represented Pashtuns in his travel narrative "*Cabool*". Whether his representation of Pashtuns is an appropriate representation or like other colonial writers he misrepresented Pashtuns?

### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To analyze the socio-political, economic and culture background of Pashtuns in 19<sup>th</sup> century in general.
2. To analyze the travel narrative *Cabool* (1842) to show the political, social, economical and culture background of Pashtuns, particularly of 19<sup>th</sup> century and reflect that how they have been represented.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### REPRESENTATION IN POST COLONIAL STUDIES:

Representation is the theoretical frame work and ground principle of post colonial study which examines the representation of one culture and society by writer from other culture. Representation results in cultural differences and divisions which creates the situation where individuals and groups belong to more than one culture. The word representation is notorious which can be used for diverse purposes such as: presence, appearance, bearing, images, reproduction of some production, factual figure, drawing of painting, symbols for an action and the most important is representation of a nation, and its culture, tradition, language and custom. Similarly, representation has been illustrated by Catharine Stimpson (1970) in the following words;

*Like every great word, 'representation' is a stew. A scrambled menu, it serves up several meanings at once. For a representation can be an image visual, verbal, or aural ... A representation can also be a narrative, a sequence of images and ideas ... Or, a representation can be the product of ideology, that vast scheme for showing forth the world and justifying its dealings (1970).*

Representation is an umbrella term and is employed for a number of purposes but in contemporary era it is deemed as a key element in the post colonial studies in the larger cultural setting. The theory of representation emerges with the recognition of post colonialism and a critique of colonialism. Representation by colonizers has always been used to colonize others and represent them, whether such representation shapes the black American, wild Africans, the Arabs the believers of Islam or brutal and brave Pathans of the Indian sub-continent. Colonizers exercise acute ideas of supremacy over the colonized in their writing. The term representation can be interpreted and explored in many ways. The books which have been written for representation of others can be analyzed according to the objectives of writer as colonizers have used their text for promoting their objectives in colonized regions and native indigenous have been conceptualized inferior, degenerated, irrational, and illogical. Moreover, their culture, tradition and custom have been shown disintegrating and they have not been only dispossessed of their territory and corporal movement but also destroyed their ideological existence. However, colonization is not merely satisfied and limited to subjugate the natives but to seize them entirely. Simply, colonizers have distorted, disfigured and destroyed the colonized people. Representation by colonizers is based on convinced prejudices, biases, condensed images, rigid conception to present the colonized which is purposed to take control of them and consider them inferior.

The phenomenon of Western ideas of representation lead to suppression of colonized which is based on their dominance over colonized. Colonizers deem themselves as paramount and the world is only belonging to them. They can make use of the best resources, the entire structure of economics, social changes, civilization and productivity belongs to them. They encourage their own values by repudiating others values, they maximize their own values by influential discharge of getting benefits while colonized are pushed back and consider them inferior. As a result colonized have been given their identity in colonial writing, they have been attributed the word *Other with capital O*, called by Lacan while Gayatri Spivak coins the word 'othering' for colonial discourse which elaborates Lacan concept of 'Other' with capital 'O'. This bias is shown, since of the dominance and subjugation of colonizers and colonized. Colonized people are not only represented in isolation but inundated in communal inscrutability; their culture identity is comprehended and constructed. Colonized representation is perceived, not the actual, their identity is a construction of colonial authority to understand and comprehend them. To give identity to someone is not always easy and transparent. Similarly, identity which colonizers attribute to colonized is not absolute and perfect. It is not transparent and simple as it seems to us, but assigning identity to someone is an accomplished fact and it is already given to his/her existing culture, which is represented. As we think that identity is never given and in process but factually it is already complete. His/her existing culture practice and recognized his/her cultural identity and lays claim. By and large, representation by colonizers is not apt, it is misrepresentation as Edward Said calls it "representation, not as natural" and Orientalists' text is an imaginative one not the real one because it is an artistic creation not truly observed. Their discursive practices always underestimated Orient and put forward the theories of otherness to Orient. Colonizers value racism, prejudices, discrimination, and their unconditional beliefs are proportional. However, to portray and comprehend others is complex delineation. Different nations have their own respective cultures, customs, politics, traditions, and societies. If a man is assigned a task of writing about a particular culture different from his culture, he would not aptly identify and delineate the principles of that particular society. He will prefer his own standards, although that particular culture's principles are not underestimated but his own values are important and superior to him. Similarly, the colonizers represent the colonized. As a final point, representation has both positive and negative connotations but in post colonial study the representation of colonizers is mostly distorted and ambiguous. They frequently attempt to expose the negative aspects of colonized who are represented by showing them uncivilized and their bleak images are resulted in writing as they are

portrayed cruel, brutal, savages, dull, stupid, thus those nations of the world who conquered and dominated (mis) represent the colonized in their writings.

#### **PASHTUNS' REPRESENTATION BY ORIENTALISTS:**

As far as the issue of representation is concerned, the colonized countries in general and the Indian sub-continent in particular have been portrayed in condescending images. Colonized were also dubbed as 'Other' by Lacan as mentioned earlier. The word 'Other' is assigning a negative image to them. Colonizers had represented themselves civilized and they had the mission to civilize colonized as well. Their approach in their writing was positive to civilize others but they had never shown such aspiration in reality.

However, every part of the Orient has been described by colonizer in order to show their superiority. In this regard Pashtuns have been described in the same way. Pashtuns have been also represented by many western and colonial writers in their works. However, as I have already discussed, that Pashtuns have been painted as cruel, brutal savages and dull. It seems that Pashtuns have been devoid of good qualities but it is not the reality. They possess good quality as well as their mentality is described. Although they are full of taking revenge, they have jealousy for others, greed, rapacity and obstinacy are the part of their nature but their worthy qualities like hospitality, fondness of liberty, their bravery, loyalty and faithfulness are praised. Pashtuns have been shown laborious hard worker and prudent as Elphinstone describes them in the following words; Their voices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity and obstinacy; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious, and prudent. (Elphinstone 1815). Elphinstone had observed Pashtuns from very close, therefore his portrayal of Pashtuns in the above context is apt because Pashtuns factually are brave, hospitable, kind hearted, revengeful, greedy and full of jealousy. Jewett says about pashtuns "Afghanistan is a bad place. The people are all liars and thieves, and there is nothing in the country but ignorance, greed, and *shaitani* (Bell, 1948). Jewett extensive proclamation might have some personal vengeance to someone in Afghanistan which made it essential for him to describe Afghans and their country in such worst words. Further, such report is received from a native of Herat, when a British was barbarously put to death in prison by Afghans; "if dirt killed people, where would the Afghans be" (Will, 2001). Moreover, Henry Bellew says that Pashtun's character is full of fallacy, arrogance, greed and revenge. The portrayal of Pashtuns in the above discussion is utterly narrow proclamation which is no more than heard, not personally practiced, or perceived. Their enmity to Pashtuns made it mandatory for them to describe them in nastiest words. However, some Orientalists have appreciated Pashtuns and consider them as distinguish ethnic group like others ethnic groups. Their ethnic identity describes their praiseworthy principles of Pushtunwali that is an ideal way of the Pashtuns' lives. Pashtunwali is a sophisticated code or principle of honor which consist of others code and principles enhancing moral and ethical rules of personal behavior such as demand for martial bravery, welcoming attitude, steadfastness and faith in Islam. These principles are given below in Pashtu with English translation as researcher has translated to English for understanding of readers;

