

THE ROLE OF CHARSAKDA IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE



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of the requirement of Master of Philosophy Degree in History

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CERTIFICATE

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I hereby declare that the thesis presently submitted bearing the title “**The Role of Charsadda in the Freedom Struggle**” is the result of my own research, and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.

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I dedicate this Humble Attempt
To
My Parents and People of Charsadda

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Introduction

Like most districts of the former North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Charsadda had played an important role in shaping the history of the region and remained a centre of religio-political movements against the colonial rule in the twentieth century. The old name of Charsadda was *Pushkalavati*, the capital city of Gandhara kingdom. It lies 27 kilometers north-east from the provincial capital, Peshawar. It was ruled by the Persians, the Greeks, the Mauryans, the Bactrian Greeks, the Sythians, the Kushanas, the White Huns and the Guptas. Pashtoons then came into direct contact with Muslims in the middle of the 7th century. The Turks then came into the region in the 10th century and the Peshawar valley remained part of Muslim empire.

During the Akbar's reign, the valley of Peshawar was a great center for religious activities in the middle of 16th century. A religious sect emerged under Bayazid Ansari popularly known as "Pir Rokhan" or Pir Roshan, "the Apostle of Light". His opponents called him as "Pir Tarik", "the Apostle of Darkness", a name given by Akhund Darveza, a Tajik from Ningrahar, who was his great rival. His movement in history is known as Roshaniya Movement. He first tried to reform the Pashtoons and then he became a freedom fighter. In order to spread his message, he travelled to Tirah and to the areas of Afridi, Khalil, Yousafzai and Muhammadzai (Hashtnagar) and as a result, these tribes became his followers. He settled in Khuladher (Hashtnagar), made matrimonial alliances with the Muhammadzai Khans and Hashtnagar became the center of Roshniya Movement. He fought many battles with the Mughal rulers and after his death, his successors continued their struggle against the Mughal rule.

From the latter half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Peshawar valley was administered by the Durrani of Afghanistan. Peshawar valley was under the

four Barakzai Sardars, namely Sardar Yar Muhammad, Sultan Muhammad, Sayyid Muhammad and Pir Muhammad. By the 1818 Afghan rule had gradually been replaced by the Sikhs. In 1826 A.D. Dost Mohamad Khan consolidated his empire in Kabul and Peshawar fell to his four brother, Sardar Yar Muhammad, Sultan Muhammad, Sayyid Muhammad and Pir Muhammad. The region was occupied by the Sikhs in 1834 and remained part of their rule until 1849 when they were conquered by the British in the second Anglo-Sikh war.

In 1901, Lord Curzon, the then viceroy of India, carved out a separate province from the five districts of Hazara, Bannu, Peshawar, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan by joining them with the five agencies of Malakand, Kurram, Khyber, North and South Waziristan and named it as the North-West Frontier Province. Peshawar became the capital of the newly formed province. At that time Peshawar was comprised of five tehsils of Peshawar, Charsadda, Swabi, Nowshera and Mardan. Since the province was situated on a strategically important location, therefore, the British Indian authorities treated it in some special ways. Unlike other parts of India, North-West Frontier region was ruled through special laws and ordinances called the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) which were imposed in 1872. Moreover, on account of its proximity with the Afghanistan and the Tsarist Russia, it was exposed to even harsher treatment than most of the other Indian provinces. Security was given priority over reforms in the province.

During the British imperial rule, Charsadda remained at the forefront of various religio-political movements in the subcontinent. The people of this area joined the ranks of those Muslim freedom fighters who wanted to get rid of the British Imperialism. During the British rule many individuals appeared at the political horizon of Charsadda. Fazli Wahid commonly known in history as Haji Sahib of Turangzai (Charsadda), Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Utmanzai (Charsadda), and later on, leaders from Frontier Muslim League such as Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan of

Umarzai, Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao were prominent leaders from Charsadda, who played their role in Pakistan Movement. The line of action of both Khudai Khidmatgars and Frontier Muslim League were different from each other.

Haji Sahib of Turangzai realized that the Pashtoon society was full of social evils and it could not be reformed without education. He opened many schools/madrassas in the NWFP in order to reform and make them ready for their freedom from the British yoke. This reformed movement was not tolerated by the British government and he was forced to migrate to the tribal country in 1915. The cruelty of the government changed his mind and he started Jihad against the British government with the help of the tribal leaders with the aim to get freedom from the British Imperialism.

His social reforms were successful to a large extent. The impact of his social reform movement was that tribal feuds were reduced to a large extent. His followers boycotted the British courts and all other institutions. Many national *Jirgas* were formed to replace the British courts system. His disciples opened many *madaris* in other parts of the province to provide equal education to the people as a response to the British school system.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a close associate of Haji Sahib of Turangzai continued his social reform movement of the Pashtoon society. He established *Anjuman-e-Islahul Afaghina* in 1921, in order to reform and educate the Pashtoon in the province. He opened many *madaris* in Charsadda and other parts of the province. This educational movement was not tolerated by the governmental authorities. In order to strengthen the *Anjuman*, a Youth League was formed on 1 September 1929. Its aim was to create awareness among the people against the prevailing social

evils and to prepare youngsters for the freedom of India from the British imperialism. The Youth League was then converted to Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. The repressive and imperialist policies of the British Indian government forced Abdul Ghaffar Khan to make an alliance with the Indian National Congress. It was the need of time, as the British had already decided to crush the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, due to which he merged the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in the Provincial Congress but keep his distinct identity. In the NWFP, Khudai Khidmatgars were very strong and it was a challenge for the government, therefore, the government used every possible mean to suppress this movement.

On the other hand, Frontier Muslim League was formed in 1913 in NWFP but it was not a strong party in the province as compared to Khudai Khidmatgars. In the late 1930s it was mainly dominated by big Khans like Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan, Khan Bahadur Mir Alam Khan, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb and later by Abdul Qaiyum, a convert from Frontier Congress, till partition. The Khans of Charsadda were loyal to the British government who gave them titles of Khan Bahadar for their services to the government and these Khans in return received a huge amount of land from the British government for their services. These Khan Bahadurs failed to get the support of the people of Charsadda because Charsadda was the main hub of the Khudai Khidmatgars. They failed to organize big rallies in their areas because of the strong supporters of Khudai Khidmatgars in Charsadda.

Frontier Muslim League till 1946, was not a mass political party in the province. In order to show its presence, it started agitational politics in the shape of civil disobedience movement against the Khan Sahib's ministry, because Frontier Muslim League was not in a position to dismiss Khan's ministry through constitutional means. They used the slogan of 'Islam in Danger', in response to communal violence in Calcutta and Bihar. It was the task given to Viceroy, to unite

all the Muslim majority provinces to become part of Pakistan. In case of Pakistan, it was difficult for both Muslim League and Viceroy to get the support of NWFP provincial assembly in favor of Pakistan. NWFP provincial assembly was not given the choice to decide their destiny as was given to Sindh, Punjab and Bengal assemblies.

This research is an attempt to highlight the role of Charsadda in the freedom struggle. The activities of Pir Rokhan, Durrani in Peshawar valley, Haji Sahib of Turangzai, Khudai Khidmatgars and Muslim League in Charsadda have been highlighted during the course of the research project. An attempt is made in order to find out the role of different personalities of Charsadda against the foreign rule.

The present study is aimed at filling the academic voids/gaps in the Muslim nationalist struggle particularly in relation to the Frontier regions and especially Charsadda. Main emphases has been given to the political dynamics of Charsadda in the pre-independence period. This research has filled the historical vacuums in the previous research with reference to Charsadda. The activities of different leaders of Charsadda has been brought under this research which has not been covered in all previous researches. There is a scarcity of research material on the activities of different leaders of Charsadda. This has encouraged me to select this topic for my research. The purpose of this research is to enhance the comprehension and understanding of the political dynamics of Charsadda before partition.

Lal Baha's book, *N-W.F.P Administration under British Rule 1901-1919*. Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978, deals with the region under the British Raj after the formation of the province. The author has discussed the strategic importance of the province, the nature of society and various fields such as education, revenue and agriculture.

The author had also discussed the activities of Haji Sahib of Turangzai but lack the detail of his Jihad movement in the region. D.G. Tendulkar's book, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*. Bombay: The Times of Indian Press, 1967, is another reliable source in which an ample discussion about Abdul Ghaffar Khan's movement of non-violence is given. He gives a very comprehensive view of the politics of Bacha Khan. Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar's book *Rokhaniyan Da Mughulo Tarikyan* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Idara Ishaghaat-i-Sarhad Public Art Press, n.d.), discusses the role of Pir Rokhan in the freedom struggle against the Mughal rule in the province and particularly in Charsadda region.

Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah's book, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947*. Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1999, deals with the ideological and political developments in the NWFP during the last decade of colonial rule. Its main focus remains on the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in the province. The book also discusses the revival of the Frontier Muslim League in the province. It discusses the tactics used by Frontier League, such as Islam in danger during Pakistan movement in the province.

North West Frontier Province: History and Politics, Islamabad: National Institute of Cultural and Historical Research Center, 2007, is another research work of Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah which gives a broad description of the political history of NWFP. It gives a comprehensive view of the politics of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his companions of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah's, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), is another research work of Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah. It is the first full length study of the politics of Muslim League in NWFP till 1947. It discusses the formation, organization and functioning of Muslim League during the years of 1936-47. It also discusses some leaders of the Frontier Muslim

League from Charsadda like Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan, Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan and Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan but lack their detailed activities in Charsadda.

The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan of Pakistan University of the Punjab, 2000), authored by Mohammad Anwar Khan describes the struggle of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Frontier Muslim League against the colonial rule. Khan Abdul Wali Khan in his book *Bacha Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. I (Pashto), (Peshawar, 1992), describes in detail about the Pashtoon society, British occupation, their policies and the rise of Khudai Khidmatgars. The book also contains the activities of Jihad Movement of Haji Sahib of Turangzai. Ghulam Rasool Meher's *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin* (Urdu) (Lahore: Sheikh Gulam Ali and Sons, n.d.), is an exclusive work on the activities of *Mujahidin* in the tribal area. He has discussed in detail the "Silk Letter Movement" and its connection with Haji Sahib. Sultan-i-Rome's book, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), has given the details of the Khudai Khidmatgars movement and the activities of Frontier Muslim League in NWFP but lacks the activities of Muslim League in Charsadda.

Organization of the Study

Apart from introduction, conclusion and bibliography, the present research is divided into the following four chapters.

- 1. Historical Background of Charsadda:** this chapter discusses briefly the historical background of Charsadda in particular, its history, historical sites, geography and people's dwellings and cultures. It also discusses briefly the reform movement of Pir Rokhan and his activities against the foreign rule. It also gives a brief overview of the Peshawar valley under Durrani rule.

- 2. Role of Haji Sahib of Turangzai:** this chapter focuses on social reform and Jihad movement of Haji Sahib of Turangzai against colonial rule and its impact on the region.
- 3. Role of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and His Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in Charsadda:** this chapter discusses the social reform movement and non-violent politics of Abdul Ghaffar Khan against British imperialism. His affiliation with the Congress and its impacts on the region has also been discussed in detail.
- 4. Role of Muslim League in Charsadda:** the main focus of this chapter is on the role of Muslim League in Charsadda and the struggle of Khan Bahadars of Charsadda in the Pakistan Movement.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of research are used during the research process. Primary and secondary sources are sorted out. Many of research articles are utilized during research process. Interviews have been conducted from the sons and grandsons of the different personalities of Charsadda who were prominent in the freedom movement. The archival data has also been utilized which was available in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar. A systematic method was adopted keeping in view the importance of the chronological accounts in the history with a particular emphasis upon analytical research.

CHAPTER 01

Historical Background of Charsadda

1.1. Introduction

Charsadda is comprised of eight contiguous towns which constitutes the region known as Hashtnagar, lies on the eastern bank of the river Swat. The name of the ancient capital of Gandhara was ‘Pushkalavati’ which means ‘full of Lotuses’.¹ It was long known as ‘Hashtnagar’ which means “Eight Towns”, situated in this region. These were Charsadda town, Prang, Rajar, Utmanzai, Turangzai, Umarzai, Sherpao and Tangi towns. Many people misinterpreted Hashtnagar, by referring it to the “city of Ashtakas”, the people who lived in this area at the time of Alexander, the Great’s invasion, who were ruled by a king called Astes or Ashtaka Raja.²

The name of Pushkalavati was later changed to Charsadda. It is said that the new name “Charsadda” is due to an Afghan conqueror, Ilyas Khan Muhammadzai, who made new settlements in this area, some thirteen generations ago. Charsadda preserves the name of one of Ilyas Khan’s sons. The name Charsadda is a new addition to the area which hardly preserves any memory of Pushkalavati and Hashtnagar.³ Charsadda means ‘four routes’ which emerged from this area and spread in four different directions.⁴ It is the meeting point of four roads, as such it underlies the importance of the place where once stood the capital city of Pushkalavati, which occupied a site not far from the actual confluence of the Swat and Kabul rivers.⁵ Mohmand and Malakand agencies lies to its north, Peshawar and Nowshera to its south and Mardan to its east. It

¹ Syed Abdul Quddus, *The North-west Frontier of Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 27.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 160-62.

³ Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier* (Lahore: Sang-e-Mel Publications, 1995), 240

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Arnold J. Toynbee, *Between Oxus and Jumna* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 24.

lies between 34 02' and 34 32' north latitudes and 71 30' and 71 56' east longitudes, with an area of 380 square miles, 18 miles north-east of Peshawar. Its population in 1901 was 142,756 and in 1891, its population was 132,917.⁶

1.2. Geographical Composition of Charsadda

Charsadda lies in the center of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former North-West Frontier Province). The total area of Charsadda district is about 380 square miles, and according to the census of year 1981, its population was 62, 3000.⁷ The Muhammadzai Pashtoons hold the largest area which is about 60% of it. They extends from Abazai to Khesghi in Nowshera district, and the land owners of Nowshera villages are also Muhammadzai Pashtoons.

Charsadda district is administratively subdivided into three tehsils; Charsadda, Tangi and Shabqadar, which contained a total of 46 Union Councils.⁸

1.3. Tribes Living in Charsadda

In Charsadda majority of population belongs to Muhammadzai tribe which covers approximately 80% population. The tribe is divided into subtribes which are known as "Khel". These khels are enjoying the status of Khans, which are basically pure Khan's families in Charsadda. The genealogical table of the Muhammadzai tribe is as follows:

Zamand

Khesghi _____ Katani _____ Naukhai _____ Neksari _____ Muhmand

Ilyas _____ Kherai _____ Raza Khan

Saffo Khan _____ Hussain Khan _____ Zakria Khan _____ Prang

⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province*, 158.

⁷ *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1984, 51.

⁸ The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Tribune. Available at: <http://kpktribune.com/index.php/en/district-charsadda>.

Sherpao _____ Mussal _____ Umar Khan

Barka Khan _____ Nusrat Khan⁹

The second majority is comprised of Mohmand tribe who covers the most of area of tehsil Tangi. In addition to this, there exists numerous Syed families amongst them are Kakakhel Mians/Syeds who are the offspring of Sheikh Rehamkar Hazrat Kaka Sahib the most respected Pir/Spiritual figure of the entire Pashtoon belt including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan. Mians/Syeds enjoys special respect and prestige among Pashtoons due to their virtuous nature and spiritual ancestry. Some of them are also big landlords having most prime lands in Charsadda and in neighboring district, Nowshera. Some migrated Bajauris, Yousafzais and Khattaks are also found in Charsadda, who migrated from Bajaur, Dir, and other parts of the province.¹⁰

The following are the well-known *Khan* families of Charsadda:

1. **Parich Khails:** These are the most dominant and uppermost Khan Family in Charsadda, who are living in the village of Utmanzai, Mera Utmanzai and Khanmahi.
2. **Kanan khel:** These are mostly living in village of Rajjar and Mera Rajjar, but some of these family members are living in Sardehri village.
3. **Bati khel:** These are living in village of Umarzai and village Mera Umarzai.
4. **Muhammadzai Khaas:** These are living in the village of Rajjar, who are the major Khan family. They are the descendants of a son of Muhammadzai, who was renamed as Muhammad Khan Tal Muhammadzai, they are, therefore, named Muhammadzai Khaas.
5. **Ghani Khel:** this tribe is locally called as Ani khel. They are in the village of prang and Mera prang village.

⁹ *N.W.F.P. Province Gazetteer of Peshawar District*, 1931 Vol: 2nd, Directorate of Archives Government of NWFP, 2nd ed., 1987, 125.

¹⁰ *The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Tribune*. Available at: <http://kpktribune.com/index.php/en/district-charsadda>.

6. **Khawazi khel:** These are famous for education, and are also in Utmanzai and Mera Utmanzai.
7. **Shamozai, Sultan khel:** This tribe belong to Sultan Muhammad Khan. Famous personalities of this tribe were Saddar Sarfaraz khan (late) is a president of Khudai Khidmatgar Tanzeem before Abdul Gaffar khan, Qazi Muhammad khan (Salar sab), the first president of all Muslim league,
8. **Daulat Khel:** This khel is living in Tangi Barazai. This tribe is one of the subtribe of Muhammadzai,
9. **Shahbas Khel:** This tribe is in the village of Mera Umarzai.
10. **Hassan Khel:** This tribe is living near Prang on the edge of the famous graveyard of Charsadda.
11. **Piran Khel:** The people of this khel are living in Umarzai, Turangzai and Utmanzai.
12. **Oryaz khel:** The people of this khel are living in Umarzai and Mera Umarzai.¹¹

Charsadda was comprised of eight contiguous villages due to which it was known as Hashtnagar. These eight villages were Charsadda town, Prang, Rajar, Utmanzai, Turangzai, Umarzai, Sherpao and Tangi town. The detail description of these villages are as follows:

1. Charsadda Town

The Charsadda town is situated on the left bank of river Swat. It is headquarter of the district, located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is the biggest trading center in the region and contains many *mandies* or markets. The town is administered by a Municipal Committee whose population was about 62530¹² according to the census of 1981 and according to 1901 Census, its population was 19,354¹³. It connects Peshawar through a road at a distance of 20 miles. It is rich of agricultural products such as rice, sugarcane, maize tobacco. It is dominated by Muhammadzai agriculturalists.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1984, 51.

¹³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 161.

After Babur's time, the area of Charsadda was dominated by Muhammadzai Pashtoons.¹⁴ The main educational institutions are now Bacha Khan University Charsadda, Government Postgraduate College Charsadda for boys and Government Girls Postgraduate College in Charsadda town. There is also a District Headquarter Hospital in the Charsadda town.

2. Parang

It was founded by Parang, a Muhammadzai Afghan who gave his name to it. He had five sons, Ahmad went to Doaba Town, and the other four sons divided the area among themselves into four *Kandies*, which were *Kandi Yasinzai*, *Kandi Sadokhel*, *Kandi Safakhel* and *Kandi Musakhel*. According to another theory, the original name of the place was Paryag.¹⁵ Here the two mighty rivers Kabul and Swat meets and the confluence gave rise to the old sacred spot known today as Prang, an obvious exaggeration of the word Paryag. It is about a mile to the east of the main road, close to the Charsadda town. Charsadda town and Prang are the two contiguous towns which was identified by General Cunningham as place of ancient Pushkalavati, the old capital city of Gandhara Kingdom.¹⁶ The majority of the inhabitants of the area are Muhammadzai Pashtoons. On the north side of Prang, there situated one of the ancient and largest graveyards in South Asia, as ancient as Pushkalavati itself.¹⁷ Prang is very close to Charsadda town and it was these two places, which were identified by General Cunningham¹⁸ with the ancient Pushkalavati, the capital of Gandhara of the time of Alexander the Great's invasion.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Masudul Hassan, *Pakistan Places of Interests* (Lahore: Feroz Sons, n.d.), 320.

¹⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 161.

¹⁷ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 240.

¹⁸ Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Ancient Pakistan 1965-66 Vol: II* (Peshawar: Department of Archeology University of Peshawar), 22.

3. Rajar

Rajar was founded by Rajara Khan, who gave his name 'Rajar' to it. According to another source, the name of Rajar is due to a mound named *Rajagarh* means a royal palace,¹⁹ situated on the north of Charsadda, opposite to the 'River Jindie'. The mound is now covered by modern village. Rajar is important for the legend of Hariti, the 'Mother of Demons'. She had five hundred sons of her own but usually eat children of others. The great Buddha hid her most beloved child under his begging bowl, who wanted to teach her a lesson. Thus, she was converted to the good law. According to Professor Foucher, the place of the conversion of Hariti is near the modern village Rajar in Charsadda District.²⁰

4. Sherpao

It was founded by Sherpao, an Afghan Mohammadzai, who gave his name to it as 'Sherpao'. According to another theory, his real name was Sher Khan. He had three other brothers, who also got their due share of property in the area. *Pao* is one-fourth of a *seer* (kilogram) in Pashto, and he got one-fourth in this area, and so it got the name Sherpao.²¹ The inhabitants of Sherpao are also Mohammadzai Pakhtuns. It was the home of Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao and his sons, Hayat Khan Sherpao and Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao.

5. Tangi Town

Tangi town was known by the same name thirteen generations before and was founded by Barka Khan of the Afghan Muhammadzai, who gave his own name to it, Barka, which was later changed

¹⁹ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 239.

²⁰ Fidaullah Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum* (Peshawar: University of Peshawar, 1991), 52.

²¹ Munshi Goppaldas, *Tawareeh-i-Peshawar* (Lahore: Kohinoor Press, 1869), 277.

to ‘Tangi’. It was then divided into two parts known as Tangi Barazai and Tangi Nusratzai.²² It was the home of the famous Frontier Muslim League leader, Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan.²³ It has now acquired the status of a tehsil. It is a small town in Charsadda district, 13 miles from Charsadda and 29 miles from Peshawar. On the west of Tangi town, river Swat runs through it.²⁴ It has 8 union councils in which seven are now dominated by Mohmand tribe who migrated to this region from Mohmand Agency. Harichand, Mandani, Dhakki, Ziam, Shakoor, Behram Derai and Shodag union councils are dominated by Mohmand tribe. Some of migrants are also from Bajaur and Malakand Agencies who settled in Tangi. The inhabitants of the main town of Tangi (Tangi union council) are mostly Muhammadzai. It also has a town committee. The population of Tangi, according to 1901 census was 9,095²⁵ and according to 1981 census was 19492.²⁶ It is an important market for agricultural products because of efficient canal system. Beet, Sugarcane, Tobacco, rice, wheat and Maize are major crops of the region. There are two government Degree Colleges, one for boys and one for girls. It also has a Civil Hospital.

6. Turangzai

It was founded by Turang Khan, a Muhammadzai Afghan, who gave his name to it as ‘Turangzai’.²⁷ The majority of people of this area belongs to Muhammadzai clan like other towns

²² *Gazetteer of Peshawar District 1897-98* (Lahore: Sung-i-Meel Publications, 1989), 376.

²³ Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan), 116-122.

²⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), 167.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1984, 27.

²⁷ Munshi Goppaldas, *Tawareekh-i-Peshawar* (Urdu) (Lahore: Kohinoor Press, 1869), 285.

of Charsadda. Turangzai village was the home of the great opponent of the British, Haji Sahib Turangzai, who fought many battles against them during the freedom movement.²⁸

7. Utmanzai

Utmanzai town was inherited by Uthman Khan Muhammadzai from his ancestors, and he gave his name to it as Utmanzai. It is situated on the left bank of the Kabul River in Charsadda district. Majority of the area belongs to Muhammadzai clan of Pashtoons. The Muhammadzai Pashtoons are comparatively small and well-settled, whose habits and customs are similar to that of the Yousafzais.²⁹ It is situated between Peshawar and Mardan. It has a town Committee and according to the census of 1981, the total population of the area was 18931.³⁰ Utmanzai was the home of the famous Khan Brothers, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib, Abdul Wali Khan and his son Asfandiyar Khan.

8. Umarzai

It was founded by Umar Khan, a Muhammadzai Afghan, who gave his own name to it as 'Umarzai'. Then it was divided between two of his sons, Qabil Khan and Aqil Khan.³¹ One was called *Kuz Kandai* and other *Bar Kandai*. Here is the shrine of a Muslim lady, Bibi Saida, who is said to have the power to give children to the barren mothers. Khan Bahadur Saadullah Khan, who was the President of Frontier Muslim League in 1937-38 belonged to Umarzai.³²

²⁸ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkira Sarfaroshan-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency Khyber Bazar, n.d.), 232.

²⁹ James W Spain, *The Way of the Pathans* (London: Robert Hall Limited, 1962), 90.

³⁰ *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1984, 27-28.

³¹ Munshi Goppaldas, *Tawareekh-i-Peshawar*, 283.

³² Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 130-40.

1.4. Customs and Traditions of the People of Charsadda

Charsadda lies in the center of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, so the cultural and social way of life, customs and traditions are the same as in other parts of the province. The people living in Charsadda, speak Pashto language and are all Muslims by birth. Some of the details of the customs and traditions of the people of Charsadda are as follows:

Pashtunwali

The people, who dwell in a village in spite of being divided into tribes and sub-tribes, live and die under a uniform and rigid but unwritten code of honor, called *Pashtunwali*. *Pashtunwali* is the one of the most important tribal code of all Pashtoons. There are many components of *Pashtunwali* (tribal code of conduct) in which the main tenets of *Pashtunwali* includes *Badal*, *Nanawatai*, *Rivaj*, *Namus*, *Nang* and *Melmastia*.³³ The concept of *Badal* (retaliation) is the familial and cultural responsibility of the relatives of the victim to uphold family's honor. Mostly, there are three bones of contentions, *zar*, *zan*, and *zamin* (wealth, woman and property), which causes such disputes. However, in many cases of Pashtoon societies, some form of compensation (money) is also offered for settlement of dispute to avoid further bloodshed.³⁴

Nanawatai requires a person to risk both life and property in order to protect any person, friend or enemy, who asks for sanctuary. Seeking *Nanawatai* from an enemy is considered as “the

³³ Ty L. Groh, *Ungoverned Spaces: The Challenges of Governing Tribal Societies* (United States: Air Force B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 1993), 16-17.