*Tooraah/toorzani—bravery*

*Nanaawati-asylum and/or acceptance of a truce offer*

*Baddal-blood revenge in case of murder, manslaughter or physical injury*

*Marrannah-manhood or chivalry*

*Isstiqammat—persistence*

*Sabatt qaddam—steadfastness*

*Turzzan-Brave*

*Immandari-righteousness, morality*

*Ghayrrat au nnang-defense of property and honor*

*Namooss-defense of the virtue/honor of women*

*Melmasstya-hospitality*

Pashtuns do not only use these principles but they strictly implement these principles in their lives for the sake of their honor; “a Pashtun must adhere to the code to maintain his identity as a Pashtun and to maintain his identity as a Pashtun” (Clunan & Harold, 2010). If a Pashtun breaks the code of Pushtunwali, he is humiliated and loss his honor in his society. Then, he has two options either to be humiliated or leave his tribe to migrate some elsewhere far away from his home as it has been discussed by many Orientalists. Pashtuns always maintain their honour, if they are visited by any guest. They receive them with smiling faces and entertain them with best foods as it is their custom of hospitality. Hospitality is their important principle which is called ‘Melmastiya’ in Pashtu. Pashtuns’ hospitality toward their guests is a national point of reputation. A person, who gives hospitality to the guest, grasps the principle of Pashtunwali but an inhospitable man who devoid of Pashtunwali is a person of contempt in Pashtuns. Pashtuns’ hospitality is the greatest affairs of Pashtunwali, therefore, it has been discussed several times. Pashtuns’ hospitality has been described by Elphinstone (1842) in the following words; the Hospitality so conspicuous amongst all the Afghans. Every stranger is welcome wherever he goes. The smallest and poorest camp has its arrangements for the reception of guests. Therefore, the above narration about Pashtuns’ hospitality is indispensable which shows other good features of them as well. However, Pashtuns’ hospitality has been described a remarkable feature but Pashtuns’ revenge has not been ignored by Orientalists as they had always kept in mind that Pashtuns are famous for taking revenge. Pashtuns take revenge in an account of any wrong act. Although, Pashtuns’ revenge itself violates the law of the land but they feel satisfaction when they take revenge. Pashtuns use the word ‘baddal’ for revenge which I have already discussed. Pashtuns’ famous proverb about taking revenge is many times discussed such as; “he is not a Pathan who does not give a blow for a pinch” (Bergsma, 2009). Moreover, Pashtuns’ bravery and resistance against enemies can never be underestimated. They show their bravery by using their skills and cleverness to take revenge from their foes. Colonel Hutchinson who was fighting in 1898 against Afridi Pashtuns in Tirah has noted about Pashtuns’ bravery; these (Pashtuns) men are extremely bold, and they are as cunning and clever as they are audacious. They show much patience in watching and waiting for their prey, and great dash and impudence in their attacks when they make them (Hutchinson, 2008). Pashtuns have always shown bravery even they sacrifice their lives for their honor and respect. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, British administration again and again confronted problems due to Pashtuns’ bravery and they all the time were planning to overcome Pashtuns but they failed in their mission. British travel writings, in which they have discussed the problems of their army confronted to them from Pashtuns, were packed with allusions of enmity with British Army. British have given the name ‘*Hindustani Fanatics*’. They were forced to attack on Pashtuns again and again but they had failed and appreciated Pashtuns’ bravery as Marsh noted; The British were nevertheless confronted by Pathan tribesmen in the hills who regularly “plundered and burnt our villages and [slew] our subjects, fired upon our own troops and even killed our officers in our territory.” Moreover, they sheltered outlaws and kidnapped British subjects (2009). For British army, Pashtun nation was indestructible pillar in their successive control over Indian sub-continent. However, British Army had implemented many policies to defeat Pashtuns but the result was the same. Thus, British have appreciated Pashtuns’ bravery again and again.

Every nation passes through developmental stages, so they are called uncivilized, irrational, illiterate and inferior. Pashtuns are also fixed in the same cube like other colonized indigenous. In Colonial writings, the civilization mission of colonized has been shown while European portrayal has been shown superior, balanced, rational, civilized, educated, advanced, good, and moral. However, Pashtuns also remained under their supremacy but their supremacy was limited to them. Their features in comparison with other colonized are unique. Their approach is different from other colonized. Pashtuns have ferocious intellect of self governance attached with a contradictory wisdom of a person confidence on the relationship cluster, while their tribal society is distinguished by

elevated level of mistrust, aggression, and conflict and their tribal society is also renowned for its disturbed political harmony but when their ethnicity is predictable for their national political scene, then they love their freedom and show lawlessness, fanaticism, and pride. Their lawlessness is extremely difficult to put together the Pashtuns' tribes into a national structure.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For analysis of this research paper the researcher adopted colonial Orientalist discourse which pacts with travelogue and its text to trace out the veiled purpose. Travel writing is used for signs, discourse and representations. The researcher follows Edward Said Orientalism a theoretical frame work which discusses colonial Orientalist discourse. Edward Said Orientalism (1978) discusses that how Orient has been represented/constructed by Orientalists. Edward Said carries out a close analysis of travel writings and provides deeper insights to the understanding of colonialist writers' representation. Edward Said mainly, recognized the works of Western writers in his book *Orientalism* (1978) which helps the researcher to follow Edward Said for analyzing the work of British colonial army officer Alexander Burns of 19<sup>th</sup> century who also presented simplistic images of the Orient. The researcher also focuses on Ghani Khan's *The Pathan* (1994) and Mountstuart Elphinstone *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (1815). Elphinstone has been followed by Burns and he agreed with Elphinstone's travelogue. The works of Ghani Khan (1994) and Elphinstone (1815) are used for justifications of the researcher's arguments. Furthermore, Alexander Burns' previous narrative *Travels Into Bukhara*: (1834) is also considered to conclude about Pashtuns.

### TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF BURNS' CABOOL

Alexander Burns' primary objective was a diplomatic one; as part of which he had to examine the mission of the dominant power of the time, Russia. His first diplomatic visit to the Indian sub-continent provided valuable information to the British Government which helped them to overcome major challenges in Afghanistan. It was due to his political strategies during the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century that British successfully marched into Kabul. Despite the fact, that Burns achieved considerable success in his diplomatic missions; he never underestimated Pashtuns, and time and again reports the fear of their resistance. Alexander Burns' *Cabool* (1842) is a detailed account of his voyage to Kabul. During his journey he came across, diverse cultures, societies, localities, customs and peoples which find elaborate expression in his famous travelogues *Cabool* (1842). Although, Burns' narrative encompasses almost all aspects of the contemporary society but this research is limited to the representation of Pashtuns who are called 'Afghans' by Alexander Burns.

### PASHTUNS' SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Description of Pashtuns' society and culture was not Burns' sole aim; whenever he visited a newer place, he wrote about the local people and their stories. He thinks Pashtuns as: hard working, brutal, savages and true followers of Islam. In addition, he describes Pashtuns' origin, their heart touching beauty of nature, personalities, religion, politics, bravery, revenge, and resistance against infidels, women and their bravery in *Cabool* (1842) which find elaborate description as given below.

### PASHTUNS' ORIGIN

Pashtuns are the largest ethnic group residing along both sides of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. They inhabit between Hindu Kush Mountain ranges in Afghanistan and the river Indus in Pakistan. They also live in province of Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan and Kashmir regions in Pakistan as well as Khorasan province in Iran and Muslims communities in India. Their range of population reaches to 27 million in Pakistan while in Afghanistan the number reduces to its half figure around 14 million. In 19<sup>th</sup>

century, Pashtuns were residing between river Indus and Peshawar at north side and at Kabul and other regions in Afghanistan. In Kabul they were under the rule of Dost Muhammad Khan whereas in some other Parts of Afghanistan they were under the rule of Dost Muhammad Khan's brothers as he had appointed them to rule.

In *Cabool* (1842) Alexander Burns describes the origin of Pashtuns; according to him they are the lost tribe of Jews, because they intimately bear a resemblance to Jews in many ways. He substantiates his proclamation from the chief of Kabul Dost Muhammad Khan; in reply to my inquiries regarding the descent of the Afghans from the Jews he said, "why, we marry a brother's wife, and give a daughter no inheritance; — are we not, therefore, of the children of Israel?" (Burns, 1842). The identical representation of Pashtuns origins have been given in his first travel narrative *Travels Into Bukhara* (1834), according to him without any obvious facts that Pashtuns are like Jews and they entertain the laws of Hazrat Moses (A.S). However Prophet Moses (A.S) was the Prophet of Allah sent for Jews, and Allah guiding principles are repeatedly indistinguishable for the entire humanity. Even though next to Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) the last Prophet of Allah, all previous guidelines of all Prophets stayed behind but still the largest part of previous commands of Allah are entertained. So, Pashtuns may practice some of previous guidelines of Allah, possibly still practice in their religion Islam. Alexander Burns also does not follow Elphinstone concerning their origin. According to Elphinstone, Pashtuns' origin is from one of the four sons of Qais. They were Betnee, Ghooghosht, Seerabun and Kurle and Afghan's tribe descended from one of these sons of Qais. However, Ghani Khan has traced the origin of Pashtuns, back to Bectians from Greece and finally reaches to the conclusion; "that this is the only argument in favour of the theory that then the Pathans might have been Jews" (Ghani Khan, 1994).

Both Burns and Elphinstone had different ideas towards Orient and they had not precisely described Pashtuns' origin as they had misrepresented their origin. Similarly, Orientalists misrepresent oriental nations and later their representation of Orient becomes a true one as Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia noted in their book *Edward Said* (2001); "for the analysis hinges on the ideological nature of representation and the ways in which powerful representations become the 'true' and accepted ones". Orientalists' study has stirred estimation of Orient which in practice becomes their true representation. The information provided by Orientalists may be based on imagination which has no reality but still it becomes the true representation of Orient. Said calls it 'imaginative geography'. These arguments are only heard through ages and come down from generation to generation and finally the strong support from well known group gives it the real picture. Similarly, Pashtuns' imaginative description becomes the true representation.

### **PASHTUN'S PERSONALITY**

Whenever a Pashtun's personality is defined by any writer, the word simplicity and goodness is attached to his personality. A Pashtun has been endowed with a tender and soft heart, simplicity and sincerity but owing to their straightforwardness Pashtuns have been a number of times mocked and ridiculed. To steer clear of this misjudgment leveled against Pashtuns, they attempt to triumph over this drivel predication, and resultantly turn into aggression and violence, and their hearts become hard. However, in reality Pashtun has a tender heart which is hidden beneath a rough and sulky exterior. He has simple and good personality. He possesses sweet and good behavior but he hides his good qualities beneath a bitter personality and covers his sweetness with bitterness because the people may swallow him with his good and simple personality as Ghani Khan has pointed out; he (Pashtun) covers his sweetness with bitterness, self-preservation pure and simple. His violent nature, strong body and tender heart make a very unstable combination for living (Ghani Khan, 1994). Despite his tender heart Pashtun's personality remains serious and his approach towards people is customary but his attitude is cooperative. He does not provide any opportunity to anyone to gulf down him and the

more central excellence of his personality is his welcoming nature towards everyone. In *Cabool* (1842) Alexander Burns shows his interaction with numerous communities, frequently with Pashtuns but he does not provide a complete outline of Pashtun's personality in detail. Whenever he describes Pashtun's tribe or personality, the words savage, wild and barbarous are allied with them. During his visit to Kookikhel tribe of Pashtuns, he narrates about them; "we were moving among a savage tribe" (Burns, 1842). Similarly, he gives the description of Pashtuns where the word wild is attached with Pashtun's personality; "the country, which is mountainous, and is barren, being held by wild Afghan tribes, who are all independent of each other".