³⁴ Charles Lindholm, “The Segmentary Lineage System: Its Applicability to Pakistan’s Political Structure,” in *Pakistan’s Western Borderlands: The Transformation of Political Order*, edited by Ainslie T. Embree. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT, Ltd (1977), 41-66.

ultimate disgrace” which requires individual to present himself along with his women, unveiled carrying the Quran upon their heads and offers a few sheep to his enemy to seek his forgiveness.³⁵

Melmastia is another code of *Pashtunwali* which demands that any Pashtoon offer any traveler or guest food, shelter, and protection if it is requested.³⁶ Another important constitute of *Pakhtunwali* is *Rivaj* which refers to a system of customary law which is observed by all Pashtoons. *Rivaj* in marriages and inheritance is still applied to Pashtoon cultures. Women are deprived of their inheritance and property by their elders. In many cases, women are not taken in confidence at the time of their *Nikkah* (marriage). Another tenet which plays a major role in *Pashtunwali* is *Namus* which demands that a man’s property and his women’s honor be defended.³⁷

Another prominent feature of Pashtoons in their cultural dress. The traditional dress of the people of the area consists of a loose, long and wide outfit, *Khalqa* (shirt) and *shalwar*. Some people wear caps (*Diroji Toopai*) also. Women wear the usual long shirt and baggy *shalwar*. They also wear a *Lupata* (a mantle or a wrapper over their clothes to cover their head and most of the upper parts of the body). When going out of their houses, they also use *Burqa* (veil) for observing *Parda* (covering her body).³⁸ Charsadda is also famous for the traditional *Charsaddawal Chapal* (shoes) in the country.

Dwellings and Living Habits

Majority of the people of the area are living in small villages, constructed close to their fields.

These villages are divided into many *Kandies* (divisions) and each *Kandi* has a mosque and a

³⁵ Ty L. Groh, *Ungoverned Spaces: The Challenges of Governing Tribal Societies* (United States: Air Force B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 1993), 17.

³⁶ James W. Spain “Political Problems of a Borderland,” in *Pakistan’s Western Borderlands: The Transformation of Political Order*. Ed. Ainslie T. Embree. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT, Ltd (1977): 11-12.

³⁷ Quddus, *The North West Frontier of Pakistan*, 163.

³⁸ *N.W.F.P. Yearly Book*, Manager of Govt. Printing and Stationary Department NWFP, 1952, 11.

Hujra. In every mosque there is a *mullah*, who perform the religious duties such as calling of *Azan*, lead prayers, teaching to the children of village, and offering the funeral prayer ‘*Janaza*’ at the death of a person and so on.

Hujra

A *Hujra* of the village serves the dual services; as a guesthouse and as a community center, where disputes are discussed and resolved by the elders of the families. Any traveler can walk into a *Hujra* at any time.³⁹ In Pashtoon societies, *Hujra* is a democratic institution in which disputes are settled by tribal elders of the village.⁴⁰

Foods

The main staple food of the people of Charsadda is wheat, rice and maize. Charsadda is also famous for their traditional big rice (*Ghati wriji*). The regular meals are three times a day i.e. morning, afternoon and night meals. Most people eat dinner early and then sleep soon.

Birth Rites

The birth of a female child mostly passes entirely unnoticed, while the birth of a son is specially celebrated and there is great celebration and festivity. The village mullah mostly called to recite *Azan* in the right ear of the newly born baby. After three to four days of the birth, the baby is given name by the elder of the family. After three to six months the *Sarkalai* (first time shaving of the head)⁴¹ is done, and the village barber shave the baby’s head and in return some money is given to

³⁹ *The Frontier Post* (Peshawar). July 1, 1988.

⁴⁰ Groh, *Ungoverned Spaces*, 17.

⁴¹ *N.W.F.P. Province Gazetteer of Peshawar District*, 1987, 13.

the barber as a sign of good faith. At the age of one or two years, the child is circumcised with great festivals and invitation of family members and relatives.

Marriage Rites

Marriages in this area are mostly arranged by their elders. Before a marriage, when the two families agree, a date is fixed for sweetening the mouth. The ceremony is known as *Dua-i-Khair*. The marriage festival known as *Khaadi*, is then celebrated consisting of a wedding feast and the procession called *Janj*. In *Janj* the bride is taken to bride's house with a long procession of people at cars.⁴² The village *mullah* at first night of marriage ask the couple whether they accept each other in the presence of witnesses. This is known as *Nikkah*, after which people fire in the air with their pistols as a cultural celebration.

Death Rites

The news of the death of a person soon spreads to every household of the village and the people soon reach the house of the bereaved family. The women of the family mourn over the body of dead person called *Vir* (mourning). At the time of funeral some money is distributed among the poor people on the funeral site called *Sakhaat*.

1.5. Ancient Forts and Archeological sites of Charsadda

There are many forts, archeological and historical sites situated in Charsadda district. Some of them are as follows:

⁴² Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhwand Au Jadujahad*, 49.

Abazai Fort

Abazai village is situated in Charsadda district, 24 miles north of Peshawar on the bank of the River Swat, and a mile away from its debouch from the hills. Here, the river is about 150 yards wide and is crossed by boats. The Abazai Fort lies between Abazai village and the hills. It was constructed in 1852, and has been very effective in the preventing raids by the Utmankhel and the Mohmand tribe on the British territory.⁴³ There is a canal inspection bungalow in the Fort of Abazai.

Bala Hisar Fort Charsadda

Near the bridge over the river Jindie at Charsadda town, there are the two mounds of Bala Hisar and Shaikhan Derai. The Bala Hisar mound in Charsadda is situated at a distance of about a mile to the north of Charsadda, on a high level measuring 250 yards long and 220 yard wide. The Chinese pilgrims described it, as made of carved wood and veined stones, adorned with silver and gold and is several hundred feet in height. It was the capital of Gandhara from 6th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.⁴⁴

Bala Hisar mound was excavated twice in 1902 by Sir John Marshal and in 1958 by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Millions of pottery pieces and beautiful round colored stones were found in 1958.⁴⁵ The material from the western mound were traced by Sir Mortimer to the Iron Age, and date its beginning to about the 6th century B.C. but his excavation did not reveals any earlier strata. In about 160 B.C., the capital was moved to Shaikhan Dheri from Bala Hisar. The excavation of

⁴³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, N.W.F.P.* (Lahore: Sung-i-Meel Publication, 1979), 160.

⁴⁴ Quddus, *The North-west Frontier of Pakistan*, 27. Also See Adomson, Isobel Shaw, *A Travelers Guide to Pakistan*, 125.

⁴⁵ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Ancient People and Places of Early India and Pakistan to Asoka* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1959), 13.

John Marshal in 1902, proved that it was once occupied by the Ghorids, the Durranis and the Sikhs in turn.⁴⁶

Bibi Saida Dheri

It is a place at a distance of about half a mile to the north of Umarzai village in Charsadda. The mound is about 60 feet in height. Here is the shrine of a pious Muslim lady, Bibi Saida, and it is due to her shrine that the place was famous as Bibi Saida Dheri. She is said to have power to give children to the barren mothers. It appeared that after the advent of the Pakhtuns in this part, the legend of Hariti was changed to suit the local needs.⁴⁷

Guz Dheri

It is a small mound situated to the right of Palato Dheri on the road to Khan Mahi about three quarter of a mile, and to east of Mir Ziarat. This Stupa was built by Sakra, the king of Deva. Sir Marshal excavated here 1902, and the first trench drawn through the middle of this mound did not reveal any structural remains but the second one, led to the discovery of the base of a Stupa measuring about 32 feet. Beautiful Buddhist sculptures⁴⁸, coins and other antiquities were found from the mound.

Hariti Stupa of Rajar

During the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiun Tasang's visit, there existed another famous Stupa in the north-west named after '*The Mother of Demons*'.⁴⁹ She was famous with the name of Hariti, who has more than 500 children but mostly used to eat children of other people of the area.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 52.

⁴⁸ Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, 207.

⁴⁹ A Foucher, *Ancient Geography of Gandhara* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1915), 17.

According to Professor Foucher, Buddha had converted Hariti in the modern village of Rajar near Charsadda. There are many mounds on the north-west of Charsadda and on the evidence of Hiun Tasang, Professor Foucher locates the site of this miracle at Saro Makhe Dheri⁵⁰, which stands for the Hariti Stupa in between the village of Sherpao and Tangi. Hariti had not only the power to cure the sick children suffering from small-pox, but also the power of giving children to the barren mothers. Archeologists believe that no other site is so likely to yield a complete culture; sequence from the period of Indus Valley Civilization, through the Vedic times, into the historic periods than the ancient remains of Charsadda.⁵¹

Mamane Dheri

It is a mound situated near the Sherpao village. During the removing of earth for house building, the finest specimen of Gandhara Art were found.⁵² Among them, a standing Buddha was the most outstanding one which proves the date which refers to the era of Kanishka, corresponding to 216 A.D. or according to another view 116 A.D. The importance of the finding is that it can determine the Gandhara School of Art, and so this is a very important mound for excavation but no excavation has been done here till.

Mir Ziarat

It is a mound situated in Shahr-i-Napursan. The name Mir Ziarat might have been that of a Muhammadan Shrine, but Hindus are of the opinion that the site was the place where Kuraknath, one of their Gurus, used to preach to his disciples. Sir John Marshal excavated Mir Ziarat in 1902-1903, in which the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians, and those of early Kushans were

⁵⁰Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 43.

⁵¹Qudus, *The North West Frontier of Pakistan*, 195.

⁵²Jaffar, *Peshawar Past and Present*, 32.

found.⁵³ The discovery of so many Buddhist remains, provides the evidence that this place was inhabited during the time when Buddhism was prevalent here. Some of coins were found from there but the exact identification of these coins has not been possible, yet they are supposed to be the Ghaznavid coins. The finding of so many Muhammadan periods' relics⁵⁴ from this mound shows that probably it belong to a period not later than the end of the 12th century A.D.

Palato Dheri

Palato Dheri is a mound situated about a mile from Shahr-i-Napursan in Charsadda. Hiun Tasang states that here are the remains of a Stupa built by one Deva. The coins of Kushana period, found from the mound suggest that the Stupa was constructed sometime in the first century A.D. Among the findings from the mound was an image of the goddess Kalida-devi⁵⁵, which was founded while querying the mound to obtain stones for building a 'Dharamsala'. The image, draped in some dozen dresses was placed in the new Dharamsala, where it is still being worshipped. Three inscribed Jars founded from the mound were gifted to the Peshawar Museum.⁵⁶

Periano Dheri

This mound is situated to the east of Gandheri in the Charsadda district. It is famous for an important legend, 'the legend of Syama Jakata'.⁵⁷ A Brahman after the birth of a son, Syama went to a jungle with his wife and lived there in a hut. After sometime, they became blind but their pious son Syama, who was to be the future Buddha, served them. One day, when he went to fetch water for his parents, was struck by the arrow of a king of Banaras and died there. According to Hiun

⁵³Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, 6.

⁵⁴ *Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1902-03*, 157.

⁵⁵ *N.W.F.P. Gazetteer of Peshawar, 1931*, 320.

⁵⁶ Alfred Foucher, *Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, 28.

⁵⁷ Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 44.

Tasang, the story of Syama Jakata took place about 10 miles from the present Charsadda town. It has been identified with Periano Dheri, a mound near the present village Gandheri, above the confluence of river Swat and Panjkora which presents the remains of Syama Jakata.⁵⁸

Shabqadar Fort

Shabqadar is situated 17 miles north-west of Peshawar in the Charsadda district. Shabqadar has now acquired the status of tehsil. The Shabqadar Fort is about 2 miles away from the town of Shabqadar. It was built by a Sikh, Sardar Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia, under the supervision of one Tota Ram⁵⁹ and was called Shankargarh after Tota's son, Shankar, who was born while the work of construction was in progress. The hills of Halimzai Mohmand tribes are about three miles distant from here. The walls of the fort are 25 feet high, and the fort is connected with Peshawar by a road, which crosses all the branches of the Kabul River. The fort was used as garrison by military troops, but it was made over to the border police in 1885. Later, it became the Headquarter of the district officer of the Frontier Constabulary, who was in the command of the force which patrols the area. In 1897, the Mohmands attacked the town, entered it and burnt the Hindu Shops and houses. The Shabqadar Fort is the center of Doaba forts, Michni and Abazai being situated on its east and west. The total population of the area was about 30881⁶⁰, according to the census 1981 reports.

Shahr-i-Napursan

Shahr-i-Napursan means "a neglected city", a name given to a mound situated in Rajar. It is an archeological site exists near modern village of Rajar. Two distinct settlements exist here in which

⁵⁸ Ibid., 45-46.

⁵⁹ S.M. Jaffar, *Peshawar, Past and Present*, 122.

⁶⁰ *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*, Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, 1984, 26.

one is of Buddhist period and the other is of the Muslim period. Both of them have founded excavations from this site. The coins of Menander and Kanishka have been founded in the site. The evidence is clear from these coins that the beginning of the settlements dates back to the second century B.C. and from the coins of the Muslim period the evidence is clear that the site was later colonized by the Muslims during the Ghaznavid's period. Hindus considered the site that once, it was a place where Guru Kuraknath used to meditate.⁶¹ The site is now covered by modern graves.

Shaikhan Dheri

The second city of Pushkalavati, Shaikhan Dheri is situated on the other side of the river Jindie, just in front of Bala Hisar. But it is difficult to cross the river here to reach it. The visitors must cross the river Jindie on the main road, then going north-east ward on the Tangi road, then turn to a small road of Rajar re-cross the River Jindie. In the second century B.C., the Bactrian Greeks founded Shaikhan Dheri, the capital city of Pushkalavati.⁶² After the Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas, and then the Kushans occupied Shaikhan Dheri until the end of the second century A.D. when the Kushans moved their administrative capital from Charsadda to Peshawar. At that time the site was flooded and the town was moved to Rajar mound, one kilometer south-east across the river Jindie.⁶³

1.6. Ancient History of Charsadda

The ancient name of the Peshawar valley in Sanskrit language was Gandhara, which includes the present day Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, Dir, and Swat districts. Malakand and Bajaur Agencies

⁶¹Hassan, *Pakistan Places of Interests*, 321.

⁶²Wheeler, *Ancient People and Places of Early India and Pakistan to Asoka*, 13.

⁶³Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, 24.

lies on the west bank of the river Indus in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The best known reference to Gandhara goes back to the Rigveda about 1200 B.C.⁶⁴

Situated on the north east of the Indian Sub-continent, Gandhara had remained a cross road for the invaders and the area was mostly involved in constant wars. On one hand, it was in close contact with Afghanistan, China, and Central Asia, and with the west through the Caravan routes, and on the other hand, it was connected with the Sub-continent's plains. Its kingdom extended about 1000 li from east to west and 800 li⁶⁵ from north to south. According to Dr. Herbert Haertel, it has beautiful rivers, mountains, valleys, and pleasant climate.

Gandhara had remained a great center of Buddhism, who gave great service to the cause of this religion. It was considered to be the second holy land⁶⁶ for the Buddhists, and Buddha himself was the central figure in the whole art of Gandhara. The Buddhist pilgrims came to this area for the pilgrimage from long distant places and countries. Gandhara, was first a province of Achaemenian Empire (1st Persian Empire founded by Cyrus, the Great) and then it remained a 7th province of Persia until it was invaded by Alexander, the Great in 327 B.C. The kingdom of Gandhara lasted from 6th century B.C. to the 11th Century A.D.⁶⁷, but it was on its peak in the second century under the Kushan Kings. Its Capital was Pushkalavati, and when the Kushan Kings begin their rule over Gandhara, they moved the capital to Peshawar. When Mahmud Ghazni

⁶⁴Encyclopedia Americana, *International edition* Vol: 12 Grolier. Incorporated, Danbury Connecticut, 1987, 276.

⁶⁵Dr. Herbert Haertel. edit., *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, Gandhara* (Karachi: Department of Archeology, 1966), 12.

⁶⁶Fiddaullah Sehrai, *A Guide to Takht Bhai* (Peshawar: Department of Archeology University of Peshawar, 2nd ed., 1986), 1.

⁶⁷Hilary Adomson, Isobel Shaw, *A Travellers Guide to Pakistan* (Islamabad: Pangrafc limited, 1988), 123.

conquered the area and converted it into Islam, the name of Gandhara disappeared from the scene.⁶⁸

The name of the ancient capital of Gandhara Kingdom was Pushkalavati⁶⁹ (modern Charsadda), which means ‘full of lotuses’. Lotus is a flower of river lakes and marshes, which grows abundantly on the banks of the rivers in this area. It was due to the presence of lotuses which gave the name Pushkalavati to this area, of which the Prakrit form was Pukhalaoti, the Sanskrit name from which the Aryan derived Peukelaotis, Peukelaitis or Peukela, and the Greeks also pronounced it as Peukela.⁷⁰ The lotus flowers dominated the minds of the people of Pushkalavati so much that they created in popular imagination, a goddess of the city named in the coins as Pushkalavati Nagar Devada meaning “the city of the goddess of Pushkalavati”. Pushkalavati was one of the best recognized area of the Sub-continent at that time. There were few ancient cities in the Sub-continent, which in spite of the great stresses and strain, have retained their old completion, and Pushkalavati was one of them.

The legendary history of the Pushkalavati is referred in the Ramayana, where Baharata, the brother of Rama Chandra, is related to have conquered Gandharva-desa, a pleasant country on both sides of the Indus, probably Gandhara who laid the foundation of two cities in the occupied area named after his two sons, whom he made as rulers in them. Taksa gave the name to Taxila and Pushkala to Pushkalavati.⁷¹ The first historical reference to Pushkalavati is in the 6th century B.C., when a king whose name was Pushkara Sakti (might of Pushkara) ruled Gandhara, and established diplomatic relations with the king of Bimbisara of Maghda, the first Indian empire on the Ganges.

⁶⁸ Quddus, *The North-west Frontier of Pakistan*, 45.

⁶⁹ Nandu Lal Day, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (Calcutta: New Man and Co., 1899), 73.

⁷⁰ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: North-West Frontier Province*, 161.

⁷¹ *Pakistan Tourism Directory*, 87-88.

This alliance increased his power and defeated the king of Paydoyota of Awanti in Western Malva in India. In that time Gautam Buddha has started his preaching which later exercised substantial influence on the minds of the people all over this area.

The Persian's Rule

It was by the end of 6th century B.C. that Darius I of Persia, organized Sindh and Baluchistan as the 20th province of the empire. Gandhara was conquered and annexed to the Persian Empire by the Emperor Cyrus, and Gandhara became the 7th province⁷² of the Achaemenian Empire in about 516 B.C., and paid tribute to the successor of Cyrus, named Darius, the Great of Persia. The history of the Herodotus tells that Darius sent the explorer Scylax of Caryanda to sail down the Indus and find the sea. They set out from Kaspatures in the country of Pushkalavati, for the river in just about navigable from here on down. Then sailing on the seas west ward, they arrived in the thirteenth month at that place where the king of Egypt dispatched the Pheonicians to soil down Libya. King Darius in his Behistan inscriptions mentioned the Gandharan among his people.⁷³ The Gandharans fought against the Greeks in 480-479 B.C. in the army of Xerxes, the Achaemenian Emperor and their rule continued until it was invaded by Alexander the Great in 327-26 B.C.⁷⁴

The Greeks Rule

In the spring of 327 B.C. Alexander the Great, led his army from across the Hinukush to the newly founded city of Alexandria, and choose the north route to enter the Sub-continent. After Alexander had subdued Persia and Afghanistan, he divided his army and dispatched Hepaestion and Periccas

⁷² Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Pushkalavati, the Lotus City* (Peshawar: Department of Archeology University of Peshawar, 1963), 3.

⁷³ S.M. Jaffar, *An Introduction to Peshawar* (Peshawar: Khyber Mail Press, 1962), 3.

⁷⁴ Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (New York: S.T. Martins Press, 1964), 44.

with the bridges of Gorias Cleitus and Molcager, half the companion cavalry and the whole of the mercenary cavalry to the land of Pushkalavati and the river Indus. When they reached the Indus to make the necessary preparations for the transport of army across the river Indus, they were also accompanied by Taxilies and other chiefs. When they reached the Indus valley, they begin to carry out the instructions of Alexander the Great. At that time, Asts was the supreme ruler of the land of Pushkalavati and he effected a revolt.⁷⁵

Hepaestion laid siege to Pushkalavati, and it is said that the final surrender was got by Alexander himself. After 30 days he overcome the city and killed its defender Asts, and Sangacus of Taxila was appointed as the next ruler of Pushkalavati, and then Hapaestion built a boat bridge across the Indus at Hund, and negotiated the surrender of Taxila.⁷⁶ After that invasion of Alexander the great on this region, the structure of this region changed and Taxila became the eastern Gandhara while Pushkalavati became the western Gandhara. It was in 322 B.C., only a year after Alexander's death that Chandragupta Maurya gained complete sovereignty over the region by compelling the withdrawal of the Greek forces beyond the Hindukush mountain range, and by the year 318 B.C., the last Greek Garrison also went back.⁷⁷

The Mauryans Rule

The Mauryan period takes its name from a line of rulers who ruled from Khyber to Deccan from 322 to 185 B.C. Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of this dynasty was able to gain power and successfully deposed the last king of the Nanda dynasty at Patali Putra (Patna) and established his authority over Magodha in the north-eastern part of India. He then rapidly progressed north-west

⁷⁵ Hamid Jalal, *Pakistan: Past and Present* (London: Stacy International, 1977), 77.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁷⁷ S.M. Jaffar, *An Introduction to Peshawar*, 3.

into the Punjab and by 305 B.C., he had taken possession of western India and the Indus Valley. Nicator⁷⁸ challenged him but he was defeated and forced to surrender the Greek Satrapies of Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Baluchistan, and further humbled into entering a matrimonial alliance with the Maurya clan in 305 B.C.⁷⁹

Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta was the most famous and greatest ruler of this dynasty. He was so brave that in his youth he was sent to Taxila to quell a rebellion.⁸⁰ Later Asoka changed his religion and converted to Buddhism. His missionaries travelled out from India in all the directions. Buddhism spread in Gandhara during his reign and Pushkalavati appears to have been the first city in the trans-Indus region which accepted Buddhism.⁸¹ There is a popular tradition that Asoka had built one of his Stupas containing the remnants of the lord Buddha at Pushkalavati which was described by the Chinese Pilgrim Hiun Tsang, who visited Gandhara in 630 A.D. There are still several Stupas remnants in the area, but we cannot know which one was Asoka's Stupa. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim asserts that the son of Asoka, Dharma Vivardhana ruled in the place where Buddha had made a gift of his eyes, which must have been Pushkalavati, where the stupa of the Eyed-Gift existed.⁸² The Mauryan period lasted for about one century.

The Bactrian and Parthians Rule

The Mauryan occupation was short lived and lasted hardly a century but during the Asoka's rule, Buddhism became the major religion of the world and dominant one of the Asia. When Asoka died

⁷⁸ He was an Infantry General under Alexander the Great. After two years war with Chandragupta Maurya, he made peace treaty with him.

⁷⁹ Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 2.

⁸⁰ Dani, *Pushkalavati, the Lotus City*, 11.

⁸¹ *Archeological Survey of India Annual report 1902-03*, Superintendent Government Printing Press Calcutta 1904, 143.

⁸² Jose Rleo Santiago, *Pakistan: A Traveler's Survival Kit* (Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1987), 99.

in 232 B.C., the Mauryan Empire was divided between two of his grandsons and as a result, the administrative strength of the empire deteriorated soon and many areas of the empire broke away to become independent. One section was under Dioddodus which was Bactria and the other part, Patria was under Arsaces in about 250 B.C. In 185 B.C., the last Mauryan Emperor, Brihadrtha was killed by one of his Brahman generals, Pushyamitra, who laid the foundation of Sunga Dynasty. During 112 years of their rule, many followers of Dharma were converted to Brahmanism. Menander, the great Greek ruler led an expedition against Pushyamitra. His forces besieged Pataliputra, the capital of the Sungas and shattered their power. Under the king Menander in about 180 B.C., the Bactrian Greek laid out a new capital city of Pushkalavati at Shikhan Dheri, one kilometer to the north-east of Bala Hisar (Pushkalavati).⁸³

In 135 B.C. the Bactrians were ousted by an invading group known as Sakas, a Scythian tribe from the Central Asia. Most important ruler of this dynasty was Maues of Saka.⁸⁴ Saka dynasty favored Buddhism and constructed Buddhist monasteries.

In 21 A.D. the Scythians were deposed by Parthians and became the ruler of Gandhara. Gondophares was the most important ruler of the Parthian dynasty, who ruled over Gandhara and defeated last Greek king, Hermaeus and Scythians in the north-west. His inscription was founded from Takht-i-Bhai (Mardan) which mentions the 26th year of his reign in the year 103 A.D. of an unknown era.⁸⁵ These people belonged the Scythic race and were known in the Indian history by the name of the most powerful tribe of the Kushans.

⁸³ Camer Apix, *Spectrum Guide to Pakistan* (Nairobi: Camer Apex Publishers International, 1989), 168.

⁸⁴ Sir Mortimar Wheeler, *Charsadda, A Metropolis of the North West Frontier* (London: University Press, 1962), 5.

⁸⁵ Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 3.

The Kushanas Rule

In 64 A.D. city of Taxila was sacked by Kushans and established its command in the north-west of India. Kajula Kadphises was the founder of the Kushan dynasty. The Kushan dynasty reached the summit of its magnificence under the king Kanishka. He created the greatest empire after Asoka. He transferred his capital from Pushkalavati to Peshawar⁸⁶ and Mathara appears to be the second capital to the south. Under Kanishka, Gandhara reached to its climax. During his reign, Buddhism was on its peak. He built magnificent Buddhist Vihara in Peshawar. Pershva was the famous monk, who played an important role in the deliberations of the forth Buddhist council, which was held at Pushkalavati.⁸⁷ In 241 A.D. the invasion of Shapur of Iran brought an end to the ruler of last sovereign of Kanishka line, Vesudeva.⁸⁸

The Muslim Rule

The lights of Islam was brought to this area (Charsadda) in about 53 H (672 A.D.), when the first Islamic expedition came here under the command of Ibad Bin Ziyad.⁸⁹ After this expedition Islam spread in this area in the Caliph Hazrat Usman era. In the 10th century, Peshawar came under the Afghans when Subuktagin of Ghazna defeated Raja Jaipal, a Hindu Prince of Lahore near Laghman, and drove his armies across the Indus with great slaughter. They took possession of all the country west of the Indus and left his Lieutenant, Abu Ali with an army of 10,000 horses, as the Governor of Peshawar.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *Daily The Muslim* (Islamabad). 05 December 1986.

⁸⁷ Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhawand Au Jaadujehad* (Pashto) (Kabul, 1983), 3.

⁸⁸ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 77-78.

⁸⁹ *Daily Mashriq* (Peshawar). October 27, 1981.

⁹⁰ Sehrai, *The Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum*, 44-45.

In 997 A.D. Subuktagin died and he was succeeded by his son, Mahmud. He led about seventeen expeditions to India and fought against his father's enemy. The first of these encounters took place in 1001 A.D. near Nowshera,⁹¹ where the Hindus were again defeated and Jaipal himself was taken prisoner.

In 1008 A.D. the Indian Princes assembled a vast army from all parts of the northern India. Mahmud also equally elaborate preparations and the two armies faced each other on the plains of Chuch near Peshawar.⁹² In the battle, the forces of Anandpal fought with great courage, but the elephants of Raja got frightened, turned and fled from the battle field. The Indians also lost their hearts and supposing their leader to be retired from the field due to which, they also fled from the battle field. Mahmud made Peshawar the rallying point of his forces of which the Pashtoons formed the main part. The Pashtoons and their chiefs were treated with honor and their chiefs were encouraged to settle in Khyber hills to serve as a barrier between his own country and that of his powerful enemies.⁹³

The Pashtoons who came to this area (Charsadda) belong to the Muhammadzai⁹⁴ tribe which is a branch of Ghorghusht Khel. This tribe had conquered the area about 900 years ago, during the reign of King Balban of the slave dynasty. Then they permanently settled in Charsadda. This area came under the Mughal kings when Babur defeated the Muhammadzais and the Yousafzais with the help of Dilazaks, occupied Peshawar and erected a fort at Peshawar and lift a garrison there. He then encamped at Katlang and Shahbazgarha, and his troops destroyed the ziarat of Shahbaz Qalander. After the Babur's tenure, this area came under the stronghold of

⁹¹ *N.W.F.P. Province Gazetteer of Peshawar District, 1931* Vol: II, Directorate of Archives Government of NWFP, 2nd ed., 1987, 42.

⁹² *Gazetteer of Peshawar District 1897-98* (Lahore: Sung-i-Meel Publications, 1989), 42.

⁹³ Wheeler, *Charsadda, A Metropolis of the North West Frontier*, 6-10.

⁹⁴ Khan Roshan Khan, *Tawareeh-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khani* (Urdu) (Karachi: Sharid Art Press, 2nd ed., 1976), 602.

Muhammadzai chieftains. After Babur, his son Hamayun also ruled over Peshawar and reconstructed the forts on large scale.⁹⁵

1.6.1. Roshaniya Movement (Pir Rokhan Tahrik)

In the middle of 16th century during Akbar's reign, the valley of Peshawar was a great center for religious activities. A religious sect aroused among the Pashtoons of the hilly region, which was founded by Bayazid Ansari popularly known as "Pir Rokhan" or "Pir Roshan", "the Apostle of Light", but his opponents called him as "Pir Tarik", "the Apostle of Darkness", a name given by Akhund Darveza, a Tajik from Ningrahar, who was his great rival.⁹⁶ His movement in history is known as Roshaniya Movement.

Bayazid Ansari was born in Jalandhar in Punjab in 1525 A.D.⁹⁷ According to his own *Haalnama* (an autobiography) of Bayazid Ansari, he was a descendant of Abu Ayub Ansari⁹⁸ but according to Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar of Umarzai in his book, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tariqyan* (Pashto), he was an *Urmarh* (a Pashtoon).⁹⁹ Olaf Cairo in his book, *The Pathan*, also shared same view of Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the people of the area also claimed that he was an *Urmarh*. When Babar attacked India, his father Abdullah migrated from Jalandhar (Punjab) along with his son Bayazid Ansari and settled in Ganigram North Waziristan.¹⁰¹

He first tried to reform the Pashtoons and then he became a freedom fighter and started his preaching in North Waziristan. Soon he succeeded to get support of the people and many become

⁹⁵ Wheeler, *Charsadda, A Metropolis of the North West Frontier*, 15-20.

⁹⁶ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 198.

⁹⁷ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 104-05.

⁹⁸ Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tariqyan* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Idara Ishaghaat-i-Sarhad Public Art Press, n.d.), 4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

¹⁰⁰ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 200.

¹⁰¹ Akbar, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tariqyan*, 20-21.

his *murids* (disciples). In order to spread his preaching, he travelled to Tirah and other parts of Afridi, Khalil, Yousafzai and Muhammadzai (Hashtnagar) tribes and as a result, these tribes became his followers.¹⁰² He wrote his book *Sirat-i-Tauheed* in Khuladher (Hashtnagar) and sent one copy to the Mughal ruler, Akbar, one to Sayed Ali Tarmizi commonly known as Pir Baba and also to other prominent people of the time.¹⁰³ Pir Baba was his main rival because of the differences of their practices. Pir Baba was an orthodox believer while Pir Rokhan was a mystic and a saint. Pir Rokhan developed his own philosophy after being inspired from the Sufis of that time.¹⁰⁴

It was due to the help of Mulla Dawlat (a local landlord of Charsadda) that many people of Hashtnagar become his *murids*. He settled in Khuladher (Hashtnagar) due to his influence among the people of Muhammadzai tribe. He settled in Hashtnagar because the governor of Peshawar, Janis Khan was replaced by Masoom Khan who was not in good terms with Pir Sahib. Therefore, he decided to settle in Hashtnagar where he received great affection from Muhammadzai tribe.¹⁰⁵ It was due to his love with Muhammadzai tribe of Hashtnagar that he gave his daughter to Ali Khan, a son of Painda Khan. He married his son, Umar with a daughter of Bahar Khan, who was the brother of Painda Khan. He himself married to his disciple named Dannai.¹⁰⁶

Hashtnagar now became the center of Roshaniya Movement.¹⁰⁷ Abdul Hakeem Khan, the ruler of Kabul, ordered the governor of Peshawar, Masoom Khan in a letter to arrest or kill Pir Rokhan. Pir Rokhan migrated to area of Yousafzais (Mardan) along with many Muhammadzais,

¹⁰² Syed Abdul Ahad Shah Tarmizi, *Tazkira Sadaat Tarmizi* (Urdu) (Lahore: Ishtiyag Mushtaq Printers, 2013), 137. Also See Akbar, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tarikyan*, 26.

¹⁰³ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 245-48.

¹⁰⁴ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 105.

¹⁰⁵ Ali Khan Mahsood, *La Pir Rokhana Tar Bacha Khana Pore: Da Pukhtano Milli Mobarezaye* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Da Danish Tolany Tahkiki Sanga Qissa Khawani Bazaar, n.d.), 46-47.

¹⁰⁶ Akbar, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tarikyan*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Also See Mahsood, *La Pir Rokhana Tar Bacha Khana Pore*, 47.

where he fought first battle against Mughals. His disciples defeated Mughals and named the war place as Aghaaz Pura.¹⁰⁸ Pir Sahib then migrated to Khyber, Tirah and to the Afridis territories, where many people become his disciples. He established an Azad government of Pashtoons in Tirah.¹⁰⁹ Mughal forces attacked Dachodai, a place in Tirah. In the battle, Mughal forces fled the battle field and inflicted a heavy defeat by losing the lives of two hundred and twenty soldiers.¹¹⁰ This make him more popular among the Pashtoons and he attacked Ningrahar. A decisive battle was fought in Toragha, an area of Shinwari tribe in which the Bayazid forces were defeated by Mughal forces and forced them to flee from the area. Bayazid himself fled from the battlefield and reached Hashtnagar with great difficulties where he died in Kalpanai village in 1586 A.D.¹¹¹

His five sons struggled hard to continue his work but the government as well as the great saint Darveza, opposed them and as a result, many people of Yousafzai tribe became their opponents while some of them were the followers of Roshniya Tahrik. They were killed one by one and when his youngest son died, the Roshaniya Movement came to an end.¹¹² Yousafzais and Dalazaks played a vital role in crushing the Roshaniya Movement. According to Olaf Cairo, the most important factor of the failure of the Roshaniya movement was its undue interference in the political rights of Pashtoons which was not digested by the people. Moreover, Pashtuns had never remained for a long time under a religious rule. They were not happy over the strict enforcement of *Shariah* law of *Ushar* and *Zakkat*.¹¹³ The same mistake of interference in local affairs of the Pashtoons was made by Syed Ahmad Brelvi three centuries later. Creating unity among the

¹⁰⁸ Sideeq Ullah Rekhtiy, *Rokhan Stori* (Pashto) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1987), 12-13.

¹⁰⁹ Syed Bahadar Shah Zafar Kakakhel, *Pukhtana Da Tarikh Pe Ranra Ki* (Pashto) (Peshawar: University Book Agency Khyber Bazaar, 1964), 682.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Akbar, *Rokhaniyan Da Maghulo Tariqyan*, 33-34.

¹¹² Ibid., 50-54.

¹¹³ Kakakhel, *Pukhtana Da Tarikh Pe Ranra Ki*, 683-84.

Pashtoons was very difficult at that time as compared to creating a rift among them. The role of Akhund Darveza in this respect, was also a great cause of the failure of Roshaniya Movement. Moreover, due to continuous wars with Mughal forces, *Rokhaniyan* become financially weak.¹¹⁴

1.6.2. Peshawar Valley under Durrani and Sikh Rule

After Aurangzeb, the Mughal rule in India was on decline which provided a good opportunity for the Afghans. In 1738 Nadir Shah invaded Peshawar and defeated the imperial forces.¹¹⁵ The local Mughal governor, Nasir Khan submitted to Nadir Shah, who then made him the governor of Peshawar and Kabul. He exercise his control over Peshawar valley until he was ousted by Ahmad Shah Durrani.¹¹⁶ Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) crossed Indus eight times between 1747 and 1773 A.D. He defeated Marhatas in 1761 A.D. and built a new kingdom in India. During Indian expeditions, he experienced much trouble in Peshawar valley. Peshawar valley had remained constantly under transition due to its geography and contiguity with Afghanistan.¹¹⁷

In the first half of the 19th century, Peshawar remained a cause of tension between Durrani and the emerging Sikh power.¹¹⁸ Peshawar valley was under the four Barakzai Sardars. Dost Mohamad Khan consolidated his empire in Kabul and Peshawar fell under his four brother, Sardar Yar Muhammad, Sultan Muhammad, Sayyid Muhammad and Pir Muhammad.¹¹⁹ Though, it had been taken by the Sikh forces in 1834 A.D., yet the hostility between the two continued till 1837.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, several attacks had been made by Barakzai Sardars and contested the Sikh supremacy.

¹¹⁴ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 130-131.

¹¹⁵ Edited, *N.W.F.P. Province Gazetteer of Peshawar District*, 1931, p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Mount Stuart Elphinstone, *Kingdom Of Caubul and its Dependencies on Persia, Tartari Vol. II* (London: Albemarle Street, 1819), p. 285.

¹¹⁷ Razia Sultana, "Peshawar: An Integral Part of Competing Empires of Durrani, Sikhs and British", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXII, No.1 (2011), p. 29-30.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹⁹ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 126.

¹²⁰ Sultana, *Peshawar: An Integral Part of Competing Empires of Durrani, Sikhs and British*, 30-31.

Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, the Afghan ruler wanted to make this province under his fold, attempted twice to regain Peshawar.¹²¹

Barakzai Sardars continued to rule Peshawar and their other brothers, Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad held power in Kabul.¹²² Sikhs were ruling supreme in Lahore and their power were beyond Attock but when Maharaja Ranjit Singh occupied Attock in 1814 A.D. and overran the Peshawar valley across the Indus in 1818, the position become serious. In 1823 A.D. Azim Khan came from Kabul to encounter the Sikh forces. The Sikh forces won the battle and advanced upon Peshawar, made four Sardars as his tributaries and put Peshawar valley under fire.¹²³ The Barakzai Sardars then managed to keep up their relations with the Sikhs and even when Sikhs finally occupied Peshawar valley after the battle with Dost Mohammad in 1835, the Sardars received their *Jagirs* from the Sikhs. Sayyid Muhammad Khan received Hashtnagar, Pir Muhammad received Doaba and Sultan Muhammad got Kohat and Hangu.¹²⁴

The atrocities of the Sikh ruler in Peshawar valley compelled Syed Ahmad Barelvi along with *Mujahidins* to attack Peshawar and get rid of Sikh rule in Peshawar. Moreover, the teaching of Shah Wali Ullah paved the way for a new socio-religious movement under the leadership of Syed Ahmad Barelvi in North-West Frontier region (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) of India.¹²⁵ The main reason for the selection of this region was due to the oppressed policies of Sikhs against the Muslims. Many Muslim practices were banned by the Sikh rulers in Punjab (North-West Frontier was part of Punjab till 1901). Syed Ahmad's Jihad Movement aimed at the renaissance of Islam in the Sub-continent in both religious and political spheres of life. For this purpose, he sent Shah

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Edited, *N.W.F.P. Province Gazetteer of Peshawar District*, 1931, p. 65.

¹²³ Dani, *Peshawar: Historical City of the Frontier*, 132.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 127.

¹²⁵ Ghulam Rasool Mehr, *Jama't-i-Mujahidin* (Lahore, 1955), 7-28.

Ismail and Maulana Abdul Hay to different parts of India to prepare Muslims for Jihad. Another reason for the selection of North-West Frontier region was its geographical position.¹²⁶ North-West Frontier played a significant role in shaping and reshaping the history of Central Asia and South Asia. Moreover, the people of the region were religiously motivated, therefore, Syed Ahmad's migration to this area had attracted many Pashtoons in the name of Islam.¹²⁷ Ranjit Singh's rule in the West of Indus was not fully established, where the Sikhs could only collect revenue through the use of force.¹²⁸

When Syed Ahmad Barelvi arrived at Peshawar, it was ruled by a Barakzai Sardar, Yar Muhammad Khan on behalf of the Sikh rule. He twice declared his allegiance to Ranjit Singh and not wanted to annoy him.¹²⁹ Syed Ahmad was not welcomed by him at the time of his arrival in Peshawar. Syed Ahmad moved to Hashtnagar and arrived at Charsadda. Sayyid Muhammad Khan, the governor of the area visited Syed Ahmad and took *bai'at* along with other supporters.¹³⁰ They stayed in Hashtnagar (Charsadda) for a couple of weeks. Time was utilized to arouse people for *jihad* and information were collected to fight against the Sikhs. However, Sayyid Muhammad Khan not supported the Mujahidins wholeheartedly. The main reason was the personal interests of Barakzai Sardars to rule Peshawar valley.¹³¹ They organized a diplomatic deal with the Sikhs which costed in the shape of the death of Yar Muhammad Khan in the battle of Zaida in 1829 A.D. with *Mujahidins*. Sultan Muhammad Khan, the brother of Yar Muhammad Khan was secretly

¹²⁶ Altaf Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015), 241.

¹²⁷ Syed Abdul Hassan Ali Nadvi, *Tarikh-e-Dawatwa Azeemat: Seerat-e-Syed Ahmad Shahid* (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1974), 423-24.

¹²⁸ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi*, 241-42.

¹²⁹ Caroe, *The Pathans*, 302.

¹³⁰ Nawab Muhammad Wazir Khan, *Waqai Syed Ahmad Shaheed* (Lahore: Syed Ahmad Shaheed Academy, n.d.), pp. 1097.

¹³¹ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi*, 114.

planning to avenge his brother. He created some disruption in the camp of *Mujahidins* and also organized the killing of *Mujahidins*. Waqai has narrated that the signal “thrash the Maize” was prepared to kill the *Mujahidins*. At the time of *isha* prayer, massacre of *Mujahidins* took place.¹³² After this massacre, *Mujahidins* left Peshawar and encamped in Hazara region, Balakot where a decisive battle was fought between *Mujahidins* and Sikh forces. Syed Ahmad along with many other campaigners were killed and resulted in shape of victory of the Sikh forces.

One of the most important cause of the failure of Brelvi’s jihad movement was the uncompromising attitude of some of his officials which aroused hatred and dissatisfaction among the local *Khans* and *Mullahs*. This provided an opportunity for the Sikhs to win over the loyalty of some of the local *Khans* and *Mullahs* against the *Mujahidins*. Sultan Yar Muhammad Khan, a member of the ruling family of Peshawar was one of them. A servant of Sultan Yar Muhammad Khan tried to poison Syed Ahmad while he was on his way to launch a large scale attack on Sikh forces but he survived. Yar Muhammad Khan died in a battle with *mujahidins* in September 1929. In 1830 the *Mujahidin* occupied Peshawar. Syed Ahmad concluded a peace treaty with Sultan Mohammad Khan and made him the governor of Peshawar. Sultan Mohammad Khan apologized for his past behavior, promised to the doctrine of Syed Ahmad and took an oath of allegiance to Syed Ahmad.¹³³

Moreover, unfamiliarity of *Mujahidins* with the Pashtoon traditions was another important cause of their failure. The undue interference of Syed Ahmad in the tribal setup and traditions, annoyed the Pashtoons and they considered it as an attack on their sovereignty.¹³⁴ Moreover,

¹³² Khan, *Waqai Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, pp, 2010-12.

¹³³ Abdul Rauf, “The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India, 1914-1934” *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn 2005), 410.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20838980>. Accessed: 05-02-2016 17:52 UTC., 410-11.

¹³⁴ Qadir, *Syed Ahmad Brelvi*, 241.

Mujahidins were not fully equipped and well trained as compared to the Sikh forces who were well trained and well equipped. They take the advantage of the discontentment between *Mujahidins* and *Khans* and succeeded to get support of some of important figures from the ranks of *Mujahidin*.¹³⁵ After these events Peshawar valley was ruled by Sikhs till 1849 when British defeated Sikh forces and gain control over the whole of Punjab (including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as it was part of Punjab till 1901). The cruel Sikh rulers have been despised in the region but there was little enthusiasm for the British either. Many of the British forces in India were stationed in Peshawar to defend the North-West Frontier.

In the start of 20th century, when World War I broke out in Europe, many freedom fighters against the British rule emerged on the scene of India. Haji Sahib of Turangzai was one of them who tried to get freedom from British yoke. He first tried to reform the Pashtoon society which was full of social evils and then converted his social movement to freedom movement. He was also assisted by another social reformer and freedom fighter, Abdul Ghaffar Khan commonly known as Bacha Khan. In the coming chapters the role of Haji Sahib Turangzai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the freedom struggle against British Rule will be discussed.

¹³⁵ Rauf, *The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India*, 410.

CHAPTER 02

The Role of Haji Sahib of Turangzai in the Freedom Struggle

2.1. Introduction

Fazli Wahid commonly known as Haji Sahib of Turangzai has played an important role in the freedom movement against the British *Raj*. The Jihad movement of Haji Sahib was not a new one. It was started earlier in 19th century by Syed Ahmad Brelvi, who unlike Haji Sahib, failed to get support of the people of North-West Frontier. Syed Ahmad tried to reform the Pashtoon society on the ground of Islamic teachings¹³⁶ but failed to get the support of the Pashtoons because he was foreigner in the area and was also not aware of the customs and traditions of Pashtoons.¹³⁷

Syed Ahmad Brelvi's Jihad movement against the Sikh rule in North-West Frontier failed because he was unable to get the support of the locals. Moreover, the uncompromising attitude of some of his officials aroused hatred and dissatisfaction among the local *Khans* and *Mullahs*. This provided an opportunity for the Sikhs to win over the loyalty of some of the local *Khans* and *Mullahs* against the *mujahidin*. The detail is given in the previous chapter. Another important reason of the failure of Syed Ahmad's Jihad was his unfamiliarity with the Pashtoon traditions. Moreover, *mujahidin* were not fully equipped and well trained as compared to the Sikh forces who were well trained and well equipped. They take the advantage of the discontentment between *mujahidin* and *Khans* and succeeded to get support of some of important figures from the ranks of *mujahidin*.¹³⁸ They tried to interfere in the local administration of Pashtoon which was considered

¹³⁶ Rauf, *The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India*, 410.

¹³⁷ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi*, 240-41.

¹³⁸ Rauf, "The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India, 410

by the locals as an attack on their sovereignty.¹³⁹ After these events Peshawar valley was ruled by Sikhs till 1849 when British defeated Sikh forces and gain control over the whole of Punjab (including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as it was part of Punjab till 1901). In the 20th century, when World War I broke out in Europe, many freedom fighters against the British rule emerged on the scene of India. Haji Sahib of Turangzai was one of them who tried to get freedom from British yoke.¹⁴⁰

Fazli Wahid popularly known as Haji Sahib Turangzai was born in 1859 at Turangzai (Charsadda).¹⁴¹ His father name was Fazli Ahmad, who belonged to a Syed Family. His grandfather, Syed Rustam Shah helped Syed Ahmad Brelvi who waged *jihad* against Sikh rule in North-West Frontier.¹⁴² Haji Sahib Turangzai was a Pirzada by lineage and his mother belonged to a Kakakhel tribe from Nowshera. After getting basic religious education from a great religious scholar, Maulana Abu Bakar Akhunzada, he was sent to Tehkal's Madrassa for further education. The Tehkal Madrassa was a great center of religious learning in the province in the 19th century. He got religious education in Tehkal Madrassa for six years.¹⁴³ According to another source, he continued his religious education in Tehkal Madrassa for four years.¹⁴⁴ After getting his early education, he came back to Turangzai, where he married to Khalid Baba's daughter, Bibi Hawa.¹⁴⁵

In the very beginning of life, he was more inclined towards Sufism. Therefore, he went to Afghanistan in search of a spiritual guide. He went to Hadda, a village in South Jalalabad

¹³⁹ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi*, 241.

¹⁴⁰ Altaf Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of the Haji Sahib Turangzai's Movement* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015), 58.

¹⁴¹ Special Branch Police Office, *The Haji of Turangzai*, File No. 10/2/3-E Vol: II, 1915, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 71.

¹⁴² Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of the Haji Sahib Turangzai's Movement*, 19.

¹⁴³ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkira-i-Sarfaroshan-i-Soba Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency Khyber Bazar, n.d.), 222.

¹⁴⁴ Muhammad Fahim Khan, "The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai", *Journal, Islamic Studies*, Vol: XVI: No. 1, (Spring 1976), 329.

¹⁴⁵ *AF-18 Vol: IV*, CID, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 39.

(Afghanistan) where he found Najm-ud-Din Akhunzada commonly known as Hadda Mulla, who was one of the greatest leaders of resistance movement against the British rule in 1897-98.¹⁴⁶ He was a great saint, a man of Divine influence and literary figure at that time, who contributed a lot in providing religious education to him. Haji Sahib became his disciple and due to his devotion for his spiritual master, soon he was nominated as his successor.¹⁴⁷

After getting education from Hadda Mulla, Haji Sahib returned home and started farming there.¹⁴⁸ He also started preaching Islamic law to the people of the village. After sometime, he went to Deoband where he met with *Shaikh-ul-Hind*, Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan took him to Makkah for *Haj* in 1904. After his return from *Haj*, he set himself for dual purposes; to fight for eradication of social evils from the Pashtoon society and to support every struggle against the colonial rule.¹⁴⁹ For his social reform plan, he put emphasize first on teaching basic religious education to the people for which he opened many *madaris* in Peshawar, Charsadda, Swabi and Mardan. To some accounts, he opened twenty two *madaris* under his supervision in which basic elementary education was taught. These *madaris* were mostly opened inside mosques because of lack of resources and to conceal these activities from the British government.¹⁵⁰

Un-Islamic social practices, which were deep rooted in *Rivaaj*¹⁵¹ of Pashtoon society, needed attention for which, Haji Sahib, choses the areas of Mohmand and Yousafzai on trial basis. The socio-economic evils like property mortgage to borrow money for lavish spending on son's

¹⁴⁶ Lal Baha, "The Activities of the Mujahidin", *Islamic Studies Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 1979), pp. 97-168, 101. Accessed: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20847099>.

¹⁴⁷ Ijaz ul Haq Quddusi, *Tazkira Sofia-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1966), 40-41.

¹⁴⁸ Sabir, *Tazkira-i-Sarfaroshan-i-Soba Sarhad*, 222.

¹⁴⁹ Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 29.

¹⁵⁰ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 34.