Alexander Burns' narration of Pashtun's personality in weedy expressions does not end here but remain constant with parallel arguments about them and says about northern part of Pashtuns; "from Ismael Khan, north to Peshawar, there is no direct traffic. The roads are bad and the people predatory". Alexander Burns essentialises Pashtuns here with brutality and his representation is stereotypical like other colonial writers as they represented the Oriental world as uncivilized, ignorant, irrational and illogical. Colonial writers had always focused on stereotypical images of Orient which construct their structure simple and convenient as of the factual picture. This projection led the Orient to incivility and brutality as Burns mentions about Pashtuns which is a dim image. Admittedly, Burns does not produce only the negative images of Pashtuns, he also tags them as friendly and cooperative as he describes about Eesa Khyal tribe in *Cabool* (1842); "the Eesa Khyal had acted throughout a most friendly part towards us" (ibid, p.99). Eesa Khyal a Pashtun tribe maintained friendly behavior towards Alexander Burns and his colleagues. For instance, once at Kala Bagh when they encountered problems while climbing a mountain, Eesa Khyal helped them. Burns reports the incident in the following lines in *Cabool* (1842); "however, subsequently surmounted these difficulties by the aid of Eesa Khyal Afghans, who were mostly friendly toward us".

Although Alexander Burns describes Pashtuns' friendly manners but still he associates the identical lawlessness and brutality to Pashtun's personality as he describes in *Cabool* (1842); "we had found the road as good as it had been represented; and the people, lawless as their habits undoubtedly are, had been more friendly than we could have hoped for".

Burns describes their brutality but at the same time he also describes their friendly attitude. The only motive of Burns gratitude of their friendly manner might be the outcome of Pashtuns helping outlook. They were probably the only Eesa Khyal and Wazeers who helped them, thus he has appreciated their friendly attitude towards British or these tribes had granted their alliance to them. Apart from these tribes Burns also appreciates the friendly attitude of other tribes as well but mostly he associates the word savage and wild to them. Burns like other Orientalists has also adopted the related approach of misrepresentation. Burns nearly all the time describes events and places which sometimes he had only heard about from others and not personally visited. He has also overlooked Elphinstone's views about Pashtun's personality. Elphinstone describes Pashtuns good and hospitable people who dress well and are not treacherous. Although Burns has only appreciated friendly attitude of Eesa Khyal and ignored other tribes of Pashtuns and represented them not good enough whereas Elphinstone has appreciated all tribes of Pashtuns as he describes. According to him, they are sober, simple and steady as "they (Pashtuns) are gentle and good-tempered in their intercourse with their guests, and with each other. Such is their veracity" (Elphinstone, 1815). Burns randomly shows his hatred towards Pashtuns, he describes many nations in *Cabool* (1842) but Pashtuns are represented marginalized indigenous bodies, they are represented in dilemma. Burns' description of Pashtun's personality is chaotic, he shows them irrational and depraved as Orientalists had shown the Orient which has been traced out by Said (1978) in the following words; "the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different".

Similarly, Alexander Burns also gives a vivid picture of Pashtuns' leader Dost Muhammad Khan. Dost Muhammad Khan has been depicted a powerful and clever leader who can

hardly be deceived. At the same time, Burns describes him a greedy person. According to Burns, Dost Muhammad Khan's sole aim was money as he mentioned in *Cabool* (1842); "his (Dost Muhammad Khan) sole aim is money". Similarly, every Pashtun has shown clever and greedy in *Cabool* (1842). Although, Dost Muhammad Khan has been shown corrupt and voracious leader by Burns but Mohan Lal who was present with Burns and personally observed Dost Muhammad Khan keenly, has given a different sketch of Dost Muhammad Khan as he narrates about him in his book on Dost Muhammad Khan, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan; of Kabul* (1846); the Amir dost Mohammed Khan continued to show us every civility, and appearing to act with perfect sincerity; and in his conversation with Alexander Burns he always showed a moderation in his demands.

Mohan Lal has described Dost Muhammad Khan's personality in moderate words, which shows that Dost Muhammad Khan was a sincere and honest man whereas Burns has given a dim picture of his personality. Burns idea is similar to other Orientalists. Orientalists' ideas are full of controversies, their representation is contradictory. They are depicted as people with many frail qualities which they possess in general such as; selling their wives, marrying his brother's wife after brother's death, killing and looting people. The concept of otherness in *Cabool* (1842) is associated with Pashtuns by Burns. Burns had not seen some of the events with his own eyes and he had only heard from others. Thus, Burns has given the stereotypical images of Pashtuns in *Cabool* (1842) and their characters and personalities have been essentialised.

The above analyses show that Alexander Burns' direct attack on Dost Muhammad Khan was the result of Dost Muhammad Khan's strong confrontation to British. For British the only blockade was Pashtuns in their governance in this part of Indian sub-continent. Although Pashtuns resided from Attock to Peshawar were under the flag of Sikhs, they were defeated by Sikhs. Sikhs tried many times to overcome Pashtuns under Dost Muhammad Khan's governance but they failed continually in their mission. Due to this Alexander Burns was frightened from Dost Muhammad Khan and did not bother to discuss so many things in his travelogues; such as their language, their culture in detail. However, instead of Dost Muhammad Khan's constant resistance, British Government achieved its mission and conquered Kabul but its supremacy remained for short time and Alexander Burns the Political Agent of Kabul was beheaded by Pashtuns and the British were significantly defeated in the first Anglo Afghan War (1839-42). In Marsh (2009) words; The Anglo-Afghan War of 1839-42, Britain's first conflict with the Pathan tribesmen in the mountains west of the Indus constituted one of the greatest defeats in British imperial history.

#### **NATURAL RESOURCES OF PASHTUNS**

Burns had vigilant observation in natural resources of Pashtuns' region. He was observing minute objects which generally a common person fails to do as he observes the sand of the river Indus which he has shown in *Cabool* (1842); "the sand of the Indus is searched for gold. The precious mineral is also found at Dera Ismail Khan; but not in the river". Further, he says; the mineral riches of Kala Bagh, its rock-salt, alum, and sculpture require no further mention from me; but it is important that I should state that we here commenced a series of inquiries for coal, and that our search was crowned with complete success.

However, it was not only Burns who was inspired by Pashtuns' natural resources but it was the primary objective of other colonizers as well to appreciate the natural resources of Orient as some times colonizers want to grip after colonizing the colonized. The purpose of Pashtuns' subjugation was to hold Pashtuns' economy which they get from their mines and other natural resources. Colonizers pretended that their chief purpose was educating the colonized people but their titular mission was secretly aimed to control the wealth of colonized region as Nzongola-Ntalaja has observed the outcome of colonialism. He says; "in this region (Africa) with considerable wealth in natural resources, the invaders (colonizers) spent more time plundering the land of its gold,

diamonds, coltan, timber, coffee and other resources" (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004). However, majority of the colonizers had focused on the wealth of Colonized region. British Colonizers had vast expansion in almost all continents of the world and they had the identical approach towards colonized regions as their worst effect in all colonized regions was the heavy drain on resources.