¹⁵¹ It is traditional practices of Pashtuns, which is considered very important and obeyed by all.

marriage, encashment on daughter marriages, depriving female of their property inheritance, and enmity over *Zar*, *Zan* and *Zamin* (wealth, women and property) were rampant and had broken the social fabric of the Pashtoon society. Haji Sahib voluntarily worked hard to eradicate these evils from the Pashtoon society.¹⁵²

On the political front, due to the influence of Mulla Hadda and *Sheikh-ul- Hind*, Haji Sahib started his anti-British mobilization in the Frontier.¹⁵³ In 1897, Mulla Hadda attacked the British check posts at Malakand, Chakdara, and other places. Haji Sahib Turangzai with the support of his disciples also attacked the British Army posts of Batkhela, Malakand, Pirkali and Chakdara.¹⁵⁴ In the meantime Mulla Hadda died in 1902, his disciple, Sufi Alam Gul, succeeded him. Sufi Sahib further strengthened his connections and appointed Haji Sahib as his *Muezzin*¹⁵⁵.

In 1908 Haji Sahib again went to Makkah to perform *Haj*. After performing *Haj*, he was the only one in his area who had performed *Haj*,¹⁵⁶ therefore, he became famous with the name of 'Haji Sahib'. On his return from the holy land, he started preaching in his village. He built a large mosque and a hostel for his disciples.¹⁵⁷

2.2. The Reform Movement of Haji Sahib of Turangzai

The native socio-educational movement was supervised by Haji Sahib Turangzai, who organized his disciples for the social and educational enhancement of the Pakhtuns. Secondly, he adopted new social and political methods to rally the people against the British. To accomplish these ends,

¹⁵² Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 30.

¹⁵³ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 332.

¹⁵⁴ Special Branch Police Report, *The Haji of Turangzai*, File No. 10/2/3-E Vol: II, 1915, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 223.

¹⁵⁵ A person who calls people to come for prayers to mosque five times a day.

¹⁵⁶ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 22. Also See Aziz Javid, *Bar-e-Sagheer Pak Wa Hind Ka Azeem Mujahid: Haji Sahib of Turangzai* (Urdu) (Peshawar: Idara-i-Tahqeeq wa Tasneef, 1982), 42.

¹⁵⁷ *AF-18 Vol: III*, CID Reports, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 15.

he first started his social reform movement in order to eradicate the corrupt and un-Islamic local customs and traditions from the Pashtoon society. As education was considered to be the most important instrument for the restructuring of society, therefore, Haji Turangzai gave much importance to both modern and religious education of the Pashtoons.¹⁵⁸ He succeeded in the opening of many *Azad Madrassas* in the Peshawar and adjoining areas at the end of the nineteenth century, and in the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁹

Before the British suzerainty over the North-West Frontier Province, there was no custom of personal property among the Pushtoons and mostly, land was in possession of a tribe or family. This practice was even witnessed in the 20th century in the tribal areas of Pashtoons.¹⁶⁰ With the British control over the North-West Frontier Province, the system of private ownership was increased. The British government did this for their own goods; to collect taxes easily and their loyals were rewarded with lands by the British *Raj*. Such unfair division of land, clearly deprived many people of their own land property and resulted in a particular ‘Caste System’, a new type in North-West Frontier Province, different from prevailing in other parts of India. Most of the trade and commerce was dominated by the Hindus in the province because Pashtoons were not interested in it.¹⁶¹

There were many social evils which prevailed among the Pashtoons. The religious class, *Mullahs* who had control over rituals were unaware of the basic teaching of Quran and Hadith due to which common people were unaware of the status of women and in most cases, they were

¹⁵⁸ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, “The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective”, *SAGE Publications Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Studies in History* 29 (1) 87-118 (2013), 96. <http://www.sagepub.com>

¹⁵⁹ Abdul Rauf, “Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P.: A Case Study of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina”, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XXVII/2 (2006), 333-34. <http://www.nihcr.edu.pk>

¹⁶⁰ Lal Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration under British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad: Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), 133.

¹⁶¹ Allah Baksh Yousfi, *Sarhad Aur Jiddo Jihad-e-Azadi* (Urdu) (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1968), 67.

deprived of their due rights given to them in Islam. There was no say of girls during fixing their marriages. In most cases, families of the girl settled her marriage and demanded a huge amount of money before fixing the marriage date. In some cases, if a person have no money then he has to give his sister in exchange.¹⁶² In addition to this, the birth of a male baby was celebrated while the birth of a female was often look down upon, and her mother was mostly accused for happening this. Moreover, family feuds were prevalent among the Pashtoons which would mostly convert into a tribal feuds.¹⁶³

Due to these prevalent social evils, Haji Sahib started his social reform movement in order to eradicate these menaces from the Pashtoon society. He mobilized the people to give up blood feuds and to avoid lavish spending on marriages and funerals. He tried to bring people's normal life according to the laws of *Shariah*.¹⁶⁴ He visited many parts of the NWFP and tribal territory before settling permanently to the tribal area in order to create awareness among the people against social evils.¹⁶⁵ Resultantly, he became very popular among the people of the area and many people became his disciples. Prominent among them were Khan Bahader Ghulam Haider khan,¹⁶⁶ Umara Khan Sherpao¹⁶⁷ and Abdullah Khan¹⁶⁸ Umarzai.¹⁶⁹

The socio-religious movement of Haji Sahib was not a new one. It was started earlier in 19th century by Syed Ahmad Brelvi who failed to get support of the people of North-west Frontier.

¹⁶²Javid, *Bar-e-Sagheer Pak Wa Hind Ka Azeem Mujahid*, 45.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 18.

¹⁶⁵ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 26.

¹⁶⁶ He was a leader of Frontier Muslim League from Sherpao (Charsadda) in the last decade of partition. He was the father of Hayat khan Sherpao, governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 1973-75 and Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao who remained Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 1988-90, 1993-96.

¹⁶⁷ Who was a disciple of Mulla Fazli Qadir.

¹⁶⁸ A near relative of Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao.

¹⁶⁹ *AF-18 Vol: III*, CID, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 5.

Syed Ahmad tried to reform the Pashtoons society on the ground of Islamic teachings. He was not son of the soil who speaks a foreign language, failed to attract the people of North-West Frontier. He put some measures by imposing certain Islamic laws which were not liked by the people of North-West Frontier. For example, he tried to re-marry widows which was not practiced by Pashtoons. His practice of prayer was different from the practice of Pashtoons such as saying *ameen* in prayers loudly. Moreover, he started the practice of inheritance of women which was also not liked by the local Pashtoons.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, Haji Sahib was a Pashtoon who understood the traditions of Pashtoons that is why his reform movement was successful. He was also welcomed by the *Ulema* of the NWFP.

When the First World War broke out, Haji Sahib was forced to migrate to the tribal territory along with his disciples where he settled in Qandharo, Mohmand Agency, from where he resumed his reform movement. The main motive of Haji Sahib was to prepare people to fight against British Imperialism in the tribal areas. First, he tried to end tribal feuds in the area and for this purpose, he visited many tribes of Mohmands. He established a public treasury and ask people to pay *Zakat* (tax on products and in case of agricultural products, it is one-twentieth on irrigated soil) and *Ushur* (a type of *Zakat* on farm produce which is one-tenth on land which is not irrigated one) for the welfare of the poor people of the area.¹⁷¹ He also tried to reconcile the fighting tribes. He argued that mutual fighting had been discouraged by Islam and it was compulsory for a Muslim to end a dispute within three days.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective*, 245-46.

¹⁷¹ *Mohmand Political Dairies* 1924, F. 94, B.6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 25.

¹⁷² Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 26-27.

2.3. Educational Reforms of Haji Sahib Turangzai

In order to reform Pashtoons, Haji Sahib of Turangzai realized that without getting education, situation in the area could not be improved. He realized that the British system has brought many problem to the Pashtoons society.¹⁷³ After War of Independence 1857, two schools of thoughts had emerged in India. One was Aligarh who was promoting Western education while Deoband was promoting religious educational system in India.¹⁷⁴ Some of the people argues that Haji Sahib, being follower of Deoband School of thought, had links with *Shaikh-ul-Hind*, Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan who helped him in opening of many schools (*Dar-ul-Ulooms*) in the North-West Frontier Province.¹⁷⁵ Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan asked many followers to open schools in their areas. He advised people to live their lives according to the teachings of *Shariah*. A council of *Ulemas* consist of Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Mardan, Maulvi Fazl-i-Mahmud Makhfi, Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Utmanzai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan supported him in this movement. Maulvi Abdul Aziz persuaded Haji Sahib to focus on educational reforms of Pashtoons as mysticism could not work in such complex society like Pashtoons.¹⁷⁶ However, officials have no record of Haji Sahib's inspiration from others.¹⁷⁷

With the help of his disciples, Haji Sahib succeeded in opening of hundreds of private village schools in the British territory.¹⁷⁸ According to another source, he opened fifty schools in

¹⁷³ Sabir, *Tazkira-i-Sarfaroshan-i-Soba Sarhad*, 225.

¹⁷⁴ Syed Manazar Hassan Gillani, *Pak Wa Hind Main Musalmano Ka Nizam-i-Taleem Wa Tarbiat* (Urdu) (Lahore, n.d.), 7.

¹⁷⁵ Gulam Rasool Mehr, *Syed Ahmad Shahid* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, n.d.), 530.

¹⁷⁶ Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Idara-i Isha'at-i-Sarhad, 1972), 7.

¹⁷⁷ AF-18, Vol. X, p. 69.

¹⁷⁸ *The Tribune Delhi*, December 18, 1937.

Peshawar, Gadar and Utmanzai.¹⁷⁹ The distinctive feature of his movement was that the center of educational institutions was rural areas and not urban towns. *Ulemas*, who taught in these *Dar-ul-Uloom*s were directed to follow the syllabus of Deoband. In the syllabus Arabic, Persian, Pashto, Maths, English, Geography, History and basics of Islam were taught.¹⁸⁰ There was a council of *Ulemas* who run the administration of these *madrassas*. Among them, Maulana Shakir Ullah of Utmanzai, Taj Mohammad of Mardan, Maulvi Said Zaman of Swabi, and Qari Abdul Mastaan of Akbarpura and Abdul Aziz of Utmanzai were prominent.¹⁸¹ Mostly, these schools were run on alms and charity.

In order to discourage these educational activities, Haji Sahib was arrested along with other teachers of *Dar-ul-Uloom*s in 1908, accusing them of seditious preaching in Charsadda.¹⁸² He was released on surety of ten Maliks of Charsadda that in future, he will not preach in such inflammatory style nor would he leave Charsadda without prior permission from the British authorities.¹⁸³ When the British government realized the situations, provincial government agreed to lay the foundation of Islamia College Peshawar. Haji Sahib, being a spiritual leader and people's following, was invited by Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum to lay the foundation stone of Islamia College Peshawar on 21st March, 1912.¹⁸⁴ Haji Sahib agreed only to lay the foundation stone of the Jami'a Masjid of the College, which clearly shows that he was not interested in Western education.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ *Border Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Province 1915-16* (Peshawar: Government Press, N.W.F.P.).

¹⁸⁰ M. Amir Shah Qadri, *Ulema Wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar, n.d.), 209.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 209-210.

¹⁸² *AF 18, Vol: VI, CID Records 1916*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 71.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 330.

¹⁸⁵ Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang*, 8.

When the First World War broke out, Haji Sahib was informed by his well-wishers in the police department that government has issued his arrest warrant, due to which he decided to migrate to the tribal territory. Some *Ulemas* of the schools were arrested and some of them migrated with Haji Sahib to the tribal area in 1915.¹⁸⁶ According to official sources, thirty *madaris* were closed and its teachers were arrested after Haji Sahib's migration to the tribal territory. In the tribal territory, Haji Sahib remained preoccupied with Jihad activities due to which, he was not in a position to establish many *Dar-ul-Ulooms* in the tribal area. Mostly, mosques served as center of learning (schools) in the tribal areas.

2.4. Political Reforms of Haji Sahib Turangzai

After his successful educational reforms, he diverted his attention towards political side. Haji Sahib was the first person to create political consciousness among the people and organized them for the freedom struggle against the British.¹⁸⁷ In order to discourage English school system, he mobilized people against English education and opened many *madaris* in Peshawar valley as an alternative to the British school system. In his political struggle, he boycotted the British Court System prevailing in the region. Moreover, he started his struggle against the *majib khors* (Allowance Holders) and allies of the British government.¹⁸⁸

Haji Sahib of Turangzai is considered to be the first person in the North-West Frontier, who boycotted the British courts in the region. In NWFP, the *Jirga* system was most popular justice system than any other judicial systems. When the British started its rule in NWFP, they replaced it with their own English courts (1862). This new system of justice was more complicated, slow,

¹⁸⁶ Special Branch Police Office, *The Haji of Turangzai*, File No. 10/2/3-E Vol: II, 1915, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 71.

¹⁸⁷ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 339.

¹⁸⁸ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 40.

and costly. Haji Sahib was against the British court system. He persuaded people not to go there for settling their disputes. He advised the people to decide their feuds among themselves according to the teaching of Islam.¹⁸⁹ In Turangzai and Umarzai, he started his own judicial system and decided cases himself. He was so trustworthy that the offenders accepted his decisions.

First Haji Sahib revived *Jirgah* system of the Pashtoons as an alternate institution of justice to the British court. In District Peshawar, he formed *Jirgas* in every town and village. These *Jirgas*, decided cases according to the norms and traditions of *Pashtunwali* and tenets of Islam.¹⁹⁰ If any party dared to violate the decision of *Jirga*, they were socially boycotted. This *Jirga* system was speedy and without paying anything to them for solving disputes, and justice was provided at their doorsteps.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, British courts were very expensive which was weakening their economy. The other drawback in British judicial system was that their judges were mostly outsiders who do not know the customs and traditions of Pushtoons. The greatest quality of *Jirgah* system was that there was no specific hours for hearing the cases. They could come any time to solve their disputes without any type of time bounding.

Haji Sahib was a pioneer of the political activities in the Frontier province. His system of justice was liked by many *Ulemas* who helped him in advising people to boycott government institutions.¹⁹² His activities were not tolerated by the officials and as a result, he was arrested in 1908. Later, he was released on surety of ten prominent *Maliks* of Charsadda. In the province, he was later followed by another veteran social reformer and politician, Abdul Ghaffar Khan. His

¹⁸⁹ Abdul Qayyum, *Mashheer-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar, n.d.), 118.

¹⁹⁰ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 41. Also See Sabir, *Tazkira-i-Sarfaroshan-i-Soba Sarhad*, 225.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² M. Amir Shah Qadri, *Ulema Wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar, n.d.), 208.

security lapsed in March 1915 after which he decided to migrate to the tribal territory in August 1915.¹⁹³

2.5. Anti-British Activities of Haji Sahib Turangzai

On June 28, 1914, a Serbian student killed Austrian Prince Archduke Ferdinand which led to the immediate cause of the First World War. This resulted in an alliance system of world powers into two opposite blocs. On August 4, 1914, Britain declared war on Germany.¹⁹⁴ Soon this war spread to the British colonies. Turkey decided to join Germany against the Allied Powers in this war. Sheikh-ul-Hind, Maulana Mahmood Hassan along with other *Ulema* started anti-British campaign in India. Turkey, being a center of *Khilafat*, had many devotions from the Muslim world. *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, the Turkey's religious head declared *Jihad* against the Allied Powers and asked Muslims of the world to keep themselves at the disposal of their *Khalifa*.¹⁹⁵

Haji Sahib received a message from Maulana Mahmud Hassan through Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman to migrate to the tribal territory.¹⁹⁶ British government had already issued his arrest warrant but he was informed by his disciple, Muhammad Azam Khan, who was a British employ.¹⁹⁷ Haji Sahib along with his sons, Fazli Akbar and Fazal Shah, started his journey at mid night to Buner. Beside his family members, Haji Sahib was accompanied by Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Utmanzai, Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman, his disciples Saadullah and Sajeed Gul, and many others. They proceed to Buner through Swabi. They reached Buner and started preaching of *Jihad* there.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ AF 18, Vol: VI, CID Records 1916, 71.

¹⁹⁴ H. L. Peacock, *A History of Modern Europe 1789-1968* (London, n.d.), 277-78.

¹⁹⁵ Hindustani Fanatics A-F-17, Vol I, CID 1921, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 39.

¹⁹⁶ Noor Muhammad, *Mujahid-i-Sarhad: Manzooom Jangnama Haji Sahib Turangzai* (Pashto) (Peshawar, 1959), 23. Also Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zma Zhawand Au Jaadujehad*, (Kabul, 1983), 109-110.

¹⁹⁷ Nasar Ullah Khan Nasar, *Da Turangzo Haji Sahib* (Pashto) (Peshawar, 1951), 15.

¹⁹⁸ *AF-18 Vol: VI, CID 1916*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 71.

2.6. Haji Sahib's Jihad Activities at Buner

Haji Sahib first traveled to Buner to see the famous shrine of Pir Baba where he was received by a large number of people came from Buner and Swat. Haji Sahib reached Buner on July 13th 1915, from where he started preaching of *Jihad* against the British Imperialism. He was unhappy over the attitude of the some of the local Khans of Buner particularly the attitude of Ayub Khan, the Chief Khan of Buner. For getting support for his *Jihad*, Haji Sahib visited Chakesar, Azi Khel, Madda Khel, Hassanzai, Akazai, Swatian, Deshi Tikri, Allai, Thakot and Chagarzai tribes in order to get their support. The response of the majority of these tribes were encouraging one and assured him of their support for *Jihad*.

At the same time, some of the supporters of Raj were busy in propagating against Haji Sahib. There were many spies of the British government who informed officials of these developments. Some of them like Amir Khan of Batagram and Biradar Khan Thakot were loyal to the government and assured the British of their support against Haji Sahib.¹⁹⁹ Haji Sahib in the meantime, dispatched a delegation to Afghanistan to meet Amir of Afghanistan, Habibullah Khan and request him to fix a date for an attack on the British India.²⁰⁰ The British government was sure about the neutrality of the Amir of Afghanistan, therefore, they tried to contact with Haji Sahib through his officials.

To avoid direct confrontation with Haji Sahib, Sir Roose Keppel, the Chief Commissioner of NWFP, organized a *Jirga* comprising of Khan Bahadar Saad Ullah Khan (Umarzai), Nawab Dost Mohamad Khan of Tehkal and other members. They were sent to Buner, to persuade Haji Sahib for his return to Charsadda at any cost. Haji Sahib was informed by the *Jirga* that the

¹⁹⁹ Peshawar Political Diaries 1915, F. 117, B.7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 199.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 199.

government is willing to meet his demands on the condition of his return to home town. Haji Sahib's representative, Maulana Saif-ur-Rahman told the *Jirga* that they should be ashamed of stopping Haji Sahib from *Jihad* against the British Imperialism. Maulana told them that they would support Haji's *Jihad* against the British unconditionally.²⁰¹

In August 1915, people of Buner started their preparation for *Jihad* and on 17th August 1915, 4000 tribesmen arrived at Rustam and attacked the British forces there. The official sources says that 50 men died and 40 were injured in this battle from the *Mujahidin* side. On the other side, only one British soldier died and two were wounded in the battle.²⁰² There were many reasons of the failure of the tribal *Lashkar* in this battle. The tribals were not properly trained and were without advance weapons. They also lacked proper discipline. In contrast, the British soldiers were properly trained, having discipline, and new arms. After the encounter of Buner, Haji Sahib migrated to Swat and then permanently shifted to Mohmand Agency.²⁰³

2.7. Haji Sahib's Jihad Activities in Mohmand Territory

Throughout the First World War, Haji Sahib had frequently visited Buner, Swat, and Mohmand territory to preach *Jihad* against the colonial rule and the permanently settled in Mohmand territory.²⁰⁴ In June 1915, Haji Sahib invaded the British territory of the north-eastern border of Peshawar with a *Lashkar* of 4,000 strong men.²⁰⁵ In September 1916, the Babra Mulla of Bajaur²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Nasar, *Da Tuangzo Haji Sahib*, 17-18. Also see, Muhammad, *Mujahid-i-Sarhad: Manzooom Jangnama Haji Sahib Turangzai*, 28-30.

²⁰² Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration under British Rule 1901-1919*, 99.

²⁰³ Rauf, *The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India, 1914-1934*, 416.

²⁰⁴ *Peshawar Political Diaries 1915*, F. 117, B. 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar, 215.

²⁰⁵ H. Wheeler Secretary to the Government of India to J.E. Donald, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General. Deputy, Secret Telegraph, dated 15th August 1915, Disturbances on the Frontier 1914-15, Commissioner Office Peshawar, Serial No. 217, Bundle No. 12, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar Pakistan.

²⁰⁶ Babara is a village in Bajaur and Babra Mulla was an influential freedom fighter of the area who had a number of followers in area. He also assisted Haji Sahib in the Freedom movement of Haji Sahib against the British rule.

led a 10,000 tribal *lashkar*, and another 3000 tribal *lashkar* in October, 1915 against Shabqadar (Charsadda).²⁰⁷ When the British felt their defeat, they started using aircraft in order to disperse the *mujahidin*. The *mujahidin* of Chamarkand²⁰⁸ also took part in Mohmand uprisings during the year of 1916. The tribal men were led by Haji Sahib, Babari Mulla and Mir Sahib Jan Badshah of Islampur.²⁰⁹

In August 1916, a well-known conspiracy plan the “*Silk Letter Conspiracy*” came into existence. This conspiracy aimed at toppling the British rule by an attack on the North-West Frontier of India.²¹⁰ Maulana Mahmud Hassan sent messages to his fellows and *Murids* of different parts of India about his *Tahrik-i-Jihad*. These messages were written on a piece of cloth and it was so secret that even the British intelligence could not know about it. In his secret messages, Maulana called upon the people to raise for *Jihad* against the British rule. This movement was known in Indian history, as the *Rishmi Roomal Tahrik* or *Tahrik-i-Hizbullah*.²¹¹ It was the duty of Maulana Uzair Gul of Zarat Kaka Sahib (Nowshera) to give these secret letters to Haji Sahib and other members of this *Tahrik*. Mahmud Hassan sent Maulana Azad to Haji Sahib Turangzai to prepare the tribal people for *Jihad*.²¹²

In order to maintain law and order in the tribal territory, the British government had appointed many *Khasadars*. The British government paid them *majib* (allowances) for their services.²¹³ Haji Sahib, first tried to persuade *malaks* not to take *majib* from the British government.

²⁰⁷ Muhammad Fahim Khan, “The Life and Times of Hajji Sahib of Turangzai,” *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1977), 329-341.

²⁰⁸

²⁰⁹ Lal Baha, *The Activities of the Mujahidin*, 101.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

²¹¹ Zubir Ahmad Firdusi, *Reshmi Roomal Tahrik* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1988), 40.

²¹² *Monthly Al-naseehat*, Dar-ul-Ulum Islamia Charsadda, April 1993, 27.

²¹³ Khan Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan Ao Khudai Khidmatgari* (Pashto), Vol. I (Charsadda: Wali Bagh, 1993), 333.

After a long discussion with his companions, it was decided to take action against *majib khors* (allowance holders). He visited Halimzai tribe, a sub-tribe of Mohmand tribe. The people of Halimzai tribe were mostly loyals, informers and *majib khors* of the British government. Malak Anmir Halimzai, some Gandao and Kamali Halimzais, and Utmanzai tribes were prominent tribes who were loyals to the British.²¹⁴ Haji Sahib advised people of the area to boycott *majib khors* socially. He also persuaded people not to join British army. He burnt some houses of *majib khors* of the Halimzai tribes including the house of Malak Anmir.²¹⁵

In 1923, the colonial government started war on another front. They started operations in Waziristan against the Mehsud tribe. Haji Sahib was very anxious about these operations. In April 1923, Haji Sahib sent five letters to Malik Anmir Halimzai, to be delivered to the leading *Malaks* of Shinwaris and Afridis. Prominent among them were Bazmir, Khan Bahadar Zaman Khan Kuki Khel and Jabbar Khan Zakha Khel. These letters were written with an aim, to warn them against the British activities in Mehsud area and to raise their voices against the operation in Waziristan.²¹⁶ Haji Sahib was aware of the fact that the people of Waziristan were not in a position to fight against the British army. He simply wanted to realize the British forces that the tribal people were anxious towards the military action in Waziristan.²¹⁷

2.8. British Policy of Controlling Tribal Areas

In order to make themselves secure, the British government adopted several methods. They introduced *Jirga* System of their own style to suit their interest but these people were not the true

²¹⁴ *Political Diary Mohmand 1926*, File No. 96, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 91.

²¹⁵ *Peshawar Political Diaries 1927*, F. 129, B.7. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 39-40.

²¹⁶ Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi*, 64.

²¹⁷ *Peshawar Political Diaries 1923*, F. 125, B.7. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 36-37.

Also See *Mohmand Border Administration Report 1922-23*, F. 155, B.9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 35.

representatives of the people. Titles such as *Khan Bahadur*, *Khan Sahib* and *Maliks* were given to the British loyalists. These title holders safeguarded the interests of the government and in return, they were rewarded to their services. Some of the titles and rewards were also given to religious figures.²¹⁸ British employed local militia known as *Khasadars* for maintenance of law and order in their respective areas. It served two purposes; to keep regular troops in the cantonment in order to save expenses. Secondly, if the local people started uprising against the Raj, they had to fight on government behalf against their own people.²¹⁹ Moreover, *Maliks*, who were government nominees of *Jirgas*, were given *majib* (Allowances) from the treasury.

2.9. Haji Sahib's Role in Afghanistan

Mujahidin faced shortage of money and equipment to encounter with British forces. They contacted their supporters especially Deoband school of thought. Sheikh ul Hind, Mahmud ul Hassan deputed Ubaid Ullah Sindhi to take Afghanistan's military and political support for *Jihad*.²²⁰ After the second Anglo-Afghan War 1878-80, the relations between Afghanistan and British India became cordial, and no serious issue arises after this war. When the First World War broke out in Europe, the Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, informed Amir Habib Ullah, the then Amir of Afghanistan about the war. The Viceroy wanted the assurance of Afghanistan's neutrality in this war. The Viceroy was given assurance of their neutrality in the war and Afghanistan assured him that they would not make an alliance with any party of the war. This was an encouraging sign for the British Viceroy. The British government succeeded in securing the sympathies of the Amir. The Amir had taken the oaths from many tribesmen of tribal area, NWFP, and Afghanistan that they would not start *Jihad* unless directed by the Amir. The Amir asserted that without his

²¹⁸ Khan, *Bacha Khan Aw Khudai Khidmatgari*, 345-46.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 333.

²²⁰ Rauf, *The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P.*, 416-17.

permission declaring *Jihad* was against the *Shariah*.²²¹ Haji Sahib, Chaknawar Mulla²²², and other leaders of *Jihad* movement, tried to persuade the Amir to declare *Jihad* but of no avail. Nasrullah Khan, the younger brother of Amir of Afghanistan, led an anti-British and pro-Turkish bloc at Kabul who supported leaders of *Jihad* movement. He also disapproved the neutral policy of the Amir. Sardar Nasrullah Khan, tried to convince the monarch to declare *Jihad* against British²²³ but the Amir did not accept his request. The main reason was of the assurance of Afghanistan that they will remain neutral in the war.²²⁴

2.10. The combined Struggle of Haji Sahib and Faqir of Alingar²²⁵

Haji Sahib was not only busy in Mohmand territory but he was also taking part in Afghanistan. He played an active role in the suppression of Mangal revolt. Haji Sahib received a letter from the governor of Jalalabad to fight for the protection of Kabul instead of going to the field against the rebels.²²⁶ The Afghan forces were on the verge of defeat who were reinforced by a Mohmand *Lashkar*. Mohmand forces made a counter attack on Mangals and defeated them along with a large number of casualties. Resultantly, Mangals requested for peace and gave more than two hundred *malakan* as hostage to Amir of Afghanistan.²²⁷

Haji Sahib after Mangals defeat, returned home from Afghanistan and resumed his activities, by raising a *lashkar* against the British. On 1st November, 1916, a *Jirga* was organized by Haji Sahib at Lakaaro (Mohamad), to discuss the future strategy of war against the British. The

²²¹ Abdullah Leghari, *Maulana Obedullah Sindi Ki Sarguzasht-i-Kabul* (Urdu) (Islamabad, 1980), 59.

²²² Chaknawar Mulla was an influential leader of the tribesmen. He was influential in both Bajaur and Mohmand territories. He also had good relations with Amir of Afghanistan.

²²³ Salman Bangash, "Tribal Belt and the Defence of British India: A Critical Appraisal of British Strategy in the North-West Frontier during the First World War", pp. 13.

²²⁴ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 334.

²²⁵ He was a settler in Bajaur territory and possessed a strong hold over the people of Bajaur. He was also a strong supporter of Haji Sahib in his freedom struggle.

²²⁶ *Political Diaries Mohmand* 1924, F.94, B.6, pp. 66.

²²⁷ *Political Diaries Mohmand* 1925, F.95, B.6, pp. 60.

Jirga was attended by *Malak* Muhasil, *Malak* Umar Koda Khel, eight prominent leaders of Tirah, ten *Maliks* of Safi tribe, six *Malaks* of Uthman Khel and many others. According to some sources, 200 members attended this *Jirga*.²²⁸ The participants assured Haji Sahib of their support and to resist the imperialist design of the British authorities. Some of the tribes of Mohmand like Halimzai, Isakhel, and Dawezi had not attended the *Jirga* for their personal reasons.²²⁹

Haji Sahib was busy in persuading tribal people for jihad. The British government did not punish the tribes who attended the *Jirga* because they not want to annoy tribal people. The next move of the government was the removal of many blockades which was faced by Mohmands since 1897. The British government did this because the authorities wanted to establish friendly relations with various Mohmand tribes.²³⁰

In the time being, Faqir of Alingar issued a *fatwa* for *Jihad* against the British. On 5th June, 1927, Faqir of Alingar with the help of a *Lashkar* of 3,000 men, attacked Subhan Khawar near Shabqadar. This was followed by Haji Sahib's attack on Pindiali (Mohmand) with full force and preparation.²³¹ The British government planned to use air force in order to disperse the invading tribesmen. They started air strikes on 7th June which lasted till evening of the day. The men of *Lashkar* were not in a position to defend themselves against the air strikes. The *Lashkar* went back with a large number of casualties and death of 30 men in the battle.²³²

These air strikes demoralized the *Lashkar* of Mohmand and Alingar. During the fight, the 'Assured Tribes' helped the British force against their own people. The blockade line was

²²⁸ *Political Diaries Mohmand 1926*, F.96, B.6, pp. 77.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

²³⁰ *Political Border Administration Report 1926-27*, F.157, B.11, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 30.

²³¹ *Report on Mohmand Situation 1927*, F.188, B.10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 5.

²³² *Political Diaries Mohmand 1927*, F.101, B.6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar, 11-12.

guaranteed by Tarakzai, Halimzai, Burhan Khel and Isa Khel tribes.²³³ The repercussions of the defeat of the combined forces of Haji Sahib and Faqir of Alingar were great on the Mohmand people. The British air force was installed permanently there to disperse the hostile tribesmen for some time.

2.11. Qissa Khawani Massacre in 1930 and Haji Sahib's Response

On 23 April 1930, the British soldiers opened fire on a procession of people in Qissa Khawani Bazar Peshawar in which more than two hundred people were killed on the spot.²³⁴ It was the second massacre after Jallianwala Bagh tragedy that occurred in the Punjab in 1919.²³⁵ On 31 May 1930, firing in Peshawar took place again which was followed by similar acts of violence in Takkar (Mardan), Utmanzai (Charsadda), and Spin Tangi (Bannu).²³⁶ The Khudai Khidmatgars leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khilafat volunteers were arrested by the British government.²³⁷ This terrible incidents had strong reactions in India particularly among the Frontier tribes which led to clashes between the British forces and the Mohmands, Safis, Shinwaris and Bajauris. In April 1930, a *Lashkar* under the leadership of Haji Sahib and Musa Khan Mohmand, attacked the British territory near Shabqadar and Michanai, and demanded the release of arrested leaders of the NWFP. In the same year, Haji Sahib prepared a *Lashkar* to enter to Peshawar through Gundao. The angry tribesmen attacked the British military posts at Shabqadar.²³⁸

The British forces were alarmed at the mobilization of Haji Sahib's *Lashkar* and in retribution, the British forces on the recommendation of Assistant Political Agent, Khan Bahadar

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 106.

²³⁵ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, 32.

²³⁶ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 101.

²³⁷ Yousafi, *Sarhad Aur Jiddo Jihad-e-Azadi*, 15.

²³⁸ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 336.

Kuli Khan,²³⁹ used air strikes on Mohmand territory in order to stop their advancement towards Charsadda.²⁴⁰ These strikes targeted the *lashkar* and even suspected places and houses were bombed. Haji Sahib's house was also targeted but his family left their house before and hide in a cave in mountains.²⁴¹ On 11 March 1932, the British opened fire on the people of Hashtnagar (Charsadda), who were taking part in the freedom struggle. Haji Sahib became very angry of this. He went to the different parts of Mohmand country and prepared people for *Jihad*. *Mujahidin* attacked Hashtnagar (Charsadda) under the leadership of Badshah Gul, Haji Sahib's son, which shaken the British government. Government again used the aircrafts over the Mohmands region and warned the people that if they joined the Haji Sahib, they would be bombed.²⁴² But in spite of these warnings, *mujahidin* did not lose heart.

2.12. Last Phase of Haji Sahib's Life

After bombing of Mohmand in 1931-32, the British government decided to construct a road there, which was decided earlier in 1926 but due to some trouble in the region, it had not been constructed. Some assured tribes were offered services but due to the influence of Haji Sahib, their support was not an encouraging one. In 1933, it was again decided to construct the road, upon which Haji Sahib sent his son to oppose the project. Some of the villages were set on fire who provided facilities to the project. A road from Shabqadar to Gandao was constructed. Haji Sahib persuaded the lower Mohmands to destroy the Gandao road near Karappa.²⁴³ After fighting, both the parties put an agreement that no more further road will be constructed, provided that the already constructed road should not be harmed. Furthermore, government declared that they would draw

²³⁹ He was a khan Bahadar and District Officer at Frontier Constabulary, Shabqadar (Charsadda). He was the father of Lt. General Habibullah Khan and grandfather of Lt. General Ali Kuli Khan.

²⁴⁰ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 108.

²⁴¹ *Political Border Administration Report 1931-32*, F.162, B.09, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 30.

²⁴² *Political Diaries Mohmand 1930*, F.105, B.6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar, 27.

²⁴³ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 337.

their forces from Gandao. When the plan of the road was renewed in 1935, Haji Sahib once again raised Mohmand tribes against the government.²⁴⁴

The *Jihad* of 1935 was the last activity of Haji Sahib after which he suffered from serious paralysis in 1936. He was taken to Afghanistan for medical treatment. When there was no improvement for his recovery, his family members and disciples decided to bring him back to Mohmand territory, where he died in October 1937 and was buried at Ghaziabad Safi.²⁴⁵ When people of Akora Khattak, Kohat, Mardan, Charsadda and Takht Bhai heard the news of his death, they close their businesses and shops as a mark of respect for him.²⁴⁶ A partial *Hartal* was also observed in Peshawar.²⁴⁷ After his death, his son remained as a spiritual guide for his disciples.

To conclude, Haji Sahib of Turangzai played an important role in the Freedom struggle against the British rule. His movement was an unforgettable episode in the history of the freedom struggle in India. His Jihad movement was a constant threat for the British rule in India as felt by every Viceroy of the India.²⁴⁸ In his *Jihad* movement, he was assisted by many of his faithful friends and allies. Babara Mulla, Mulla Sahib of Chaknawar, Faqir of Alingar, and Musa Khan Mohmand had played an important role in the Haji Sahib's freedom struggle.

He succeeded in many ways in his movement. His social reform movement was welcomed by all the people in settled as well as in tribal areas. The important cause of his success is due to his knowledge of *Pakhtunwali*. He succeeded to eradicate social evils from the Pashtoons at large and make them prepare to fight for their freedom and rights. He resolved the issues of blood feuds

²⁴⁴ Muhammad, *Mujahid-i-Sarhad: Manzoom Jangnama Haji Sahib Turangzai*, 67-68.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 94-97.

²⁴⁶ *AF 18, Vol: V, CID, 1916, B.5*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, 66.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁴⁸ Rauf, *The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P.*, 418.

and also arranged marriages of poor girls at same time.²⁴⁹ He opened many *madaris* in the Peshawar valley which were run by his *murids* under the supervision of Dar-ul-Uloom Gadar, Mardan.²⁵⁰

There were certain reasons which greatly affected and hampered his *Jihad* movement. Firstly, his followers and *lashkar* were not fully trained, and were without modern weapons as compared to the British soldiers, who were well trained and were well equipped with arms. Many times, British forces used air force to disperse the tribal *lashkar*. Moreover, the Afghan Amir Habibullah Khan received money and distributed it among the tribesmen in order to get their support against Haji Sahib. Amir of Kabul told tribal people that the authority to declare war against British, only lies with the Amir of Kabul, and without his permission *Jihad* is unlawful.²⁵¹ The absence of *Sheikh-al-Hind* from the scene was another disadvantage for Haji Sahib's *Jihad* movement.

Haji Sahib Turangzai's social reform and freedom movement was carried by another great social reformer and freedom fighter, Abdul Ghaffar Khan popularly known as Badshah Khan or Bacha Khan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan from the very beginning was inspired from Haji Sahib and become his associate. Both the leaders work together in opening of many *madaris* in Charsadda and Peshawar valley. Both become separated because Abdul Ghaffar Khan was against the violent struggle of Haji Sahib for the freedom.²⁵² The aim of both were same (to reform Pashtoons and to get freedom from British yoke) but due to their difference in strategies (violence vs non-violence)

²⁴⁹ Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British*, 89.

²⁵⁰ AF 18, Vol: V, CID, 1916, B.5, 31-35.

²⁵¹ Khan, *The Life and Times of Haji Sahib of Turangzai*, 338.

²⁵² Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India", *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 8 No. 2, 89.

they become separated. The social reform and freedom movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the next two and a half decades will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

CHAPTER 03

Role of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgars in the Freedom Struggle

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the role of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars in the freedom struggle has been discussed. The aim of the chapter is to find out how Abdul Ghaffar Khan emerged in Charsadda as a social reformer and then as a freedom fighter. What role he had played in the freedom movement? The role of Abdul Ghaffar Khan as a social reformer, an educationist, and lastly, as a politician has been highlighted. His Non-violent struggle against the British Imperialism has also been discussed.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan commonly known as Badshah Khan or Bacha Khan was born in Utmanzai (Charsadda). His exact date of birth was unknown but according to his autobiography, he was born in 1890.²⁵³ He was the son of Behram Khan, a local *Khan* of the area during that time. He belonged to the Mohammadzai clan of the Pashtoons. He received his early education in a local *madrassa*. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, later in his life was greatly influenced by his religious learning. He was then admitted to the Municipal Board High School Peshawar, where he got education up to primary level. After passing his fifth class examination, he was admitted to Edwards Memorial Mission School at Peshawar. In the school, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was greatly inspired and impressed by the work of school's headmaster, E.F.E. Wigram.²⁵⁴ During that time, his elder

²⁵³ Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd* (Pashto) (Kabul: Governmental Press, 1983), 1.

²⁵⁴ Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), 59.

brother, Abdul Jabbar Khan popularly known as Dr Khan Sahib went to Bombay, where he joined a medical college.

During his matric examination, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was commissioned into the army, due to which, he left the remaining papers of the examination.²⁵⁵ The racial discrimination of the British officers towards the Indians changed the mind of the Abdul Ghaffar Khan and he did not join the army. In order to continue his studies, he went to Campbellpur which was the best institute during that time. He didn't stay long there and went to Qadian.²⁵⁶ Then, he proceeded to Aligarh for admission but his brother, Khan Sahib who was a student of medical college in Bombay, suggested him to go to London for engineering. Seeing his mother unwilling to allow him to go abroad, he decided to leave formal education, and started to serve the people in his own homeland.²⁵⁷

Abdul Ghaffar Khan started his social activities first as an educationist. He was influenced from the learned people of the area, in which some of them included; Fazal Mahmud Makhfi of Charsadda, Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Umarzai, Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Gadar, and Fazli Rabi of Pakhlai. He had also developed close relations with Haji Fazli Wahid, popularly known as Haji Sahib of Turangzai and became part of his social reform movement.²⁵⁸ Ghaffar Khan worked together with Haji Turangzai to set up *Azad Islamia Madaris* in Utmanzai, Bannu and Kohat as an alternative to the British schools earlier before Haji Sahib's migration to the tribal areas in 1914.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 57-58.

²⁵⁶ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 59.

²⁵⁷ D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 19-20. Also see, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Aap Beeti* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2004), 16-18.

²⁵⁸ Ihsanullah, "Educational Philosophy of Baacha Khan", *Bacha Khan Trust*, nd, p. 2. Also See Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 64-65.

²⁵⁹ Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith: A History of Religious Mobilization in the Pakhtun Tribal Area 1890-1950*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 148.

Their combined efforts resulted in the opening of educational institutions called the *Dar ul Uloom* at Utmanzai and Gadar (Mardan) in 1910, which spread to the other parts of the province. The detail of the number of these *Dar ul Ulooms*, teachers and students is unknown.²⁶⁰ The sole purpose of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was to reform the lives of the people of NWFP.

In September, 1915, influenza epidemic spread throughout the province. His son, Ghani Khan, fell seriously ill. Abdul Ghaffar while offering his prayers, saw his wife, praying and uttering these words: “Oh Allah save my boy’s life, gave his sickness to me”. The next day, the boy recovered but then his mother was seen lying in bed died, next to the child’s bed.²⁶¹ This story is also found in Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s autobiography.

3.2. Rowlatt Act and Abdul Ghaffar Khan

In order to curb the seditious and political activities of the people of Indian, government passed Rowlatt Act in 1919. This was the beginning of the Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s political career. Like other parts of India, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP) also actively participated in the movement against the bill. In Utmanzai (Charsadda), a meeting was organized to protest against the bill under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In response to Mahatma Gandhi’s call, a *Hartal* was also observed under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in which round about 50,000 people participated.²⁶² Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with other close associates were arrested in response to their protest against the Rowlatt Act. He was released from jail on a bond of 30,000 rupees.²⁶³ This was the start of his political career.

²⁶⁰ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 60.

²⁶¹ Khan, *Bacha Khan Ao Khudai Khidmatgari*, 57.

²⁶² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 18.

²⁶³ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 143-161.

3.3. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khilafat Movement

World War I started in 1914, in which Turkey decided to fight against Allied forces and declared war against Allied forces as *Jihad*.²⁶⁴ In order to get support of India, the British government had promised to protect the sacred places of Turkey and they would not abolish Caliphate but unfortunately, they broke their promise and reduced Turkey to a small kingdom.²⁶⁵ The Allied forces of Europe attacked Turkey and destroyed many sacred places of Muslims. Indian Muslims who had great respect and admiration for the *Khalifa* and *Khilafat* institution, became very annoyed and they started the famous ‘Khilafat Movement’ under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Shaukat Ali popularly known as ‘Ali brothers’ throughout the India. Hindus also backed Muslims in the Khilafat movement.²⁶⁶

Muslims from all over the India, including NWFP, participated in the famous Khilafat Movement. Like other parts of India, people of NWFP had same feeling in support of Khilafat movement. A Sarhad Khilafat Committee along with district committees were formed throughout the province.²⁶⁷ The followers of the Khilafat movement endorsed the decision of Mahatma Gandhi to start Non-cooperation Movement in order to provoke anti-British feelings among the Muslims of India. The outcome of the non-cooperation was great. Many renounced the government titles and quit government jobs. According to Lal Baha, more than sixty policemen resigned in

²⁶⁴ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 39. Also See Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* (Lahore, 1971), 109.

²⁶⁵ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 19.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. Also See G. Minault, *The Khilafat Movement Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (Delhi, 1982), 76-110.

²⁶⁷ Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 44.

protest in Peshawar. In Mohmand Militia, thirty-one resigned and in Charsadda sixty-eight *Patwaris* and many others resigned as a protest.²⁶⁸

3.4. Hijrat Movement and Abdul Ghaffar Khan

The *fatwas* of Maulana Abul Kalam and Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow, forced Indian Muslims for *hijrat* to Afghanistan because they considered it as a secret duty like *jihad*. India was declared *Dar-al-Harb* and therefore, people were asked to migrate to the neighboring countries. Moreover, Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan also encouraged the Hijrat movement by offering Asylum to the incumbent *muhajirin*.²⁶⁹ Muslims from all over the India, started their *Hijrat* movement to Afghanistan without planning. They left their property and some of them sold it on low prices. They arrived at Peshawar from all over India in a large scale and now Peshawar became the center of political activities in the Khilafat Movement.²⁷⁰ According to Lal Baha, more than sixty thousand people reached Peshawar from different parts of India.²⁷¹ At Kacha-Garhi station between Peshawar and Jamrud the interference of a young British soldier led to a fight in which a *Mahajir* named Habib Allah of Tangi (Charsadda) was shot dead which created lawlessness in Peshawar district.²⁷² Although, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not in favor of unplanned migration to Afghanistan²⁷³ but he was compelled by the circumstances and migrated to Afghanistan.²⁷⁴ According to Fakhr-ul-Islam, the large scale *Hijrat* was the result of *fatwa* of the Mullahs who

²⁶⁸ Lal Baha, "The Hijrat Movement and the North-West Frontier Province", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn 1979), 235. Accessed: 23-04-2016 10:39 UTC, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20847107>

²⁶⁹ Zahida Memon, "A Hero of the Khilafat Movement", *Grassroots*, Vol. No. I, (Autumn, 1977), 44-45.

²⁷⁰ Amanullah Khan, "The Pashtoon Resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947" (PhD Diss., Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 2014), 119.

²⁷¹ Baha, *The Hijrat Movement and the North-West Frontier Province*, 233.

²⁷² Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 51.

²⁷³ Sultan-i-Rome, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 247.

²⁷⁴ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 181-182. Also See Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 32-33.

declared that any person who does not go on *Hijrat* will have to divorce his wife.²⁷⁵ The *Carwan* of the *mujahidin* travelled through the Khyber Pass to Afghanistan. The real purpose of the Hijrat Movement was to organize the anti-British forces across the borders.

Hijrat movement failed soon and all the migrants came back to India through NWFP. There were many causes of its failure. In the beginning Afghan government welcomed the migration but when they realized the situation, instantly Amir of Afghanistan put ban on entry of more *muhajirin* in Afghanistan because of economic problem.²⁷⁶ Some of British government agents were also sent along with *muhajirin* who preached against the Afghan government. Secondly, the *muhajirin* hoped that Amir of Afghanistan will help them and will declare war on British government but they failed to convince the Afghan government.²⁷⁷ The hijrat movement was full of illusion and depression.²⁷⁸ There was no proper planning for the *hijrat*. It was an emotional *hijrat*. They never think of the outcome of this movement. Many people lost their lives and properties in the Hijrat movement. Although the movement failed but it gave political consciousness to the people of the province. Soon the Khilafatists split into two factions, one supported Congress while other supported Muslim League.²⁷⁹ Moreover, the Khilafat movement received a death blow when Mustafa Kamal Atatürk abolished Khilafat. Abdul Ghaffar Khan after his return from Afghanistan, decided to continue his educational policy of educating the people of NWFP.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Fakhr-ul-Islam, "Political Developments in NWFP Since 1947" (Ph.D. diss., Area Study Centre University of Peshawar, 1996), 54.

²⁷⁶ Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 51. Also See Baha, *The Hijrat Movement and the North-West Frontier Province*, 238.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁷⁸ Baha, *The Hijrat Movement and the North-West Frontier Province*, 240.

²⁷⁹ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 21.

²⁸⁰ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 170-180. Also see Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 32-33.

3.5. Azad School Utmanzai and Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina

Abdul Ghaffar Khan after his return from Afghanistan turned his attention towards educational reforms. He resumed his educational program and started a school in Dir because he knew that in settled districts, government would not allow his educational program.²⁸¹ In April 1921, an Azad school at Utmanzai was opened through the efforts of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his colleagues Abdul Akbar Khan,²⁸² Mian Abdullah Shah,²⁸³ Mohammad Abbas Khan,²⁸⁴ Maulvi Muhammad Israel,²⁸⁵ and Mian Ahmad Shah.²⁸⁶ Mr. Maqsood Jan of Bannu,²⁸⁷ a teacher of Islamia College

²⁸¹ Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 62.

²⁸² He was born in 1899 at Umarzai, a village in Charsadda, he studied at Islamia Collegiate and Islamia College. He left Islamia College Peshawar as a protest against British policies towards Muslims, and got admission in Jami'a Millia (Aligarh). He came back home and become active part in the freedom struggle and reformation of the society. He take active part in Khilafat movement and Hijrat movement. He was a strong President of Anjuman Islahul Afaghina and become an active member of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. He went to Moscow in connection with the freedom struggle. He was a poet and a writer also. He was the first dramatist of Pushto. He died in 1977 at the age 78. (For detail see, Dr. Fazal Rahim Marwat, 'Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar – A Revolutionary Saga', *Pakistan*, No.29-30, 1994).

²⁸³ He was the Son of Shahbaz Khan, a famous landlord of Utmanzai. His mother was the daughter of a renowned Sardar of Kabul who enjoyed contacts with anti-British elements of Afghanistan. He studied up to primary level and acquainted himself with the political developments in India and Afghanistan through *Al-Hilal*, *Al-Madina*, *Al-Bilagh*, and *Siraj al-Akhbar*. He was a follower of Haji Sahib Turangzai. He took prominent part in the Haji's educational activities and actively participated in the agitation against the Rowlatt Act 1919. He also participated in the Hijrat movement and went to Kabul in August 1920. During non-cooperation movement he was chosen as one of the five members of the Court of Arbitration for the peaceful resolution of mutual disputes in Utmanzai. In 1923, he became the nominated president of the Anjuman to which he contributed Rs.500/ every year. As a result of a protest against the president's order of closing the school for 15 days instead of 25 days, he resigned from the president ship of the Anjuman. (Charsada Situation, Chief Commissioner Office, Peshawar, S.No.459), pp.5-6.

²⁸⁴ Born in a religious family of Charsada, he remained a close associate of Bacha Khan.

²⁸⁵ He was the Son of Maulana Shakir Ullah, Maulana Muhammad Isra'il was a religious scholar and in charge of the theology section of the Azad School. He was sentenced for his activities in the Anjuman and in the Khuda'i Khidmatgar movement.

²⁸⁶ He was born in the family of Hajji Abdul Mannan in 1896 at Charsadda. After graduating from Aligarh in 1920, he went to London for higher studies and qualified for the Bar in 1926. He played an active role in almost all activities launched for the freedom struggle during this period. He was the first general secretary of the Afghan Youth League and was arrested several times in connection with his political activities. He dissociated himself from Bacha Khan and joined Khaksar movement headed by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi in 1937. He died in 1960.

²⁸⁷ He belonged to Bannu. His father, Amir Mukhtar Khan, was also a prominent political figure in the freedom struggle against the British.