Colonial writers have described the natural resources of orient in their writings, whenever they find opportunity; they transport the wealth of colonized to their countries. It was not only Alexander Burns who has illustrated the natural resources of Pashtuns but Elphinstone has also shown his keen interest in their natural resources. According to him Pashtuns export rock-salt at large scale, mostly to Afghanistan neighboring called Terah. Though all western travelers who wrote about Pashtuns had apt knowledge of Pashtuns' natural resources which they were intended to take over as Said says; "the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West".

Colonizers' main objective was to take control of colonized regions' wealth, their approach was materialistic. They were supplying the wealth of Orient secretly as they were showing that they are educating and civilizing the Orient but in reality they snatched their wealth and promoted their own business as Said points out that; "the Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture". It was also confirmed by Dost Muhammad Khan when Burns narrates about the smuggled goods of Russia; "the usage of the British and Russians, who seize upon all smuggled goods".

Pashtuns' country, natural resources and business were dearer to Orientalists and they have expressed their fanatical interests. It was not only Pashtuns' region but the whole Orient was a place of their deep interest, and they nearly once apprehended their business to peak in Orient. However, British government has shown its great interest in Pashtuns' natural resources but their resistance forced British to flee from their country. British were not only forced in this part of Orient to leave, but at other parts as well. British ran away from Afghanistan and did not dare to enter Kabul with the mission of subjugation. Pashtuns had diverse tactics towards Orientalists' interests, although approximating to other colonized beings they were also put in the same cube, but their bravery and resistance forced colonizers to flee from their country. Their resistance and revenge is discussed in the following pages.

#### **PASHTUNS' LOVE FOR INDEPENDENCE, BRAVERY, RESISTANCE AND REVENGE**

Man is born free, and he is free from slavery or subjugation. Since his child birth he is dependent on society which consists of his parents and relatives but a time comes when he is entirely self reliant and loves to be free from any force around him. He considers his freedom is a preliminary right. Independence is not only restricted to an individual or specific person but it is limited to a nation, country or state where its residents and inhabitants exercise their self-government; usually it is their sovereignty over their own territory. To exercise his independence he considers his duty to be patriotic to his country or state. Every nation exercises its independence and patriotic to its country, if any foreign threat is felt, they resist for their independence. They demonstrate their bravery and resistance and also taking revenge. Pashtuns' most dominant characteristic is their intense love for independence. It has seen that mostly Pashtuns are fortunately under the hierarchy of poverty but they never reconcile themselves to foreign rules. Foreigners always failed to deprive Pashtuns of their independence and freedom because their intensity of love for independence forced the foreigners to pay heavily for the price of their folly and fled from their country.

Pashtuns love their independence; they are patriotic to their country. They resist if any foreign invasion is reported and show their act of bravery, it is their love for independence to resist against the enemies as it has seen in the First Anglo-Afghan war of 1839-1842, the war which preceded long succession of wars. In this war British viewed Pashtuns' love of independence. These were the same years when Alexander Burns was

on his mission in Kabul. In *Cabool* (1842) Alexander Burns describes Pashtuns' independence, their patriotism, resistance towards enemy, and taking revenge. However, their tribes are also independent from each other but still they love their country and sacrifice their lives for it and their bravery is indispensable. When Alexander Burns was moving to Kabul, consecutive wars were taking place among Sikhs and Pashtuns. However, Pashtuns were defeated in these wars but still their resistance continued. After conquering Peshawar, Sikhs' invasion was sustained toward Kabul but they were defeated critically as Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842); On the following day further intelligence arrived from Peshawur, by which he learned that a battle had taken place between the chief of Cabool and the Sikhs, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, in which the Sikh general was slain. Pashtuns have not only shown their bravery against Sikhs but they were traditional in their bravery against every nation as Burns has shown. In *Cabool* (1842) Burns has described the story of Abdul Rehman's bravery, an Afghani who fought against Russia by facing a lot of hardships in capturing citadel, finally succeeded to capture. Abdul Rehman killed many soldiers and captured their wives and children. Abdool Ruhman fought with the besieged heir a whole year, and encountered great hardships in taking the citadel (hissar), but at last took it by the sword, slaying many soldiers and capturing their wives and children.

Here Burns shows the bravery and resistance of Pashtuns against foreign invasion. Although Sikhs were fully dominated in Peshawar and has built their forts but still Pashtuns' antagonism continued towards Sikhs. Sikhs had built two strongest forts in Peshawar to protect themselves from Pashtuns. They still had fear of Pashtuns in their hearts who could attack them any time as Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842); "in the city of Peshawur the Sikhs have built a fort on the site of Bala Hissar". Similarly, he narrates; "they (Sikhs) have also strengthened their position by erecting another fort, called Futtihghur" (ibid). Every tribe of Pashtuns was harmful for Sikhs as Burns narrates in *Cabool* (1842); "as both the Afreedes and Khyberees consider it meritorious to injure the Sikhs". Alexander Burns again and again narrates about their bravery and resistance towards enemies. They were ready to avenge Sikhs as soon as possible as he narrates in *Cabool* (1842); "the Khuttuks were ready to have attacked them on their retreat to Attock, as they passed the defile of Geedur Gullee.

Pashtuns' bravery is exceptional and they show no hesitation while taking their revenge, even years pass and they never forget their enemies and kill them. Similarly, their enmity gives birth to other antagonism as Burns says in *Cabool* (1842); "every fresh act of violence increases the number of feuds, and extends the misery resulting from them still more widely". Pashtuns' revenge takes years and remains constant. I have already discussed Pashtuns' revenge that he is not a Pashtun who doesn't take his revenge. Pashtuns' revenge is called '*Baddal*'. Their revenge is not specified to enemies but it runs deeply in Pashtuns' blood netting with violence between brothers and rivals. Revenge is a serious and obligatory policy for Pashtuns to take revenge of the slightest insult, so the word revenge is very sweet to them. Sometimes, they forgive their enemy but later they neglect the act of forgiveness and take revenge because Pashtuns' tradition of revenge is blood for blood. Pashtuns' bravery and resistance can never be underestimated because they take their revenge at any cost as Alexander Burns himself was beheaded. Their revenge is very serious for enemies and they consider war as a Jihad against infidels. However, their violence is not for blood lust but it is their lack of knowledge, fallacy and devastating burden of custom. Burns considers Pashtuns' revenge is an Islamic act as he has shown in *Cabool* (1842); 'but the retribution of blood, which the Mahommedan law allows, fatally perpetuates these sanguinary habits. "Blood for blood " is their motto and their rule; and as they still rigidly follow it up". Similarly, he narrates; "for the Mahomedan can only shed the blood of him by whom man's blood has been shed" (ibid). It shows that Pashtuns are the strict followers of Islam as it is in reality and implanted in their lives as shown by Alexander Burns in the above lines.

As a result of such description of Orient, every Orientalist has given the dim image of Orient in his writings. Oriental people, who have been represented by Orientalists, are shown savages, brutal and lusty for revenge. It does not only happen with Pashtuns but similarly, the whole Orient is sometime narrated, as Said (1978) says about Palestine resistance against Israel; "in his resistance to foreign colonialists the Palestinian was either a stupid savage, or a negligible quantity, morally and even existentially". It is the reason that the people of Orient are forced to take their revenge by showing their bravery and resistance which has been always shown by colonized and forced the colonizers to flee from their country. Pashtuns of Kabul also forced British army to flee from their country. Another facet of Pashtuns is their love for independence and patriotism. They have shown their love to their country all the time. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pashtuns of Kabul had the same instinct of love for independence and patriotism which has been shown by Burns in *Cabool* (1842). He describes their love for independence and patriotism when he was passing some people in Kabul with his colleagues; "take care of Cabool!" "Do not destroy Cabool". The people of Kabul were aware that why foreigners visit Afghanistan? The only purpose was to colonize them. They had seen Russian interference in Afghanistan. It was their love for country because they were fighting and struggling for it, as shown by Burns in *Cabool* (1842); "the gallant struggle made for the independence of Herat by the Afghans". Every Oriental has the ambition to be free of foreign subjugation and they all the time raised their slogan for independence. There was the issue of European competition in the Orient; there was the issue of dealing with native elites, native popular movements, and native demands for self-government and independence.

#### **PASHTUNS' HOSPITALITY**

Pashtuns are depicted as wild, rude, revengeful and terrible but their most sublime quality i.e, hospitality construct them impressive and inspiring. Everyone appreciate their hospitality and forget the false predication about Pashtuns and call it misrepresentation of Pashtuns. However, some Orientalists could not muster to visit Pashtuns' country but whenever they visited; their appreciation of hospitality remained alive for them and narrated in sublimity. Pashtuns' revenge is inevitable but their hospitality constructs them to be good and loveable people. Ghani Khan says about their hospitality; "he (Pashtun) was generous and hospitable and had a thunderous big laugh with which he welcomed and flattered you" (Ghani Khan, 1994).

Alexander Burns has mostly essentialised Pashtuns with outrageous qualities as they have been shown wild and savages but whenever he visited any new place, he has been received with warm welcome and hospitality. When Alexander Burns entered Dera Ghazee Khan, he received a message from the King of Kabul Dost Muhammad Khan to visit him; "Dost Mahommed Khan, of Cabool, likewise sent his messengers to urge us to visit him" (Burns, 1842). It was Dost Muhammad Khan's love and act of hospitality who invited Burns to visit Kabul even Dost Muhammad Khan knew that in fact British will invade them but he had maintained the norms of Pashtuns' hospitality. Similarly, every Pashtun had shown his keen interest to see the foreigners and entertain them as Alexander Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842) as he gives description of Bhawul Khan at Mittuncote; "we found Bhawul Khan, as Englishmen have ever found him, a true friend and a princely host". When Alexander Burns entered Kabul, he was received with warm welcome by a fine body of Pashtuns' cavalry which was led by Akbar Khan the Ameer's son. Alexander Burns was given great honour and Ameer's son placed Burns on his personal elephant. Alexander Burns was taken to Ameer's court where Burns and his colleagues were allotted residence inside Bala-Hissar of Kabul. Burns has appreciated his hospitality in the following words; "(Akbar Khan) conducted us to his father's court, whose reception of us was most cordial" (ibid).

Every Pashtun's tribal leader received Alexander Burns with greeting which shows their hospitality as Burns has narrated it that every Pashtun had entertained him and his colleagues. Similarly, in *Cabool* (1842) he describes the hospitality of Naib Muhammad

Shareef who invited Burns and his colleagues, “accepted his invitation . . . Our host was in high spirits and excessively amusing” (ibid). During his stay with Muhammad Shareef, Burns appreciates his generosity who served them; “our host placed before us an abundant breakfast of kabobs, nicely served up”. Here, Pashtuns’ hospitality shows their honesty and sincerity toward their guest because Burns’ cordial welcome and invitation by every Pashtun is the very example of Pashtuns’ hospitality and it is same for every person, even Pashtun demonstrate it towards his enemies and if they harm their enemies, they consider it against their tradition. If Pashtuns do so, they are humiliated as Fida Younas has noted the reaction of Afghan King Sardar Daud against the attack on Pakistani Consulate at Kabul by some extremists on March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1955; “he (Afghan King) termed the attack on the Pakistani Embassy and the ambassador’s house as against international law; diplomatic courtesy and the tradition of Afghan hospitality” (Younas, 2003). Pashtuns’ hospitality is not only their tradition and principal of Pushtunwali but it is worldwide and it has been termed an international law by them. Thus, they provide safety to their guest and diplomats as Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842) when he was moving from Kabul to Kohistan, Dost Muhammad Khan appointed guard for Alexander Burns and his colleagues to ensure their safety. Therefore, Burns has not only appreciated Pashtuns’ hospitality but he has also appreciated their safety for guests and diplomats.

Burns had not only heard about Pashtuns’ hospitality but he had observed it with his own eyes while in Kabul. He has also described their hospitality in his previous visit to Pashtuns’ country. However, Elphinstone narration of hospitality is in detail, he defines it as one of the most remarkable features of Pashtuns. They observe hospitality as a virtue which is a national point of honour. If anyone amongst Pashtuns who does not observe it and entertain his guest, has no Pushtunwali and eliminate them from Pushtunwali. If a person visits Pashtuns without money, he does not require money for food and residence because Pashtuns entertain stranger with the same hospitality as well. It is the reason that all Pashtuns are entitled to observe hospitality and never direct their indignation against guests. Thus, Orientalists have described Pashtuns’ hospitality and they have never ignored this feature of Pashtuns. Burns has given detailed description of hospitality, according to him Pashtuns do not only entertain their guests but they also send some gifts if they are far away from their territory. Thus, their hospitality has not only appreciated by Alexander Burns but other Orientalists have also described and appreciated Pashtuns’ hospitality. Pashtuns’ hospitality can never be competing and it has forced Orientalists to appreciate it all the time in their writings.