Peshawar was appointed first Headmaster of the school.²⁸⁸ In order to encourage people, he first admitted his own son, Wali Khan in the Azad School Utmanzai. The medium of instruction in the school was Pashto. Many branches of Azad Schools were opened in the Peshawar valley and according to a careful study, the number of these schools were about seventy.²⁸⁹

After the establishment of the Azad School Utmanzai, the founding leaders of the school, realized the need of an association (*Anjuman*) for the supervision of the school. Moreover, the association will also work to establish more Azad Schools throughout the province. With the combined efforts of these leaders, *Anjuman Islahul Afaghina* was established on April 1, 1921.²⁹⁰ The motives of the *Anjuman* were to propagate the cause of Islam, to promote national feelings, to eradicate social evils from the Pashtoons and to promote religious education in Pashto language to the Muslim community.²⁹¹ According to D.G. Tendulkar, the *Anjuman* was purely non-political and for missionary purposes.²⁹²

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was appointed as its President and Mian Ahmad Shah as its Secretary. When Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in December, 1921 for three years, Abdul Akbar Khan was appointed as its President. According to Mian Jaffar Shah, there were eighty schools but Abdul Akbar Khan stated that there were one hundred and twenty such schools. However, official sources states that there were fifty one schools in which 3212 students were enrolled.²⁹³ *Anjuman Islahul Afaghina* was affiliated with *Jamia Millia Islamia* Delhi in December, 1923. In the syllabus of the *Anjuman*, Holy Quran, Hadith, *Fiqh*, Islamic history, Pashto, Maths, English and Arabic were

²⁸⁸ Abdul Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P—A Case Study of *Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghina*", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Islamabad, July 2006, 36.

²⁸⁹ Amanullah Khan, "The Pashtoon Resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947" (PhD Diss., Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 2014), 120.

²⁹⁰ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 23. Also See Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 63.

²⁹¹ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 97.

²⁹² Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 36.

²⁹³ Abdul Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P: A Case Study of *Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghina*", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Islamabad, July 2006, pp. 43.

taught.²⁹⁴ The *Anjuman* which was established purely on non-political basis, was later turned into a political movement, which become Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in 1929. After returning from *haj*, Abdul Ghaffar Khan with the consensus of other leaders in Utmanzai, decided to publish a Pashto journal. In 1928, first monthly publication of journal *Pukhtun* came out. In the journal, there were articles relating to Islamic history, Pashtoon nationalism, women rights, and social affairs.²⁹⁵

The educational movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not tolerated by the British. The chief commissioner, Hamilton Grant, called upon his father, Behram Khan, and asked him what his son was doing. He was told that his son was propagating and instigating anti-British feeling among the people of the Charsadda. Hamilton's secretary, Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan of Umarzai, also visited Ghaffar Khan's father and told him to stop his son from spreading education. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was asked by his father to stop his activities, upon which Ghaffar Khan replied that do you want to stop me from *farz* (obligatory). He told his father that education is as obligatory as *Namaz* (prayers). After that conversation, his father told him to continue his educational activities. His father went to the commissioner and told him that they would not give up their religion to please the British.²⁹⁶

Mian Akbar Shah, a former student of Islamia College and an active member of the *Anjuman*, proposed the formation of a youth league. Abdul Akbar Khan and Khadim Muhammad Akbar opposed the idea of a new organization, explaining that the already existing organization, *Anjuman Islahul Afaghina* should be strengthened. On the insisting of youth, a meeting was convened on September 1, 1929 at Utmanzai, in which the formation of the *Zalmo Jirga* (Youth

²⁹⁴ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 63.

²⁹⁵ Khan, *Bacha Khan Ao Khudai Khidmatgari*, 70-71.

²⁹⁶ Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 37 Also See Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand Au Jadujahd*, 185-186.

League) took place and Utmanzai was declared as its temporary headquarter.²⁹⁷ Abdul Akbar Khan became its President and Mian Ahmad Shah as its secretary. The aim of the Youth League was to create awareness among Pashtoons against social evils prevailing in Pashtoon society²⁹⁸ and to get complete independence through non-violent means²⁹⁹. Youth League had become so popular that within six months of its establishment, it spread in the province and attracted many middle class people from Charsadda and Peshawar including many Sikhs and Hindus. It also succeeded to open 67 such organization in different parts of the province. According to sources, 650 members were enrolled in these organizations of Youth League.³⁰⁰

3.6. Formation of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement

The Youth League (*Zalmo Jirga*) was an organization having only the membership of young literate Pashtoons and in order to meet the demands of illiterate people, another organization, Khudai Khidmatgar came into being in November 1929.³⁰¹ According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's autobiography, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd* (Pashto), Khudai Khidmatgar organization came into being in December 1929 after coming back from the Indian National Congress meeting, but Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah in his book argued that it was founded in November 1929,³⁰² which is also supported by Abdul Ghaffar Khan's own autobiography, *Aap Beeti* in Urdu.³⁰³ Sarfaraz Khan became the President and Hijab Gul as the Secretary of the Khudai Khidmatgars.

²⁹⁷ Amanullah Khan, "The Pashtoon Resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947" (PhD Diss., Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 2014), 121.

²⁹⁸ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 350-352.

²⁹⁹ Inquiry Report on Political Situation in Charsadda, File No. 2830, III, *Congress activities in NWFP 1931-43*, NDC Acc. No. 430, p. 40.

³⁰⁰ *Political Diaries Intelligence Bureau*, NWFP 1930 (April-December), Deputy Commissioner Office File No. 17, Booklet I, Provincial Archives Peshawar, p. 139.

³⁰¹ Amanullah Khan, "The Pashtoon Resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947" (PhD Diss., Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 2014), 123.

³⁰² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 27.

³⁰³ Khan, *Aap Beeti*, 91-94.

This organization aimed to eradicate social evils, to ensure unity among Pashtoons, to create awareness, and most importantly, to liberate their motherland from the British Imperialism.³⁰⁴ The uniform of the Khudai Khidmatgars was first of white *khadar* but later, a deep brown color was adopted. Due to this red color, British government dubbed them as agents of Bolsheviks in Russia who wanted to destabilize the Indian British government.³⁰⁵ The color of the dress of Khudai Khidmatgars was deep brown because people were mostly poor who could not afford white color. The leaders put great emphasis on discipline from the very inception of the organization. Abdul Ghaffar Khan told them in an address that ‘God doesn’t need any service, serving His creature is serving to Him’.³⁰⁶ For its membership, people had to take oath on the following principles:

1. With sincerity and humbleness, I offered my services to Khudai Khidmatgar membership.
2. I will sacrifice my wealth, comfort and self in the service of my people and for independence of my motherland.
3. I will never show party feeling and will give up factions, grouping, and enmity which has ruined the lives of Pashtoons. I will not oppose anybody in this organization and will help the oppressor and the oppressed.
4. I will not leave this organization for another organization nor will apologize during fight.
5. I will obey any lawful command of the superior officers.
6. I will abstain from violence, as it had destroyed the lives of Pashtoons and will give up vengeance and will remain patient.
7. I will serve human beings alike, and my goal will be attainment of freedom of my homeland and of my religion.
8. I will perform noble deeds for sake of Allah, without any personal interest.
9. All my effort will be for seeking the will of God and not for myself.
10. To work daily, for at least two hour with their own hands.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 222; Khan, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 735-736.

³⁰⁵ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 69.

³⁰⁶ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 359. Also see Rome, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History*, 251.

³⁰⁷ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 86; Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 44.

A person could become a member of Khudai Khidmatgars only if he or she take oath of the above principles.³⁰⁸

The most important feature of the Khudai Khidmatgars was their strong adherence to non-violence. They were not allowed to carry arms or even a *lathi*. The motive of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was to create feeling of love, humanity, and solidarity among Pashtoons. Moreover, he wanted to end the blood feuds among their *tarburs* (cousins), which has weaken their unity since a long time. The aim of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was to unite Pashtoons who were splited into many factions. Moreover, Khudai Khidmatgars' strong adherence to non-violence will end the people's perception about Pashtoon as barbaric nation. In turn, the violent suppression of British authorities will deride their claim as a greater civilization and their performance of governance in India.³⁰⁹This in turn will prepare them to get freedom from the British yoke.

It is interesting to note that the philosophy of non-violence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not inspired from Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence. His non-violence philosophy was directly inspired from the teaching and life of the Prophet SAW.³¹⁰ According to Mukulika Banerjee, his Philosophy of non-violence was a mixture of religious teaching of the Prophet (SAW) and of Pashtoon customs.³¹¹ In order to create awareness among the people for non-violence, Abdul Ghaffar Khan visited round about three thousand villages of the NWFP, and had left no village in

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 357-358. Also see Khan, *Aap Beeti*, 94.

³⁰⁹ Mukulika Banerjee, "Justice and Non-Violent Jihad: The Anti-Colonial Struggle in the North West Frontier of British India" *Justice et societies Rurales*, 1999, Volume 149, pp.193. Accessed: http://www.persee.fr/doc/rural_0014-2182_1999_num_149_1_4712.

³¹⁰ Nauman Reayat, 'Islamic Instrumentalism in Movement of Non-Violence by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan', *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences*, Egypt, 4(8S), 166-175, September, 2014, p. 169.

³¹¹ Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 209.

the province to visit. It was through his efforts that the number of people in this organization grew up from 500 to 50,000 members.³¹²

In December 1929, an annual meeting of India National Congress took place in Lahore. Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with other members of the Youth League and Khudai Khidmatgars participated in the meeting. This annual meeting greatly impressed Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He saw the enthusiasm of the girls in the meeting and was impressed by their work in the arrangement of the meeting, therefore, he came back from Lahore with a completely changed outlook.³¹³ After his return, Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with other Khudai Khidmatgars, visited throughout the province in order to organize people on the Congress footing.

3.7. Civil Disobedience Movement and the Khudai Khidmatgars

In March 1930, Mahatma Gandhi announced the launching of Civil Disobedience Movement against the British Indian government and demanded complete independence. The support of Frontier Congress in the province was weak, therefore, in order to boost their movement, the local Frontier Congressmen requested Abdul Ghaffar Khan for his support in the Civil Disobedience Movement.³¹⁴ A public meeting was held on 21-22 April at Utmanzai under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan which was attended by twelve hundred members of the Khudai Khidmatgars, *Zalmo Jirga*, Frontier Congress Committee (FPCC) and Khilafat Committee. Agha Lal Badshah, Agha Jan Mohammad, Ali Gul Khan, Karim Bakhsh Sethi, and Lala Usman were the Frontier Congress members who participated in the meeting at Utmanzai.³¹⁵ In the meeting Congress

³¹² Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 70. Also see Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 63.

³¹³ Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadi Jang: Sa Ledali Ao Sa Awridali* (Pashto) (Peshawar, 1972), 57-58.

³¹⁴ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 88.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

members invited Khudai Khidmatgars to join the Congress' Civil Disobedience Movement to which Abdul Ghaffar Khan agreed.³¹⁶

3.8. April 23, 1930: Massacre at Qissa Khawani Peshawar

As a result of Civil Disobedience Movement, Peshawar and Utmanzai became the centre of processions and protests. On the night of 23 April 1930, many Frontier Congress leaders were arrested. Furthermore, it was also decided to arrest local leaders including leading members of the Khudai Khidmatgars. Allah Bakhsh Barqi, the FPCC secretary and Ghulam Rabbani, the member of the War Committee, were not arrested at night. In the morning, they were arrested and were taken to the Kabuli Police Station. The Congress members in a procession reached the Kabuli Police station. They were chanting slogans of "Long Live Revolution" and "*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jey*". These protesters were asked to disperse, upon their refusal, the British troops opened fire on the unarmed Congress volunteers and killed more than two hundred people on the spot.³¹⁷ Those who refused to open fire on unarmed soldiers were expelled from their services.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with Mian Ahmad Shah, Sarfaraz Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and other members of the Khudai Khidmatgars were already arrested at Nahaqi, suburbs of Peshawar and were sentenced to three years imprisonment and were sent to Risalpur jail.³¹⁸ Mr. Murphy, a British Police officer, came to Takkar in order to arrest Salar Shamroz Khan, Malik Khan Badshah, Malik Masim Khan, Pir Shahzada and Malik Hameed of Fazalabad. In order to suppress the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, government resort to violence. On 31 May 1930, Utmanzai and

³¹⁶ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 36.

³¹⁷ Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 106. Also See Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province*, 32.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 106-108.

Takkar and Spin Tangi (Bannu) were attacked by the British troops in which many people died and many houses were burnt.³¹⁹

According to the “Sulaiman-Pankridge Inquiry Committee” appointed by the British government, only thirty people were killed and thirty-three wounded but it was not the final numbers according to the same report.³²⁰ According to a Pashto book, *Da Khpal Waakaye Tarun*, seventy people died and more than one hundred and fifty wounded in Qissa Khwani massacre. However, the *Congress Inquiry Committee* headed by Sardar Patel, the number of people killed in this event were in-between two to three hundred and many other were injured.³²¹ The aim of the British was to discourage the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Many *Hujras* were burnt but these measures proved to be fruitless. In fact these actions of the government benefited the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, as it further spread like a wild fire in the province. The number of Khudai Khidmatgars increased and according to an estimate of the enrollment reached more than hundred thousand.³²²

Moreover, due to these events, the tribal people of Mohmand, Khyber and Bajaur, took up arms in support of Khudai Khidmatgars and demanded the release of Bacha Khan and other leaders of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement.³²³ The outcome of the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Khudai Khidmatgars was great. The CID reported that it was the outcome of the revolutionary activities of the Khudai Khidmatgars in 1930, forcing British government for new reforms in the

³¹⁹ Ibid., 101.

³²⁰ Stephen Alan Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Pakhtuns: The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1988), 79.

³²¹ *Report of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee* (Allahabad: 1930), 6-7. Also See Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 96.

³²² Shah, *The 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement in Peshawar from the Pashtoon Perspective*, 108. Also See Khaleeq, *Da Azadi Jang*, 70.

³²³ Rome, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History*, 255.

province.³²⁴ According to Arthur Swinson, in the year 1932, NWFP was given the status of full Governor's province and from now onward its institutions and political rights were equal to rest of other provinces of India.³²⁵

3.9. The Khudai Khidmatgars' Affiliation with the Congress

After the tragic incident of Qissa Khawani Massacre, the number of the Khudai Khidmatgars increased to twenty five thousand.³²⁶ E.B. Howell, the province Home Secretary, admitted that the government failed to control the rebellious activities of the Congress and their policies forced Khudai Khidmatgars to make an alliance with the Congress. These situations helped to bring Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs under the Congress fold.³²⁷ Mian Jaffar Shah Kakakhel and Mian Abdullah Shah of Charsadda succeeded to meet Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgar members in Gujrat jail, and informed them that the government had decided to crush Khudai Khidmatgars in the province. Abdul Ghaffar Khan asked them to contact the leaders of the Muslim League and ask them for help against the British but their response was not encouraging one.³²⁸

When Abdul Ghaffar Khan was in jail, he advised Khudai Khidmatgar leaders to approach Muslim League first on the ground of religious unanimity but they were rejected by the Muslim League because they were known to be revolutionary and anti-British.³²⁹ The Khudai Khidmatgars turn their head towards the Indian National Congress because it was the only strong party who can

³²⁴ Congress cum Red Shirts, Criminal Investigation Department NWF Province Political Branch, 8/12/1, *Congress activities in NWFP 1931-43*, NDC Acc. No. 430, p. 270.

³²⁵ Arthur Swinson, *North West Frontier: People and Events* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 319.

³²⁶ Allah Bakhsh Yousafi, *Meet the Frontier Gandhi* (Bombay: Progress Publications, 1939), 58.

³²⁷ Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed*, 68-69.

³²⁸ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 386-387.

³²⁹ Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed*, 69.

help them against the atrocities of the British. Moreover, both Khudai Khidmatgars and Congress have the same purpose to get freedom from the British yoke. Both parties also have the same slogan of freedom and their strong devotion to non-violence. The leaders of Khudai Khidmatgars in jail, suggested Mian Jaffar Shah and Mian Abdullah Shah to raise the issue before the Provincial *Jirga* for taking final decision about their association with the Congress. The Provincial *Jirga* accepted the proposal of affiliation Khudai Khidmatgars with Congress with immediate effect.³³⁰

Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq in his book, *Da Azadai Jang* (Pashto) has stated that Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum contacted Mian Jaffar Shah Kaka Khel and Mian Abdullah Shah Qazi Khel of Charsadda informed them that the government had decided to crush the Khudai Khidmatgars and government was searching an excuse to prove their affiliation with the Bolsheviks. They met Bacha Khan and informed him about the issue and after consultation with their colleagues, they joined Congress.³³¹ A settlement was reached between the British government and Gandhi on March 5, 1931 which was known as ‘Gandhi-Irwin Pact’ in history. On 11 March 1931, all the Congress leaders including Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars were released. In March 1931, Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with seventy Khudai Khidmatgars attended the Congress annual session at Karachi. On March 30, Congress leadership asked Abdul Ghaffar Khan to declare publically his association with the Congress to which he agreed. On 9 August 1931, the Khudai Khidmatgars along with *Zalmo Jirga* properly federated with Congress, retaining their separate identity. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was made the leader of these organizations in the province.³³²

Some of the founding members of Khudai Khidmatgars were unhappy with the merger of Khudai Khidmatgars in the Frontier Congress. Among them, Mian Ahmad Shah, Abdul Akbar

³³⁰ Rome, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History*, 257.

³³¹ Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang*, 89-90.

³³² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 34.

Khan and Khadim Muhammad Akbar were prominent. Khadim Muhammad Akbar in a Pashto verse stated that ‘Bacha was the leader and I was his disciple but as Gandhi became the leader that is why I am going to follow my own way.’³³³

Abdul Ghaffar Khan argued them that there was no harm in joining Congress because Pashtoons desperately needed a powerful force outside the province for their survival. Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave examples from the life of the Holy Prophet (SAW), who made alliances with Jews at Madina in the time of need in order to secure the interest of the Muslims.³³⁴ This alliance secured the interest of both Khudai Khidmatgars and Congress. Muslim League was blaming Congress as a Hindu party from the very beginning. Congress by securing NWFP, having 93 percent Muslim population, was a set blow for the Muslim League. It is a fact that Khudai Khidmatgars got more popularity than before, by merging in Congress.³³⁵

The Khudai Khidmatgar Movement was not an integral part of the Congress but an affiliated body who used to be opposed by the Frontier Congressmen on occasions. The Khudai Khidmatgars was affiliated with the Frontier Province Congress Committee in 1931 but in practice, it did remain a separate body in its content and form. It provided only an electoral strength to the Indian National Congress in political affairs.³³⁶ To make the bond between the Congress and the Khudai Khidmatgars more strong, it was decided to change the name of ‘Provincial Congress Committee’ to ‘Provincial *Jirgah*’ with its own office bearers.³³⁷ Despite opposition from some

³³³ Farkhanda Liaqat, ‘Da Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar Da Jwand Halat’, *Quarterly Tatara* (Pashto) (Peshawar), Vol 10, (No. 1, January-March 2006), p. 71.

³³⁴ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 35.

³³⁵ Syed Waqar Ali Shah, ‘Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India’ *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 8 No. 2, p. 102.

³³⁶ Nadia Bashir, ‘A Review of Political awakening in NWFP (1901-1947)’, *Pakistan Annual Research Journal*, Vol. 49, (2013), 64. Also See Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 8.

³³⁷ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 441.

members of Congress, the Congress Working Committee endorsed the decision during its annual meeting in Bombay.

In December 1931, talks between the Congress and Government failed which resulted in the arrest of many Khudai Khidmatgar leaders. Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with other Khudai Khidmatgars was arrested on 24 December and was sentenced for three years imprisonment. They were released on August 27, 1934, after completion of three years rigorous imprisonment but were not allowed to enter into Punjab and NWFP under the 'Public Tranquility Act'.³³⁸ After three months, Abdul Ghaffar Khan was re-arrested for instigating people against the government and was sentenced for another two years. He was released on 1 August 1937, but his entry into Punjab and NWFP was not allowed until 29 November. Khudai Khidmatgar Movement remained banned till the promulgation of Government of India Act, 1935.³³⁹

3.10. Elections of 1937 and Congress Ministry in Office

The elections of 1937 were held in the month of February, in which Khudai Khidmatgars in collaboration with the Congress, succeeded to get nineteen seats out of fifty provincial seats. It is interesting to note that in real, this was the victory of Khudai Khidmatgars but people wrongly interpreted it as Congress victory, because they were elected on Congress tickets. Abdul Ghaffar Khan had also spoken about the success of the nineteen Khudai Khidmatgar members and of the formation of the Khudai Khidmatgars Government in his autobiography.³⁴⁰ It is also witness from the results of 1937 and 1946 elections results, that except NWFP, Congress failed to get majority seats in any other Muslim majority province of India. NWFP was the only province, having

³³⁸ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 73.

³³⁹ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 612.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 589-595. Also See Saqi, *Da Khudai Khidmatgarai Pah Tahrik Ki Zma Jwandun*, 158.

majority of Muslim population who supported the Congress, and it was a verification of the Congress claim to represent both Muslims and Hindus throughout the India.³⁴¹ It was due to Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgars that Congress succeeded to form provincial government in NWFP in 1937 and 1946 elections.

On 16th March Sir Abdul Qaiyum was invited by the provincial governor, Sir George Cunningham to form his ministry. On September 3, 1937 Khan Sahib put no-confidence motion against the Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum's ministry. The performance of Khan Sahib's ministry was not impressive as it re-promulgated the FCR,³⁴² which badly affected the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself admitted that the role of Khudai Khidmatgars/Congress ministry had greatly damaged the movement. Therefore, he wanted the resignation of the ministry because it brought damage to the movement, instead of progress and strength.³⁴³

When the World War II broke out, the Viceroy of India, declared India's participation in war without consulting the Indian opinion and as a result, on September 22, 1939, the Congress ministry resigned as a protest. On acceptance of "Poona Offer" by the Congress to provide conditional support to British war efforts, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had developed differences with the Congress high command, which led to his resignation from the Congress Working Committee on 8 July 1939. This action of Abdul Ghaffar Khan clearly shows his practical adherence to non-violence.³⁴⁴ The rift was then resolved, when the All India Congress Committee declared that it would not endorse the war aims of the British.

³⁴¹ Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*, 178.

³⁴² Frontier Crime Regulation, a draconian law under which Pashtoons in tribal areas along with NWFP were controlled. Under this rule no one can challenge this law in any court of law.

³⁴³ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 621-644. Also see Rome, *The North-West Frontier: Essays on History*, 265.

³⁴⁴ Syed Waqar Ali Shah, 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India', *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 8 No. 2, p. 102.

3.11. Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movement

After the resignation of Congress ministries, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution, calling upon the Congress Working Committee and members of central and provincial assemblies for civil disobedient movement. This committee also gave further details of the plan to be chalk out later. In NWFP, the Provincial *Jirga* and Khudai Khidmatgars held a meeting to chalk out their program in the new scenario. Delegations were sent to government servants to quit their jobs. Khudai Khidmatgars started a wide-range campaign and raided liquor shops and arranged schools students for strikes.³⁴⁵

Moreover, it was also decided to raid the British courts. Khudai Khidmatgars started raiding government offices and the *Kachihri* (district courts) in Peshawar, Mardan, Nowshera, Kohat, and Bannu.³⁴⁶ Khudai Khidmatgars were initially not imprisoned but were beaten by the police. Some Khans, Arbabs, Mohmands, and Swatis also assisted the police in beating the Khudai Khidmatgars. Some of the Khudai Khidmatgars lost their lives because of the severe beating of police. Bacha Khan was cruelly beaten by the police in *lathi* charge, due to which, his two ribs were broken. Bacha Khan was not arrested in that time but when he started his tours and meetings, he was also arrested along with other Khudai Khidmatgar leaders. They were put behind the bars and were given three years rigorous imprisonment.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*, 174.

³⁴⁶ Khan, *Bacha Khan Ao Khudai Khidmatgari*, 340-342.

³⁴⁷ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 666-684. Also See Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 353-358.

In March 1945, Dr Khan Sahib came out from jail and moved a vote of no-confidence against the Sardar Aurangzeb ministry.³⁴⁸ Aurangzeb Khan and his other colleagues tendered their resignation. Dr Khan Sahib was invited by the governor to form his ministry. After taking oath, he first released Bacha Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars who were detained since the Quit India Movement.³⁴⁹

3.12. The 1946 Elections and Dr Khan Sahib's Third Ministry

At the end of WWII, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, announced elections for the central and provincial assemblies to be held in winter of 1945-46. He also announced that after election results, the Viceroy will set up an Executive Council, which would have the support of the all major political parties of India.³⁵⁰ The elections were held in January-February 1946. In NWFP, Frontier Congress won majority of seats by securing 30 seats out of 50 seats of the provincial assembly. Two members of Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind also extended their full support to Frontier Congress, thus bringing the number of treasury benches to 32 seats. Muslim League on the other hand, also emerged as a mass political party for the first time and secured 17 seats out of 50 seats.³⁵¹ Congress won majority seats in Pashtoon belt; in Mardan, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Bannu whereas Muslim League won majority seats in (Hindko Speaking area) non-Pashto speaking areas.³⁵²

³⁴⁸ He was a Frontier League leader who became Chief Minister after Congress ministry resign from all provincial government as a protest. Congress leadership was not taken into confidence at the time of declaration of war against Germany in 1939.

³⁴⁹ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 76.

³⁵⁰ Government of India, *Returns showing the Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46* (Delhi: Manager, Government of India Press, 1948), 71.

³⁵¹ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 160.

³⁵² Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 693-694.

On 7 March 1946, Dr Khan Sahib formed his ministry for the third time. The Congress parliamentarians agreed to follow the guidelines of the Khudai Khidmatgar organization. His ministry introduced anti-Khans measures, like abolishment of *Tora*, and *Lambardari* system. Both the political parties were busy in blaming each other. Moreover, the relationship between the provincial government and the governor, Olaf Caroe³⁵³, the governor of the province, remained hostile over the criticism of bureaucracy by the provincial government. Muslim League was blaming Congress ministry for corruption.³⁵⁴

3.13. Cabinet Mission Plan and Abdul Ghaffar Khan Response

After the failure of the Simla Conference, the British government sent a Cabinet Delegation to resolve the constitutional issues of India, but they failed to convince both Congress and Muslim League. They put forward their proposals on May 16, 1946, which they considered, as best solution of the Indian problem. The Cabinet Mission proposed that the central government would have control over defense, foreign affairs and currency while the other powers should be exercised by the provincial governments. Moreover, the provinces would be divided into three groups; Group A, six Hindu majority provinces (Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P., and Orrisa), Group B, Muslim majority provinces (NWFP, Punjab and Sindh), while Group C, will be comprised of Assam and Bengal.³⁵⁵

Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other Khudai Khidmatgars were not happy over the compulsory grouping of the province. They viewed that NWFP will remain under the subjugation of Punjab.

³⁵³ He was made the governor of NWFP in 1946 and was replaced just before the partition in the mid-1947. He served in army at Punjab in World War I. he was an active administrator of NWFP who have full command over speaking and understanding Pashto language. He wrote a book, *The Pathans*, in which he discussed the history of Pashtoon from 500 B.C. to 1947 A.D.

³⁵⁴ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 167-168.

³⁵⁵ Shah, 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India', 104.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan said that we are ready to join group B, provided that Punjab should assure us that they will treat Khudai Khidmatgars in a better way. At the same time, he made it clear that the Pashtoons will never join a Hindu dominated group, i.e. group A. He also proposed that they should be left alone, as ‘we are happy to frame our destiny by ourselves’.³⁵⁶

In August 1946, Frontier Muslim League started “Direct Action” in Calcutta, in which some Hindus died. In response to this event, communal riots started in Bihar and U.P. in which a large number of Muslims were killed by the Hindus.³⁵⁷ This massacre broke the Hindu-Muslim unity throughout India. These clashes were used by the Muslim League in NWFP with the slogan of ‘Islam is in danger’, in order to meet their objectives.³⁵⁸ Muslim League started a civil disobedience movement against the Dr Khan Sahib ministry because they were not in a position to topple the Khan’s ministry, constitutionally and legally.

3.14. 3rd June Plan and Referendum

At the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the final destiny of India was decided in the form of 3rd June Plan, presented by the newly arrived and last Viceroy, Mountbatten. This created problems for Khudai Khidmatgars because Nehru on behalf of the Congress, accept the plan of Indian division, without consulting Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgars. The 3rd June Plan also proposed a referendum to be held in the province to decide their future, whether they want to join India or Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was shocked at the decision of the Congress because Congress from the very beginning, was claiming for a united India. He said that it was an act of

³⁵⁶ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 77. Also See Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 172-173.

³⁵⁷ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 725.

³⁵⁸ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 247.

treachery from the Congress side and they have thrown us to the wolves.³⁵⁹ He expressed his sorrow and grief over the events and happening to Khudai Khidmatgar movement, which was created with great struggle, labor and sacrifices.

According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he was unaware of these development which were settled much earlier between Congress, Muslim League and Mountbatten. The British had already decided the destiny of the people of NWFP because its provincial assembly was not given the power to pass a resolution in favor of Pakistan or India as was given to other assemblies in the 3rd June Plan.³⁶⁰ According to Abul Kalam Azad, it was the plan of viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, that the Muslim majority provinces should be separated and form a separate Muslim state. As in case of NWFP, the Muslims were in majority, therefore, it should be part of Pakistan.³⁶¹ The idea of referendum was not new. According to Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah:

Some writers have rightly termed the Viceroy's visit of the NWFP a 'turning point' in the history of the province, as it was during this visit that the viceroy was convinced of the Muslim League's popularity and decided on a referendum on the issue of Hindustan and Pakistan.³⁶²

On the other hand, Frontier Muslim League continued its civil disobedience movement against Dr Khan Sahib ministry, demanded resignation of his ministry, and holding of fresh elections in NWFP. Mohammad Ali Jinnah himself demanded the imposition of Section 93 and holding of fresh elections. Mr. Jinnah was not happy at the announcement of referendum but when he was

³⁵⁹ Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Au Jadujahd*, 731-733.

³⁶⁰ Khan, *Aap Beeti*, 571.

³⁶¹ Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*, reprint (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964), 193.

³⁶² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 216.

assured by the Viceroy about the abolishment of the 'weightage system', 'he also preferred referendum over fresh elections.'³⁶³

In response to the Congress acceptance of 3rd June Plan, a combined meeting of the provincial *Jirgah*, members of the parliament, Khudai Khidmatgars, and *Zalmay Pakhtun* was called on 21 June 1947 at Bannu. In the meeting, they decided that Pashtoons wanted an Independent Pakhtunistan and they neither want to join India nor Pakistan.³⁶⁴ Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgars demanded that a third option of Pakhtun state should be included in the referendum. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's demand of a third option was not supported by the Congress, Muslim League and Mountbatten. As a result, Khudai Khidmatgars decided not to take part in referendum which was going to be held in NWFP.³⁶⁵

By not giving the third option, Khudai Khidmatgars boycotted the referendum which was held in July 1947. Since the Khudai Khidmatgars did not participate in the polling, therefore, the results of the elections went in favor of Muslim League and secured 50.99% of the total registered votes.³⁶⁶ Dr Khan Sahib alleged that the referendum was rigged with the full support of the British authorities. According to Parshotam Mehra:

According to some estimates, about 25-30% bogus votes were cast in the referendum. A little less than ten percent of the total population of the NWFP, determined the fate of the province.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 154.

³⁶⁴ Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 439.

³⁶⁵ Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 80.

³⁶⁶ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 159. Also See Wali Khan, *Facts are Facts: The Untold story of Indian Partition*, trans. (Peshawar: Publication Cell, Baacha Khan Trust, 2006), 166.

³⁶⁷ Parshotam Mehra, *The North-West Frontier Drama, 1945-47: A Re-Assessment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 195.

The boycott of the Khudai Khidmatgars, make it possible for Muslim League to win the referendum in Pakistan's favor. On the other hand, the results of the referendum was not only a misfortune for the political future of Khudai Khidmatgars. It also stole the fate of the people of the province, to be neither a part of India nor an independent Pathan state but to be a part of Pakistan.³⁶⁸ The Khudai Khidmatgars were forced to be part of a state against which they have struggled till recently. It provided a chance for Muslim League to label Khudai Khidmatgars and Khan Brothers as 'traitors' who opposed the creation of Pakistan and ideology of Muslim League.³⁶⁹

3.15. The Role of Abdul Ghaffar Khan after Partition

After the creation of Pakistan, the governor of NWFP, on the advice of Jinnah, dissolved the provincial ministry of Dr Khan Sahib on 22 August 1947 and replaced it with Muslim League's ministry under Qayyum Khan as its premier. In a meeting of Khudai Khidmatgars at Sardaryab (Charsadda) on 3-4 September, 1947, they passed a resolution. They pledged that Pakistan is our country. Although, the action of dismissing the Khan's ministry is unconstitutional, but we will not take any step to create problems for Qaiyum's ministry because Pakistan is going through a critical situation.³⁷⁰

Abdul Ghaffar Khan after the emergence of Pakistan, had changed his stance from an 'Independent Pakhtunistan' to an 'autonomous unit' within Pakistan. He suggested to change its name NWFP to Pakhtunistan. He take an oath of allegiance to the constitution of Pakistan on 23 February, 1948, which ended all allegations against him. He turned his voice to change the name of the province, to Pakhtunistan.³⁷¹ On 5th March 1948, Ghaffar Khan in a speech in Constituent

³⁶⁸ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 342.

³⁶⁹ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 227.

³⁷⁰ Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 451.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 451-453.

Assembly of Pakistan cleared his position. He argued that he want to change the name of the province to Pakhtunistan, which would represent the name of the inhabitants of land, as Bengali, Sindhi, and Punjabis has its own ethnic names of their provinces. He also make it clear that ‘the demand as a free Pakhtunistan does not mean an independent state but an autonomous province as a unit of Pakistan’.³⁷²

Abdul Ghaffar Khan invited Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General of Pakistan, to visit the province which he accepted. He met M.A. Jinnah in Peshawar at the time of latter’s official visit to NWFP but no settlement was reached in the meeting. Jinnah invited him to merge Khudai Khidmatgars in Muslim League, which he refused and in response, he invited Jinnah to lead Khudai Khidmatgars. Instead he advised M.A Jinnah to disband the Muslim League since it has achieved its goal of making Pakistan.³⁷³ Qaiyum Khan played his negative role by labeling Khan Brothers, as controversial and traitors. He created misunderstanding between Jinnah and Ghaffar Khan. He opposed any reconciliation policy between Muslim League and Khudai Khidmatgars. Khan Brothers, along with other leaders of Khudai Khidmatgars were arrested on 15 June 1948 by the Qaiyum Khan’s ministry. On 15 June 1948, the provincial government banned the Khudai Khidmatgars under the NWFP Public Safety Ordinance.³⁷⁴

In response to this, Khudai Khidmatgars organized demonstrations against the harsh and cruel policies of the Qaiyum Khan’s ministry. They organized a peaceful protest meeting in Charsadda on 12 August 1948 and also demanded to impose Shariat Law in the country. The provincial government imposed section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code. The protesters reached Babara, a place near Charsadda which was a venue for the protest. The provincial police opened

³⁷² Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 195.

³⁷³ Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a battle*, 457-463.

³⁷⁴ Hassan, *NWFP Administration under Abdul Qayyum Khan*, 61-62.

indiscriminate fire on peaceful and non-violent protesters in which more than 600 people died and many were injured. According to official sources, only 15 were killed and 50 were injured.³⁷⁵ This incident is known as 'Babara Massacre' in the history of NWFP, and is observed every year by the Pashtoon nationalists.

To conclude, one can say that Abdul Ghaffar Khan had played an important role in the freedom struggle against the colonial rule. His movement was a sincere movement for the uplift of Pashtoon society. The cruel and imperialist policies of the British forced him to make an alliance with the Congress. It was need of time, as the British had already decided to crush the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, due to which he merge his Khudai Khidmatgars in Provincial Congress but keep his distinct identity. The success of Congress in NWFP was due to the influence of Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. It was an important province for Congress because it serves the claim of Congress as Indian political party who had the support of both Muslims and Hindus.

In order to show its presence, Frontier Muslim League started agitational politics in the shape of civil disobedience movement against the Khan Sahib's ministry, because Frontier Muslim League was not in a position to dismiss Khan's ministry through constitutional means. They used the slogan of 'Islam in Danger' in response to Communal violence in Calcutta and Bihar. Moreover, Frontier Muslim League and Jinnah wanted to impose section 93 and the dismissal of Khan Sahib's ministry, and announcement of the fresh elections. As stated above in the chapter, it was the task given to Viceroy, to unite all the Muslim majority provinces to become part of Pakistan. In case of Pakistan, it was difficult for both Muslim League and Viceroy to get the

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 67-72.

support of NWFP provincial assembly in favor of Pakistan. NWFP provincial assembly was not given the power and authority to decide their destiny as was given to Sindh, Punjab and Bengal. The boycott of Khudai Khidmatgars helped Frontier Muslim League to get majority vote in the referendum.

CHAPTER No. 04

The Role of Charsadda Muslim League in the Freedom Movement

4.1 Formation of Frontier Muslim League

Frontier Muslim League was established in 1912 at Peshawar. Its main architects were Mian Abdul Aziz, Syed Ali Abbas Bukhari, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan, Hakeem Mohammad Amin and Qazi Mir Ahmad. Mian Abdul Aziz was appointed as its President, a Barrister, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan was appointed Vice-President, Syed Ali Abbas as its General Secretary and Hakeem Mohammad Amin as its Treasurer.³⁷⁶ Syed Ali Abbas represented Frontier League deputation at Bombay session of Muslim League in 1915.

Unlike other provinces, NWFP was ignored in reforms of 1909 and 1919. Hindus were against the reforms to be introduced in NWFP because of the fear of Muslim majority. Most of Hindus were traders that is why they not prefer reforms and demanded the re-amalgamation of NWFP with the Punjab province.³⁷⁷ On the other hand, both Khudai Khidmatgars and Frontier Muslim League were in favor of reforms in the Frontier province. In 1932, NWFP was given the status of governor province.³⁷⁸

After the introduction of reforms in NWFP in 1932, efforts were made by some Frontier Pashtoon students in England to spread Muslim League in Great Britain also. On 28 January 1933, Mr. Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak, Sahibzada Muhammad Sadiq, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali and Mr. Inayatullah Khan of Charsadda presented "Pakistan Scheme" in England. When NWFP got the status of a governor province, Mr. Jinnah asked Allah Baksh Yusafi about the situation in

³⁷⁶ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 20.

³⁷⁷ Azmat Ullah, "The Emergence of All-India Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. XXXV, No.2 (2014), 30.

³⁷⁸ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 226.

NWFP.³⁷⁹ He visited Peshawar for the first time on 18 October, 1936 where he was received by round about 400 members of the Frontier League. He visited Hashtnagri, Karimpura, Ginta Ghar, Chowk Yadgaar, and finally went to Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum residence Yakatut where he stayed with him.³⁸⁰ He held meetings and addressed a public meeting at Shahi Bagh (Peshawar) on October 19, 1936 which was attended by more than 400 people.³⁸¹ The outcome of his visit was that a Consultative board was setup to prepare the grounds for formation of provincial Muslim League organization.³⁸² According Allah Bakhsh, the visit of Jinnah was unsuccessful. Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq argued that it was Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum who was responsible for the failure of Jinnah visit in the province.³⁸³ Frontier League failed to nominate any member to contest in 1937 provincial elections in NWFP.

4.2. Second Phase of Frontier Muslim League

In early 1937, elections were held in all the provinces of British India. In NWFP no party get clear cut majority. Frontier Congress won 19 seats, the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party secured 7 seats and the Azad Party won only two seats, while the remaining 22 seats won by independent members.³⁸⁴ During the time, Frontier League was not a popular party and they failed to contest elections in any constituency of NWFP. In late 1930s, the entry of big Khans was welcomed by the Muslim League circles. The entry of big Khans in the fold of Muslim League boosted its performance in the province and especially, the joining of Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb was a great success for Muslim League as both were influential in the province.³⁸⁵ It was due to

³⁷⁹ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 26.

³⁸⁰ Muhammad Anwar Khan, "Quaid-i-Azam First Visit to Peshawar" *Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 3-4.

³⁸¹ Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, 151.

³⁸² Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 291.

³⁸³ Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadi Jang: Sa Ledali Ao Sa Awridali* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Idara Ishaat-i-Sarhad, 1972), 119-120.

³⁸⁴ Ullah, *The Emergence of All-India Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan*, 34.

³⁸⁵ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 295.

their efforts that the Frontier Muslim League had become a provincial organization and many people, especially Khan families joined it in a large scale. Due to the entry of big Khans it earned a nickname, 'Motor League' because many big Khans had big cars and motors which they used during their meeting.³⁸⁶ Because of its poor organization, Frontier League failed to contest 1937 elections. After 1937 elections, the party contested by-elections in NWFP, in some of which they succeeded, particularly in Hazara district which was a non-Pashtoon area.³⁸⁷

The entry of big Khan boosted Muslim League organization because they were financially good. There were many personalities from NWFP but Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan was the most prominent in the circles of the Frontier Muslim League. In this chapter the leaders of Frontier League from Charsadda has been discussed. Frontier League leaders of Charsadda, like Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan Umarzai, Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi and Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao has been discussed in this chapter. Main focus is given on their activities in the Charsadda and their role in Frontier Muslim League which helped NWFP to join Pakistan.

³⁸⁶ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 104. Also See Allah Baksh Yusufi, *Sarhad Aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi* (Urdu), (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1989), 715-716. Also See Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 176.

³⁸⁷ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 297.



Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan Umarzai

4.3. Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan Umarzai

Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan was one of the leading Khans of Charsadda. He joined Muslim League in the late 1930s. He was elected an independent member of the provincial assembly of 1937 in the province. It was due to his efforts that the Frontier Muslim League had become famous and active in the province.³⁸⁸ He acquired a distinct and respectable position in district Peshawar. He was born in the famous village of Umarzai on 29 December 1880.³⁸⁹ He belonged to Baati Khel clan of Muhammadzai. He was the son of Abdullah Khan, a big landlord of the area. He received his early education from Peshawar and was admitted to Edward Mission School Peshawar, from where he did his matric. After that he took admission in Government College Lahore and did his Intermediate from that college. He went to London for taking admission in an engineering college. He returned home after completion of his engineering degree.³⁹⁰

He started his career as a *Patwaar* in 1903 at Mansehra. Due to his abilities and devotion of work, he reached to the climax of success, and became Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and later retired as a Deputy Commissioner. He was given the title of 'Khan Bahadar' for his services and loyalty to the British.³⁹¹ He was greatly inspired from Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum and Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar. When government banned the entry of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar to NWFP, it was K.B. Saadullah Khan who insisted not to ban his entry in the province. The Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar asked him that who will be responsible if it created disturbance and lawlessness. K.B. Saadullah Khan, being an Assistant Commissioner of Peshawar,

³⁸⁸ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tarik-i-Pakistan May Sooba Sarhad Ka Hisa* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1990), 231-32.

³⁸⁹ *Daily Aljamiat-e-Sarhad*, Peshawar, Thursday, June 19, 1958.

³⁹⁰ Personal interview with Tahir Khan, a grandson of Saadullah Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.

³⁹¹ Sabir, *Tarik-i-Pakistan May Sooba Sarhad Ka Hisa*, 232-235.

took the responsibility and said that he was ready to sacrifice his post for Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar.³⁹²

In 1930, when Qissa Khawani massacre took place in Peshawar, K.B. Saadullah Khan was “City Magistrate” of Peshawar. He informed the ‘Suleman Committee’, an official committee, that he forbid Deputy Commissioner to deploy army in the area and there was no need of firing on innocent people, as the situation was in full grip of the government.³⁹³ He gave evidence to the ‘Suleman Committee’ that the Englishmen had committed a great blunder at Peshawar when he was asked by the said committee.³⁹⁴ When elections were held in NWFP in 1937, Saadullah Khan was elected as independent member of the provincial assembly. Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum formed his ministry in 1937. Saadullah Khan became part of his cabinet with the portfolio of Agriculture Ministry.³⁹⁵ He travelled throughout India to collect fund for the establishment of Islamia College, Peshawar. He took keen interest of the look after of Islamia College Peshawar throughout his life and was made its trustee by Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum till his death.³⁹⁶ His genial temperament and judicious frame of mind made him quite popular Executive and Judicial Officer. He was also offered the title of ‘Sir’ by the British but he refused to accept it. Like other Frontier Leaguers, Saad Ullah Khan had renounced the title of “Khan Bahadar” back to the British Government.³⁹⁷ In the 1937 elections, Congress got 19 seats, Independent Muslims 21 and Frontier League failed to contest in any constituency in NWFP. The ministry of Sir Sahibzada Abdul

³⁹² Allah Bakhsh Yousafi, *Siyasiyat-e-Sarhad Kay Irtiqai Manazil* (Urdu) (Karachi: Muhammad Ali Educational Society, 1972), 43.

³⁹³ Personal interview with Tahir Khan, a grandson of Saadullah Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.

³⁹⁴ C.I.D. report Abstracts, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, File No. 768, Diary No. 14 pp. 303.

³⁹⁵ Police Secret Report, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, File NO. 791, p. 44.

³⁹⁶ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tarik-i-Pakistan May Sooba Sarhad Ka Hisa* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1990), 231-232.

³⁹⁷ Personal interview with Tahir Khan, a grandson of Saadullah Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai

Qaiyum was installed on April 1937 in which Saadullah Khan was given the portfolios of Agriculture.³⁹⁸

4.4. Efforts for Reorganization of Muslim League

The entry of big Khans, especially the joining of Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan in the Frontier League, boosted the spread of party organization and its performance in the province. Frontier League which was restricted to Peshawar only, now spread to districts and other local organizations and became a full fledged provincial organization. Frontier League welcomed the entry of prominent Khans from all over the province.³⁹⁹

A meeting of big Khans was held in Charsadda on 14 November, 1937 in which K.B. Saadullah Khan Umarzai, K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao, Mian Aftab Gul of Tangi, Fazli Qadir of Tangi and Aslam Khan of Tangi participated and delivered their speeches.⁴⁰⁰ The constitution of Frontier Muslim League was framed for the first time in 1938 which claimed the rights of Muslims and other minorities in the shape of a federation and complete independence of India.⁴⁰¹ When All India Muslim League Conference was held in Calcutta in 1938, K.B. Saadullah Khan along with K.B. Mir Alam Khan, Khan Sahib Hidayat Ullah Khan Umarzai and Khan Sahib Abdullah Jan of Batagram participated in it. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah granted an interview to K.B. Saadullah Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb and Khan Sahib Mir Alam Khan Tangi at the house of Aspahani on the night of 17th April 1938. They proposed Jinnah to allot some money for the Frontier Muslim League in order to strengthen League's propaganda as Frontier Congress and Red Shirts activities in the Frontier province was well organized and a strong opposition was

³⁹⁸ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 30.

³⁹⁹ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 295.

⁴⁰⁰ Provincial Archives Peshawar, File No. 769, Diary No. 16, 1939, p. 153.

⁴⁰¹ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 295.

needed to break them.⁴⁰² M.A. Jinnah told them to spread the propaganda of Muslim League among the people of the settled districts as well as in the tribal areas and to deepen its propaganda in the name of the religion.⁴⁰³

Two meeting were held in Sherpao and Tangi. In these meeting K.B. Saadullah Khan said that ‘the people of Sherpao and Tangi were determined to fight but he would tell them that peace was a good thing, otherwise they would not afraid of it, they had come to the place where crore Muslims would join them. K.B. Mir Alam Khan told the gathering that the ultimate goal of Muslim League was to attain complete independence and they would fight with the Englishmen, but as Congress in their way, so it was considered essential to combat it.⁴⁰⁴ While Aurangzeb Khan said that it was Muslim League movement and it was neither his nor Saadullah Khan’s. The goal of Muslim League was complete independence. He further said that Khadim Akbar Khan, Saadullah Khan and Mir Alam Khan had taken oath on the Holy Quran that they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Muslim League. He said that as being opposition leaders, they were prepared to go to jail.⁴⁰⁵

There were some leaders who were against the role of these Khans in the Frontier League. Prominent among them were Syed Sultan Shah, Abdul Wadood Sarhadi and Abdul Hameed. They interviewed M.A. Jinnah on 18th April 1938. Some sources reported that they told Mr. Jinnah that the Muslim League presence in Frontier was due to their efforts and the Khanate class was doing nothing substantial, as its objectives was to gain prominence to further their chances of success in the next elections.⁴⁰⁶ They also protested against the role of Saadullah Khan and other Khans. They

⁴⁰² Frontier Muslim League C.I.D. Report, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, p. 68-69.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 69.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 70-71. Also See Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 295.

argued that they were rendering no financial help in order to give incentive to Muslim League propaganda in the province. They requested Mr. Jinnah to bring the movement to the masses.⁴⁰⁷ They requested Jinnah not to give a lorry or money to the Khanate class as they would never use the same for the good of the masses but would utilize them for their own purposes. In response, Mr. Jinnah advised them to take steps to end the Congress ministry in the province. Mr. Jinnah was informed that they had already devoted their attention to it.⁴⁰⁸

On June 25, 1938, K.B. Saadullah Khan was appointed as the President of Provincial Muslim League by the Working Committee. Saadullah Khan reported Liaquat Ali Khan that after Delhi session in August 1938, the Frontier League had worked hard in Peshawar and Mardan districts. Moreover, they had prepared many volunteers for the program of Muslim League. He reported that they had organized district conferences which will be held on 10-11 September 1938 at Abbottabad which will help us in our campaign against the Frontier Congress. Liaquat Ali Khan was happy over the spread of Muslim League propaganda in the province.⁴⁰⁹

A meeting of the Frontier Muslim League was held in Peshawar on November 20, 1938. There was a rift within Muslim League as Khans of Charsadda and Mardan were harassing Maulana Shoaib, and Ghulam Hussain was hated by Aurangzeb Khan. Maulana Shoaib left the Presidentship of Frontier Muslim League and as a result, Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan was elected as the President of Muslim League in the meeting along with Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan as president of the Bannu district and Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan, Tangi as member of provincial council from district Peshawar.⁴¹⁰ Ghulam Hussain, Yusufi and Rahim Bakhsh tendered

⁴⁰⁷ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 192.

⁴⁰⁸ Frontier Muslim League C.I.D. Report, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, 71.

⁴⁰⁹ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 37.

⁴¹⁰ Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 121-122., Also See Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 297.

their resignation to protest against the Khans who had hijacked the Frontier League.⁴¹¹ K.B. Saadullah Khan returned to the province in March 1939, after collecting two and a half lakh rupees fund for the construction of Islamia College, Peshawar. In a meeting held in Peshawar on 29 October 1939 in which many office bearers were elected. K.B. Saadullah Khan was elected as President, Agha Sayyad Lal Badshah as vice-President and Mian Ghulam Hussain was elected as a treasurer.⁴¹²

4.5. Muslim League Ministry

After the reconciliation policy announcement of the British government, Congress formed ministries in seven provinces including NWFP in July 1937.⁴¹³ Congress ministry in NWFP remained in office for two and a half years. When the Congress ministry of NWFP resigned as a protest on the eve of World War II on 7 November 1939,⁴¹⁴ Sardar Aurangzeb who was the opposition leader, was asked by the Governor to form his ministry in the province, which he refused. Jinnah advised him to form his ministry at any cost in order to show that the people of the Frontier province was with the Muslim League. He agreed to form a coalition ministry. Congress provincial members were jailed at that time.

According to Ayesha Jalal, it was Governor and not Jinnah who was the real mentor of Aurangzeb, who helped him to form his ministry in the province.⁴¹⁵ Aurangzeb succeeded to get the support of Akali Party and Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party with the collaboration of the Governor

⁴¹¹ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 297.

⁴¹² Riaz Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2008), 174. Also See Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 298.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴¹⁴ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 299.