### **PASHTUNS’ POLITICS AND THEIR RELIGION**

In Pashtuns, Islam and politics go side by side; Pashtuns are the strong followers of Islam. Nearly all their decisions are based on Islamic laws; “since Islam, rather than a political structure, stands as primary tie within Pathan society as a whole, religious leadership often comes to the fore in times of stress or war” (Marsh, 2009). Pashtuns’ politics is critical and it can never be understood. Every Pashtun struggle to show himself superior, as a result unending disputes take place amongst brothers and cousins and sometimes father and son, but they never succeed. So, every Pashtun imagines himself to be Alexander the Great to rule others as Ghani Khan says; “every Pathan imagines he is Alexander the Great and wants the world to admit it”.

Alexander Burns has described Pashtuns’ tribes which are autonomous from any other governance but still some of its parts were dominated by Sikhs. When Alexander Burns was going from Attock to Peshawar, this area was dominated by Sikhs but still some of its parts were autonomous from Sikhs. Sikhs tried to capture them as well but they had failed in their subjugation. Ahmed Khan chief of Easa Khyel, Futteh Khan Chief of Euzoofzyes, Muhammad Khan chief of Cohat, Hustnuggur, Doaba and Sultan Mehmood chief of Peshawar had submitted their allegiance to Sikhs. Only Wazeers at northern part were free of Sikh dominance while Kabul and its adjacent areas were under the control of Dost Muhammad Khan who ruled with iron and Dost Muhammad Khan the monarch was called

the champion of Islam as noted by Alexander Burns in *Cabool* (1842); “that many of the Mahomedan tribes inhabiting the mountains of Eastern Afghanistan, stretching to the valley of the Indus, who now regard the ruler of Cabool as the champion of Islam”. Burns indicated that Pashtuns believed that their politics was Islam as guided them. To him Pashtuns country was fragmented, their politics was ideological and based on faith which was ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ and they followed Islamic laws. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pashtuns had deep love for their religion and they had shown this love towards their religious fellows as well as to those who worshiped other religion. Thus, they had inspired others and converted them to Islam as Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842). Monsieur an English fellow of Alexander Burns, who embraced Islam, Burns narrates his story; “Monsieur announced himself to be en route for Cabool to join Dost Mohammed Khan, and constrain him to raise the green shirt of the Prophet” (ibid).

Similarly, Burns narrates a story of Hindo in *Cabool* (1842) who has shown his likeness for Islam; “at once replied that their Kaffir customs were best, but here he preferred those of Mahomed”. Still he believes that Islam is parasitic which has limited all activities to some specific boundaries. He shows the tyranny of Mollahs in the whole narrative. During his visits to Nawab Jubbar Khan the discussion starts about medicine in which wine has been used, which was protested by Mollah; “the Mollah, in some long Arabic sentences, protested strenuously against the use of such unholy medicine” (ibid). Similarly, at one stage when Alexander Burns and his colleagues were drinking wine, a Moollah poured religious quotation upon them; The Moollah, being put upon his mettle, now turned his batteries of religion upon us, and poured out quotation upon quotation in praise of temperance and water-drinking, until he fairly beat us out of the field (ibid). Burns had clearly shown in *Cabool* (1842) that Islamic law was enforced everywhere in Pashtuns. Pashtuns had strictly implemented Islam in their lives, while implementing Islam in their lives they care for minute issues as preliminarily, they care for the betterment of their religious fellows as Burns has shown in *Cabool* (1842). An enemy was captured in war against Russia and embraced Islam, and then Pashtuns gave immense respect to him; Cabool Shah, the king, was brought a prisoner before the general, who ordered him to be put to death on the spot; but he read the Mahomedan Creed (Kuluma), and became a Moslem, when Abdool Ruhman honoured him highly (ibid).

Alexander Burns had not only observed the dominance of Islam in *Cabool* (1842) but the same description of Islamic fundamentalism had been shown by him in his first travelogues *Travels Into Bukhara* (1834) as he had described a story of woman, she was killed by her husband and the verdict was brought to Sultan Mehmood Khan the Chief of Peshawar. According to Burns, a man was brought to the Chief of Sultan Mehmood, accused for killing his wife, his wife was discovered in infidelity with a man. The woman was pregnant and already had three children. Her husband put to death his wife and also killed the man who was found in infidelity with his wife. He had his sword in hand, red with blood, describing the deed. The chief has asked a few questions and inquired about the incident, then the man described the story and the chief said in loud voice; “you have acted the part of a good Mahommedan, and performed a justiable act” (Burns, Bokhara; 1842).

Pashtuns had followed Islamic laws and implemented in their lives, therefore they had keen interest in Islamic Education as well. In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Pashtuns had not only implemented Islamic laws in their lives but they had also shown keen interest to get Islamic education as well. According to Burns some of people in Kabul had books in their arms and had turbans on heads that appear in graceful manner. They had octavos as well which indicated him that they were Mollahs along with their students who were getting Islamic education in Madrassa (a place where Muslims get their religious education).

Since long, in early age, all Pashtuns have been using to go to Mollah for getting Islamic education where they read the Holy Quran in Arabic at the same time as translating to their language Pashto. They read others religious books as well under the direction of Mollah. A number of students recite the Holy Quran in Arabic without understanding it

but little by little they comprehend the meanings of Arabic words. They are strictly guided to follow Islamic education and implement in their lives. As a result they are well versed in Islamic studies and education and feel satisfaction while following Islamic education. Thus, Orientalists had considerate perception about their religion Islam and described in their writings. Burns has shown the dominance of Islam in Pashtuns as their leaders were guiding them to follow the Islamic laws but the people were also in favour of Islamic laws and they were ready to sacrifice their lives for Islam. Due to this reason some of Orientalists were frightened of Islam as it was popularizing and expanding. Although for Pashtuns, Islam was their politics and they had keen interest in Islamic education but Orientalists thought that their faith in Islamic fundamentalism had disturbed and even destroyed others as Alexander Burns had given identical description of Chareekar village near Kabul which had been destroyed by Dost Muhammad for his power; "the present chief of Cabool has, on the contrary, been constrained, in order to maintain his power, to destroy many of their forts, which were scattered in clusters all over the valley, and is anxious to reduce the inhabitants to the state of citizens".