⁴¹⁵ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 115-16.

by offering ministry to Ajit Singh. Sardar Aurangzeb was invited to form his ministry on 26 May, 1943, provided that he would support the British war efforts during the war period.⁴¹⁶

4.6. Reorganization of Muslim League and Role of Saadullah Khan

Another meeting of the Frontier League under the Presidentship of Saadullah Khan was held in Peshawar in February 1940. In the meeting, it was decided to prepare and send five hundred members along with National Guard Volunteers for the Lahore annual session to be held on 23 March 1940. Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan along with other Frontier Leaguers, participated in Lahore session in which the famous, Lahore Resolution of 1940 was passed. He was also accompanied by a group of volunteers who performed their duty as bodyguards of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah very efficiently. Yaqub Khan and Riaz Khan, two sons of Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan, recite a poem in session of Muslim League at Lahore. The title of the poem was *Wahdat ka tarana* (poem of unity) which states:

*Har Muslim Ka Hay Ye Maang
Batthe ki rahay ga Hindustan
Ban ka Rahay ga Pakistan.*⁴¹⁷

The hold of Big Khans over Frontier League was not liked by others members of the League. In a short span of time, a political rift had developed within Frontier League office bearers and provincial council that many tendered their resignation as a protest against the high jacking of party by the Khans.⁴¹⁸ New elections were held for Muslim league office bearers on November 17, 1940. Bakht Jamal Khan was elected as Frontier League President and Saadullah Khan was elected

⁴¹⁶ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 142-43. Also See Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 66.

⁴¹⁷ Personal interview with Riaz Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.

⁴¹⁸ CID Diaries, 5 December 1938, F. No. 745, SBP, p. 365. Also See Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province*, 104.

as Vice-President of the Frontier League. Saadullah Khan was also elected as member of council of All India Muslim League.⁴¹⁹ Khalil-ur-Rahman of Tangi, a local Khan was also elected as member of the council.

In November 1944, K.B. Saadullah Khan toured the southern districts of the province for a week. In a meeting held in Bannu, Saadullah said that the Muslims of the Frontier want the next annual session of the All India Muslim League to be held in NWFP but Sardar Aurangzeb, the premier, was against such proposal. Another meeting was held on 21st November 1944 in Dera Ismail Khan, in which Saadullah Khan criticized the policies of the Aurangzeb's ministry. He said that the premier had weakened the party in the province. Therefore, premier is against holding of the Frontier League's annual session in NWFP in order to keep Mr. Jinnah aloof from the conditions of Muslim League prevailing in the province.⁴²⁰

In November 1944, he wrote a long letter to Jinnah appraised him of his grievances and informed him of the wrong doing of Aurangzeb's ministry.⁴²¹ There aroused some personal jealousies between Khan Bahadar Saadullah Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb because both were trying to become premier of the province.⁴²² According to Saadullah Khan's grandson, Tahir Khan, there were some personal clashes between the two and it was during the Aurangzeb's ministry that their house was raided by the police upon the Chief Minister's advice.⁴²³ Saadullah Khan criticized the performance of his ministry by arguing that the ministry had not organized a single meeting of the Muslim League after its formation. His ministry earned a bad name which was full of corruption,

⁴¹⁹ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 37.

⁴²⁰ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947*, 218.

⁴²¹ See Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 301.

⁴²² Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 139-140.

⁴²³ Personal interview with Tahir Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.

nepotism and malpractices. The only initiative his government take was to raise salaries of ministers and members of the assembly.⁴²⁴

Moreover, Saadullah Khan stated that premier had taken the party to such a low status that all the Muslims of the province hates the very name of the Frontier League. Saadullah Khan wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah in which he stated that he “cannot tolerate any more to work with Sardar Aurangzeb because of his treacherous attitude, hypocritical habit and I therefore, constrained to come forward and give a vote of no-confidence against his ministry whenever any chance comes”.⁴²⁵

When the provincial assembly members of Congress came out of jail, Dr Khan Sahib presented no-confidence motion on 12th March 1945 against Aurangzeb ministry. This motion was supported by three League assembly members which includes Saadullah Khan, Khan Bahadar Faizullah Khan and Afzal Khan.⁴²⁶ These three members were expelled from the party by the central organization of Muslim League.⁴²⁷ In his defense, Saadullah Khan stated that Aurangzeb ministry had earned a bad name and had ruined the Frontier League, therefore, he voted against Aurangzeb in order to save Frontier League from more harm.⁴²⁸ According to Muhammad Anwar Khan, it was Sikandar Mirza who played his card well and persuaded Liaquat Ali Khan to appoint Muhammad Isa for an “overhaul” of the Frontier Muslim League. This resulted in the dissolution of the Provincial League organization in April 1945.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 300.

⁴²⁵ Saadullah Khan to Quaid-i-Azam 7th Nov 1944 NWFP-I: 74 Sayed Shamsul Hassan Collections, Karachi. Also See Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 69. Also See Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 179.

⁴²⁶ Dr Fakhir-ul-Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Political History 1901-1955* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015), 114-115.

⁴²⁷ CID Diaries, Provincial Archives Peshawar, F. No. 753, SBP, p. 231.

⁴²⁸ Personal interview with Tahir Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.

⁴²⁹ Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 177.

The provincial legislature was dissolved on 22 November, 1945 on the eve of new general elections to be held from January to February 1946.⁴³⁰ The entry of Qaiyum Khan,⁴³¹ Pir of Manki Sharif⁴³² and Arbab Abdul Ghafoor⁴³³ in Muslim League in 1945. All these leaders had strong social base in the province and helped to boost up Muslim League's propaganda in the province.⁴³⁴ The role of Saadullah Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb become minimized due to the entry of Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Arbab Abdul Ghafoor in the Frontier Muslim League, who were prominent leaders of Khudai Khidmatgars.

When Quaid-i-Azam paid his second visit to Peshawar on 19 November 1945, Saadullah Khan was present for his reception along with other Frontier League leaders. He addressed a large gathering of 30 to 50 thousand Muslim Leaguers in Shahi Bagh the same place where he addressed people not more than two hundred.⁴³⁵ He mobilized people to vote for Muslim League during his visit and explained people the scheme of Pakistan. His visit was successful to a large extent. He tried his best to spread Pakistan propaganda among the masses.⁴³⁶

Abdul Qaiyum played an important role in distributing tickets for contesting of new election. Many important leaders including Saadullah Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb, Bakht Jamal, Taj Ali Khan and Mian Zia-ud-Din were deprived of awarding tickets for contesting elections. They all appealed to the central organization of Muslim League but only Mian Zia-ud-Din succeeded to get party ticket for contesting election.⁴³⁷ All Muslims of the province were requested to vote for

⁴³⁰ Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Political History*, 115.

⁴³¹ A prominent leader of Frontier Congress who changed his loyalty to Frontier League in 1945.

⁴³² A spiritual leader hails from Nowshera.

⁴³³ A prominent leader of Khudai Khidmatgar who changed his loyalty to Frontier League in 1945.

⁴³⁴ Rome, *The North-West Frontier*, 302.

⁴³⁵ Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 158.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴³⁷ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 161-62.

Muslim League candidates because vote for Muslim League means vote for Pakistan.⁴³⁸ In the 1946 elections, Frontier League secured only 17 seats in the provincial assembly of 50 seats. Although, Muslim League was not in a position to form its government but the results showed that the party had emerged on the politics of Frontier. Dr Khan Sahib formed his third Congress ministry in Frontier in 1946. Cunningham was replaced by Sir Olaf Caroe as the new governor of the province.⁴³⁹ When Muslim League observed 'Direct Action Day' on 16 August 1946, Saadullah Khan participated in it along with other leaders from the Frontier.

Frontier Muslim League continued its civil disobedience movement against Dr Khan Sahib ministry, demanded resignation of his ministry, and holding of fresh elections in NWFP. K.B. Saadullah Khan participated in the civil disobedience movement of the Frontier Muslim League against the ministry of Dr Khan Sahib. Mohammad Ali Jinnah himself demanded the imposition of Section 93 and holding of fresh elections. Mr. Jinnah was not happy at the announcement of referendum but when he was assured by the Viceroy about the abolishment of the 'weightage system', 'he also preferred referendum over of fresh elections.'⁴⁴⁰

At the failure of Cabinet Mission Plan, the newly arrived Viceroy, Mountbatten presented 3rd June Plan. In the new plan a referendum was proposed in NWFP. Nehru along with other Congress leaders accepted the 3rd June Plan without consulting Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It shocked him and consider it treachery on part of the Congress. He called a meeting of Khudai Khidmatgars, *Zalmay Pakhtun*, member of the parliament and provincial Jirga to decide their future in response to Congress acceptance of 3rd June Plan.⁴⁴¹ In the meeting it was decided that Pashtoon want

⁴³⁸ CID Diaries, Provincial Archives Peshawar, F. No. 753, SBP, p. 231-235.

⁴³⁹ Ullah, *The Emergence of All-India Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan*, 37.

⁴⁴⁰ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 154.

⁴⁴¹ Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*, reprint (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964), 193.

Independent Pakhtunistan, neither Pakistan nor India. Moreover, they demanded a “third option” to be given to them in the referendum which was not accepted by Congress, Muslim League and Mountbatten. In response to this, it was decided by the Khudai Khidmatgars and Abdul Ghaffar Khan to boycott the upcoming referendum in NWFP.⁴⁴²

Saadullah Khan like other Muslim League members, took active part in the referendum in favor of Muslim League and Pakistan.⁴⁴³ Saadullah Khan after partition was against the arbitrary policies of Abdul Qaiyum. He along with Pir of Manki Sharif complaint Mr. Jinnah against the arbitrary decisions of Abdul Qaiyum at the time of his visit to NWFP in April 1948.

⁴⁴² Shah, *North West Frontier Province*, 80.

⁴⁴³ Personal interview with Tahir Khan Umarzai, 9th January, 2016, Umarzai.



Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi

4.7. Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi

He was born in 1901 in Tangi Charsadda. He did his matric from Campbellpur high school. He was a landlord of his area. Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi was another important personality after Saadullah Khan in Charsadda, who remained dominant in the politics of Frontier Muslim League. He participated in many party meetings and remained a member of the provincial committee. He was the first person in the province to donate 5 lac rupees to Frontier Muslim League at the time of Quaid-i-Azam's visit to NWFP in 1945. He died on 21 September 1956.⁴⁴⁴

He participated in many meetings of Frontier League. Some of them were held in Charsadda which are as follows. On 14th and 21st November 1937, a meeting of the 'Khans of Charsadda' was held, in which they stressed the need for cooperation between the Khans. It was also decided that a next meeting should be organized on 13th December 1937 in which new office bearers of Charsadda Sub-division Jirga would be elected.⁴⁴⁵ In All India Muslim League's Conference at Calcutta in 1938, K.B. Mir Alam Khan along with K.B. Saadullah Khan, Sahib Hidayat Ullah Khan Umarzai, and Khan Sahib Abdullah Jan of Batagram participated. When Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah granted an interview to K.B. Saadullah Khan, Khan Sahib Amir Alam Khan Tangi suggested Jinnah to allocate money for Frontier Muslim League to build up Muslim League's propaganda in order to counter Frontier Congress and Red Shirts activities in the Frontier province.⁴⁴⁶

Another meeting of Muslim League was held in village Abazai (Charsadda) on 23 May 1938, which was attended by about 350 people. K.B. Mir Alam Khan and K.B. Saadullah Khan

⁴⁴⁴ Personal interview with Muhammad Anwar Khan of Tangi, January 11, 2016, Tangi.

⁴⁴⁵ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, 89.

⁴⁴⁶ Frontier Muslim League, C.I.D. Reports, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, p. 68-69.

Umarzai had delivered their speeches in which they criticized the policies of Red-shirts. Jamiat-ul-Ulema protested the appointment of K.B. Saadullah Khan Umarzai and K.B. Mir Alam Khan as members of the League's Working Committee on the basis that they did not enjoy the support of the people.⁴⁴⁷

On 4th July 1938, K.B. Mir Alam Khan was appointed as Salar-i-Azam who will organize a volunteer corps in Peshawar and Mardan districts for assistance of Muslim League candidates in by-elections of Haripur constituencies. Two processions of Muslim League volunteers had been reported which were organized in village Tangi. In the first procession there were 40 men and in the second procession, there were 300 men along with 40 in the uniform.⁴⁴⁸ Another meeting was held in Sherpao on 14th August 1938 in which a flag hoisting ceremony was performed. Many leaders delivered their speeches in which K.B. Saadullah Khan, K.B. Mir Alam Khan and Khadim Muhammad Akbar of Charsadda were prominent.

K.B. Mir Alam Khan had delivered speech in the meetings held in Tangi and Sherpao in 1938. K.B. Mir Alam Khan in his speech told the audience that the main goal of Muslim League was to achieve complete independence and for this purpose they would fight with the Englishmen and the Congress. He was given title of Khan Bahadar after British government gave title of Khan Bahadar to Saadullah Khan.⁴⁴⁹ He was arrested due to his participation in the civil disobedience movement against the Dr Khan Sahib's ministry. He renounced the title of Khan.⁴⁵⁰

Mohmands who migrated from the tribal area to Shabqadar, Charsadda, Mardan, and Peshawar were the supporters of the Muslim League. Bakht Jamal Khan Mohmand, was a

⁴⁴⁷ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, 89.

⁴⁴⁸ Frontier Muslim League, C.I.D. Reports, Directorate of Provincial Archives Peshawar, 117.

⁴⁴⁹ Personal interview with Muhammad Anwar Khan of Tangi, January 11, 2016, Tangi.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

Mohmand migrant, who settled in Mardan and made an alliance with Muslim League in 1942, was followed by the joining of other tribal Mohmands in 1943. Halimzai Mohmand welcomed many times, the meetings of the Muslim League under Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa in 1944.⁴⁵¹

On 11 October 1945, a large meeting was held in Sherpao, Charsadda in which K.B. Mir Alam Khan Tangi, K.B. Saadullah Khan Umarzai, Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Abdul Rab Nishtar were the prominent speakers. They were all agreed that the motive of Congress was to establish “Hindu Raj” in place of “British Raj”.⁴⁵² He renounced the title of Khan Bahadar at the time of announcement of Direct Action Day on 13th August 1946 along with other leaders of the Frontier League.

4.8. Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao

Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao was born in Hazara in 1893. He migrated from district Hazara to Sherpao in his early life. He became a big Khan and landlord of the area. He was one of the prominent member in the politics of Muslim League in NWFP. He was inspired from the religious teaching of Islam and therefore, he performed Haj in his early life. He was given the title of Khan Bahadar for his services and loyalty to his colonial masters. The titles Khan Bahadars were given to those who served British against their own people. The title was even not liked by their own sons. While interviewing Aftab Khan Sherpao about his father’s role in freedom movement, he became silent to answer, when he was asked that ‘why and for which service your father was given title of Khan Bahadar’.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Provincial Archives Peshawar, File No. 778, diary 22. 6. 1944.

⁴⁵² Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, 230.

⁴⁵³ Personal interview with Aftab Khan Sherpao, 23 January 2016, ‘Watan House’, Peshawar.

In his early age, he was inspired of Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum's moderate group. After Sir Sahibzada death on December 4, 1937, Aurangzeb become the leader of Independent Party and was invited to join Muslim League, followed by K.B. Ghulam Haider joining of the Frontier League. A meeting was held in Nowshera in 1937, in which Ghulam Haider Khan along with Saadullah Khan, Mir Alam Khan, K.B. Abdul Jabbar Khan, Hidayat Ullah, Mohammad Zaman Khan, Fazal Ur Rahman Khan and others from Charsadda participated.⁴⁵⁴

A meeting of Muslim League was held on 14th November 1937 in Tangi in which Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao participated. He was assisted by Mian Aftab Gul of Tangi, Fazli Qadir of Tangi and Aslam Khan of Tangi.⁴⁵⁵ On 12th December 1937, another meeting was held at Utmanzai which was attended by 150 Khans of Charsadda. In the meeting, the following members were elected as office bearers of the Frontier League. K.B. Saadullah Khan was elected as President while Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi was elected as Vice-President and K.B. Haider Khan as Secretary of Peshawar district Muslim League.⁴⁵⁶

On 19 October 1938, a meeting was held at Bannu in which K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan was elected as a President of the Bannu district as well as a member of the Provincial Committee. When the Central Action Committee of the League gave task to organizational committee to appoint both provincial and district organization of the party, Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao was appointed as member of organizing committee of the League for Peshawar district.⁴⁵⁷ When the elections for the provincial Muslim League office bearers was held in November 1940, Ghulam Haider Khan was elected as the President of Bannu district.

⁴⁵⁴ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 38.

⁴⁵⁵ Provincial Archives Peshawar, File No. 769, Diary No. 16, 21.4.39, p. 153.

⁴⁵⁶ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, 89.

⁴⁵⁷ Provincial Archives Peshawar, File No. 769, Diary No. 16, 21.4.39, 216.

In October 1945, the Khaliq-Ismail Committee⁴⁵⁸ directed the Central Board of League to appoint three boards for the arrangement of elections to come. Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan Sherpao was elected as member of the Board of Finance and Khan Bahadar Mir Alam Khan of Tangi was appointed as member of the Board of Elections.⁴⁵⁹ When the re-organization of the party took place in April 1946, K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan was elected as member of the organizing committee of the Peshawar district.⁴⁶⁰

The records of the Police Secret Reports shows that leaders like Ghulam Haider Khan, Yussaf Khattak, Mohammad Ali Hoti, Ibrahim Jhagra and Arbab Noor Muhammad participated and addressed in local meetings in their respective areas. In a meeting held on 13th August 1946, K.B. Haider Khan Sherpao like other leaders renounced the title of Khan Bahadar back to the British government on the advice of Quaid-i-Azam.⁴⁶¹ He was arrested in the civil disobedience movement of Muslim League against Khan Sahib's ministry in March 1947. He was kept in Central Jail Peshawar.⁴⁶²

He was one of the most fortunate person whose two sons became center of the politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa after partition. His son, Hayat Khan Sherpao was also active in Muslim League but later he became supporter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He played a vital role in making Pakistan People's Party popular in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He later remained Governor and Senior Minister of the province. After his tragic death in a bomb in Peshawar University on 8th February

⁴⁵⁸ A Committee appointed by the Central Parliamentary Board of League to visit Frontier in order to make arrangement for the next election in NWFP.

⁴⁵⁹ Khan, *The Role of NWFP in the Freedom Struggle*, 199-200.

⁴⁶⁰ Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, 111.

⁴⁶¹ Ahmad, *The Frontier Muslim League 1913-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, 269.

⁴⁶² Personal interview with Aftab Khan Sherpao, 23 January 2016, 'Watan House', Peshawar.

1975,⁴⁶³ Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao inherited his legacy in the province and became premier of the province twice and is still active in politics.

To sum up, one can say that in Frontier Muslim League was mainly dominated by big Khans like K.B. Saadullah Khan, K.B. Amir Alam Khan, K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan and Sardar Aurangzeb and later by Abdul Qaiyum, a convert from the Frontier Congress. Khan Bahadars from Charsadda were the supporters of the British who in return received huge amount of land from the British government. Later, these Khans joined Frontier Muslim League. They joined Muslim League because the policies of Dr Khan Sahib ministry in his first ministry were against the landlords and *Jagirdaars*. These Khans dominated Frontier League in later 1930s decade but they failed to get popular support particularly in Charsadda and generally in NWFP. No one received ticket for the 1946 elections in NWFP.⁴⁶⁴ Saadullah Khan was once elected on landlord seat and as an independent member of the provincial assembly before joining Muslim League. They failed to organize big rallies in their areas because people were against them and were the supporters of Khudai Khidmatgars. Charsadda remained a strong zone of Khudai Khidmatgars because Ghaffar Khan was from Charsadda and his party was well established in Charsadda before Muslim League.

⁴⁶³ Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey To Disillusionment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 254.

⁴⁶⁴ Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam, and Nationalism*, 161-62.

Conclusion

During the British Imperial rule, Charsadda had remained at the forefront of various religio-political movements in the subcontinent. The people of this area joined the ranks of those Muslim freedom fighters who wanted to get rid of the British Imperialism. During the British rule, many individuals appeared at the political scene of Charsadda. Fazli Wahid commonly known in history as Haji Sahib of Turangzai (Charsadda), Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Utmanzai (Charsadda), and later on, leaders from Frontier Muslim League such as K.B. Saadullah Khan of Umarzai, Khan Sahib Mir Alam Khan of Tangi, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Haider Khan of Sherpao, Khalid Hussain Khan and Mohammad Zaman Khan were prominent leaders from Charsadda, who remained on the scene of Frontier Muslim League in their freedom struggle but their line of actions were different from Khudai Khidmatgars.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Haji Sahib of Turangzai appeared on the horizon of NWFP, participating in the freedom struggle against the British rule. He first tried to reform the Pashtuns by establishing many religious *madrassas* for the social uplift of the Pashtuns in Charsadda. The whole Pashtun belt was full of social evils such as *Tarburwali* (cousins fight over property), and lavish spending on marriages and funerals etc. Haji Sahib of Turangzai first tried to eradicate these social evils from the Pashtuns first and secondly, he enabled them to get rid of the colonial rule in India. He was assisted by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his social reform movement but they become separated because the later discord the use of violence in the freedom movement against the colonial masters. In his *Jihad* movement, Haji Sahib was assisted by many of his faithful friends and allies. Among them Babara Mulla, Mulla Sahib of Chaknawar, Faqir of Alingar, and Musa Khan Mohmand were most prominent who actively took part in Haji Sahib's movement against the colonial rule.

There were certain reasons which greatly affected and hampered his *Jihad* movement. Firstly, his followers and *Lashkar* were not fully trained and were without modern weapons as compared to the British soldiers, who were well trained and well equipped with arms. Many times, British forces used air crafts to defeat the tribal *Lashkar*. Moreover, the Afghan Amir Habibullah was not prepared to support Haji Sahib against the British power. The King of Afghanistan convinced the tribal people that the authority to declare war against British only lies with him and without his permission, *Jihad* was unlawful. The absence of *Sheikh-al-Hind* from the scene was another disadvantage for Haji Sahib's *Jihad* movement.

The effect of his movement was that tribal feuds were reduced to a large extent. His followers boycotted the British courts and all other institutions. Many national *Jirgas* were formed to replace the British courts system. His disciples opened many *madrassas* in many parts of the province to provide equal education to the people as a response to the British school system.

Haji Sahib of Turangzai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan tried to reform the Pashtun society which was full of social evils. Abdul Ghaffar Khan had adopted non-violent freedom struggle against the British rule. Both leaders worked together in establishing many *madrassas* (schools) in Charsadda and other parts of the province. Abdul Ghaffar Khan disapproved the violent Jihad movement of Haji Sahib against the British rule and became separated. Muslim League on the other hand, was not a popular party in NWFP because of its pro-British policy and the influence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the region.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan played an important role in the freedom struggle against the colonial rule. He continued Haji Sahib's reform movement of Pashtoon for which he established *Anjuman-e-Islahul Afaghina* in order to reform the Pashtuns whose lives were full of social evils. This

movement was a sincere movement for the uplift of Pashtun society. His social reform movement turned into a political movement under the name of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. The cruel and imperialist policies of the British government forced him to make an alliance with the Congress. It was need of time, as the British government had already decided to crush the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, due to which he merge his Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in the Provincial Congress but kept his distinct identity. The success of Congress in NWFP was due to the influence of Ghaffar Khan and Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and not due to the influence of Congress. It was an important province for Congress because it served the claim of Congress as the only Indian political party who had the support of both Muslims and Hindus.

Frontier Muslim League was mainly dominated by big Khans like K.B. Saadullah Khan, K.B. Amir Alam Khan, K.B. Ghulam Haider Khan and later by Abdul Qayyum Khan, a convert from the Provincial Congress, till partition. The Frontier Muslim League leaders from Charsadda were the loyals of the British government who were given titles of Khan Bahadars for their services to the government and when they joined Muslim League, they were supported by the British against the strong Khudai Khidmatgars because they were the real hurdle in the way of British government. They dominated Frontier League but failed to get popular support in Charsadda and NWFP. No one received ticket for 1946 elections in NWFP. Saadullah Khan was once elected on landlord seat and also as an independent member of the assembly before joining Muslim League. He remained the President and Vice-President of Frontier League from 1938-40. In 1940s decade, he develop some personal clashes with Sardar Aurangzeb due to which he voted against Aurangzeb's ministry at the time of vote of no-confidence. These Muslim Leaders from Charsadda had failed to organize big rallies in their areas because people were against them and were the supporters of Khudai Khidmatgars. Charsadda had remained a strong zone of Khudai Khidmatgars

because Ghaffar Khan was from Charsadda and his party was well established in Charsadda before Muslim League.

Frontier Muslim League till 1946, was not a mass political party in the province. In order to show its presence, Muslim League had started agitational politics in the shape of civil disobedience movement against the Khan Sahib's ministry, because Frontier Muslim League was not in a position to dismiss Khan's ministry through constitutional means. They used the slogan of 'Islam in Danger', and cash the Communal violence in Calcutta and Bihar in their favor. Moreover, Frontier Muslim League and Jinnah wanted to impose section 93 and the dismissal of Khan Sahib's ministry, and announcement of fresh elections. As stated in third chapter, it was the task given to Viceroy, to unite all the Muslim majority provinces to become part of Pakistan. In case of Pakistan, it was difficult for both Muslim League and Viceroy to get the support of NWFP provincial assembly in favor of Pakistan. NWFP provincial assembly was not given the power to decide their destiny as was given to Sindh, Punjab and Bengal.

The boycott of Khudai Khidmatgars helped Frontier Muslim League to get majority vote in the referendum. Abdul Ghaffar Khan had already stated before the 3rd June Plan that Muslims of NWFP will never want to be part of Hindu dominated group, as was suggested in Cabinet Mission Plan. Patel and Nehru played their role in accepting 3rd June Plan and referendum in NWFP. They used and cheated Ghaffar Khan for their political gains. After partition, Abdul Ghaffar Khan took an oath of allegiance to Pakistan, but he was looked with suspicion and was labelled as traitor throughout his life. After partition he worked for the provincial autonomy and renaming the name of the province. He remained in prison for more than two decades during his struggle for the uplift and freedom of the people of NWFP.

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