However, most of Chareekar population was consisted of Hindu. Therefore, Dost Muhammad Khan had attacked with the intention to spread his religion Islam. As a result, Burns had declared Dost Muhammad Khan's regime an ideological one and recommended British government to be the best for Pashtuns because the people of Kabul had exhausted from the tyranny of Dost Muhammad Khan who was working only for his benefits as it had been shown by Burns. According to Burns Kabul and its surrounding had been governing by many rulers for last nine centuries, every ruler had appeared from mountains and take over the kingship by force and enjoyed his power by receiving revenues of lands from people. So, Burns shows here that the people of Afghanistan had tired from the tyranny of the rulers and they wanted a change because they were ruled without a head as it had been confirmed by an Afghan as Burns has noted in *Cabool* (1842); our country is good, but it is without a head; and, like a beautiful widow, it voluntarily avows her attachment to you, and you cannot refuse to accept her as a wife." All my visitors, however, were not so complimentary. An Afghan who had seen India was speaking of our administration of justice... "Give us a new life, and the patience of Job, and then all will be well".

However, British government had skillfully subjugated Pashtuns with the assistance of Alexander Burns mission but later British government had been pushed back by Pashtuns and Burns was barbarously put to death as I have already discussed. After Burns death, British government had tried several times to regain its' power in Afghanistan but it had never succeeded in its mission. It was the result of Pashtuns' politics which was never understood instead of donating a large number of funds and other gifts to Pashtuns but British Government had never got Pashtuns allegiance. According to H.W. Bellew (1999) that British government never got the allegiance of Pashtuns instead of fulfilling their financial necessities, British sent them free gifts and money which approximately aggregating of five hundred thousand sterling. They also provided thousands of Muskets and some batteries for rifled artillery and trained the drill-instructors and officers to train Pashtuns to use gun-cap and arm manufactories but in return Pashtuns' Amir refused to enter British army in the country and became a harsh opponent to British. It shows that Pashtuns' politics can never be understood, if someone who plays game with Pashtuns in Politics, they play double games in counter with them as Bellew has shown in the above lines.

## CONCLUSION

Burns representation of Pashtuns was the result of his mission as British government had sent him to subjugate Afghanistan. He was sent two times to Peshawar, Afghanistan and other adjacent areas. His mission was based on the discoveries of different parts of Afghanistan to formulate strategies for conquering Afghanistan. It was also helpful for British government to raid the interference of Russia in Afghanistan. Eastern part was

already clear for British government because some of Pashtun tribal leaders were corrupt and they had given their alliance to those who had provided them money, as Schofield has noted about them; “their (Pashtuns) fidelity is measured by the length of the purse of the seducer, and they transfer their obedience and support from one party to another of their own clansmen, according to the comparative liberality of the donation”. Thus, British government had no obstacle to subjugate eastern region of Pashtuns while conquering western part was a dangerous mission for them because the main obstacle were Pashtuns. British army reached to western border near Khyber but they had strong resistance from tribal’s Pashtuns who had limited British army to Afghan border as Marsh shows; Ever since the British extended their rule to the Afghan borderlands in the mid nineteenth century, British officials and soldiers had fixated on the “problem” of the Frontier: Afghan wars, Russian expansion, and rebellion among the region’s Pathan tribes (Marsh, 2009).

However, Alexander Burns had indicated his objectives for business and discoveries purposes but in reality it was intended for conquering Pashtuns but Dost Muhammad Khan had recognized his motive, therefore he had become a dangerous opponent to Burns. Dost Muhammad Khan was a powerful commander of Pashtuns, so, it was not an easy project for Burns to overcome Pashtuns. Major H. W, Bellew’s following words appreciates Alexander Burns’ mission and Dost Muhammad Khan as well who had become a strong opponent to British governance;

*Dost Muhammad Khan, as in possession of the Capital, exercised the supreme authority, such as it was, under the title of Amir, or “Military Commander.” And it was to him as the most prominent personage in the country, that Burns was sent on a mission of commerce and discovery about the year 1835 (Bellew, 1999).*

The above words of Bellew substantiate here that British government had designated its mission for commerce and discovery of Pashtuns’ region as it had not been only recognized by Bellew but Mohan Lal had also evidently signified British government mission with commerce which was unproblematic means for colonizing others as he has shown in the following lines;

*Though I do not boast of being well versed in the histories of India written by talented English authors, but from what I have learned from them I come to the conclusion that the disguised word or appellation for politics is commerce, and that commerce is the only thing which expands the views and policy of territorial aggrandizement (Lal, 1846).*

British government had continued its mission to expand business and later it had transformed its mission to conquer Pashtuns but the only obstacle was Dost Muhammad Khan the supreme commander of Pashtuns. Thus, Burns had associated cleverness with his character and he had been represented corrupt and clever. However, Burns’ representation is a bleak image of Pashtuns, whereas after conquering Afghanistan, Alexander had not given any description of Pashtuns. Dost Muhammad Khan was exiled but in counter he was preparing for a turning point which was proved a successful as his people beheaded Alexander Burns and British government had never conquered Afghanistan after Alexander Burns’ death. British Government had made several attempts and adopted many approaches as I have mentioned earlier but they had failed in their mission. It was Dost Muhammad Khan’s skills who had got hold of Kabul from British and his greatness and kingship was appreciated by H. W, Bellew in the following lines;

*The “Great Amir,” Amiri Kabir, as he is generally styled by his own people, was a popular and successful ruler in his day, and a character greatly admired by the Afghans for his intrepidity, and general success in war; whilst his simple manners, free hospitality, and rough and ready justice, coupled with a ready intercourse with*

*and free accessibility to his subjects of all classes, gained him the respect and affection of them all (Bellew, 1999).*

However, Burns had been also appreciated by his countrymen for his successful mission but they had never neglected Dost Muhammad Khan greatness as he was governing Afghanistan efficiently. So, the above words evidently show that Burns had misrepresented Pashtuns to support his own mission as it has been noted by Mohan Lal; I can only say that no British officer charged with such high functions of his government, and entrusted with the welfare of his country, as Sir Alexander Burnes was, would commit such a gross act as to misrepresent the information in order to support his own views (Lal, 1846).

To sum up the above discussion, with Bellew's ambivalent description and Mohan Lal's understanding of British and Alexander Burns, it can be said that Burns representation of Pashtuns was purposed for their subjugation, most of the time Pashtuns had not seen by Burns with his own eyes but he had only heard from others and Mohan Lal has clearly informed the readers that Alexander Burns' representation is not the real but misrepresentation. Thus, the above discussion affirms that Alexander Burns had misrepresented Pashtuns as it was the policy of Orientalists to misrepresent the Orient to support their own views.

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