

# **Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of the Haji Sahib Turangzai's Movement**

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Resisting the British:  
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To  
My family



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## Preface

The Colonization of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world has multiplied the existing problems of the indigenous people with no exception though the nature of problems might be variant in different countries. The present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan was colonized by the British in 1849 and was given a special status along with some other peripheral area. The natives of the area resisted with their meager available resources but failed to oust the British. Haji Sahib Turangzai, was perhaps the first person who realized that multi-dimensional struggle was needed to reform the people. A traditionally educated Haji Sahib Turangzai initiated a movement which aimed at promoting a blend of modern schooling and traditional education. He also tried to resolve their mutual differences with the assistance of centuries old *jargah* system. At the same time he introduced politics of non-cooperation, much earlier than M. K. Gandhi. The colonial authorities, however, could not tolerate his activities and he was arrested. The British Indian government's policies changed his complete outlook and he turned against the authorities. He migrated to tribal areas and remained busy in fighting against the colonial forces till his death. The Movement, initiated by Haji Sahib did not end with his migration. Rather Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other disciples of Haji Sahib not only continued the educational and social reformation but also occupied the politics of the province for the decades to come.

I must acknowledge the role of my teacher Prof. Ghulam Taqi Bangash (b. 1949-d. 2015), who developed my interest in writing. Despite my weaknesses and other hindrances, his long lectures on the importance of research developed my passion for research.

The title is based on my M. Phil. Dissertation, entitled 'Haji Sahib of Turangzai: His Life and Time' submitted to the Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (Pakistan) in 2004, which was revised, improved, and turned into a book.

Many individuals have contributed a lot in completion of this work. I am highly indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, for his scholarly and persistent guidance, which was always there whenever I needed during the course of study and beyond.

I feel indebted to Prof. Dushka H. Saiyid, the then Chairperson, Department of History, for the support and encouragement she

provided during my stay at the department. I am grateful to my teachers Prof. Sikandar Hayat, Prof. Rafique Afzal and Prof. Aslam Syed, who not only added to my skills but also extended every possible support during the entire course of study period. I also want to acknowledge the role of Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Islamia College, Peshawar, for his guidance during my study at the college and after.

The completion of this work was possible with the assistance of many individuals including the staff of NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Provincial Archives Peshawar; staff of the libraries of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad; Islamia College Peshawar, Department of History, and Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar; Mr. Adnan Ullah Arbab, Research Officer, Quaid-i-Azam Academy Islamabad; Mr. Bashir Rabbani, Umarzai, Charsadda and Mr. Fazli Alim, Dosehra, Charsadda; Mr. Iftikhar Ali and Mr. Shaharyar, Lecturers in English, Government Postgraduate College Swabi.

I must recall the memory of my friend Rashid Ahmad Lakho (d. 2002), who discussed various aspects of my thesis but did not live to see this work accomplished.

Last but not the least, I am thankful, indeed to my father for financial help and encouragement throughout my work and my brother Muhammad Farooq and his family for providing me peace at his home, while collecting material in Peshawar.

The publication of the book was made possible by the constant help of Prof. Sultan-i-Rome, Government Postgraduate Jahanzeb College Saidu Sharif, Swat, for his guidance and proof reading of the script; Miss Fauzia Rahman, PhD Candidate, Global Studies in Education, Department of Educational Policy Organization and Leadership, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA and Rizwan Khattak, PhD Candidate, Department of Botany, University of Peshawar.

I am solely responsible for the opinion expressed and errors, if any.

Altaf Qadir

## Introduction

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of Pakistan (formerly North-West Frontier Province) has played a vital role in shaping the history of both the Sub-Continent and Central Asia alike. In 1901, on its separation from the Punjab, the British Indian government divided the area into two administrative units: the settled area and tribal territory. The settled area was divided into five administrative districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. The tribal area consisted of five political agencies i.e. Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan.<sup>1</sup>

After the defeat of the Sikhs in the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49), the North-West Frontier like other Sikh territories came under the British rule. Since their occupation of the region, and until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province, as many as sixty-two expeditions were sent against Pukhtun<sup>2</sup> tribes. The British wanted to counter Russian aggression in all possible ways and for that purpose wanted to reach the scientific boundary of South Asia—Hindu Kush, an act that people of these remote areas could not tolerate.<sup>3</sup> During the British rule many individuals appeared at the political scene of the North-West Frontier. Some of them including Hadda Mulla, Sartor Faqir, Pawinda Mulla, Chaknawar Mulla and Haji Sahib Turangzai were identified as anti-British and intolerant of the British *Raj* in their respective areas.

Haji Sahib Turangzai was different in some ways as he initiated a reform movement instead of fighting the alien masters. He aimed at the social reformation of the Pukhtuns. He first took steps to reform their social life according to the teachings of the *Sharia* and Pukhtun traditions and was assisted by Pukhtun intelligentsia in his

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1 Khyber Agency was formed in 1879, Kurram Agency in 1892, the Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral popularly known as Malakand agency and North Waziristan agency in 1895 and South Waziristan agency was formed in 1896.

2 The Pukhtuns are also called Pashtoons, Pushtoons and Pakhtuns. The names depend on ascent and dialects of different areas.

3 The South Asia and Central Asia is geographically divided by Hindu Kush but ethnically and culturally the people are divided by Indus.

reform movement. It was the first of its nature in Pukhtun society.<sup>4</sup> Haji Sahib's main concern remained preaching against all sorts of evils including spending lavishly on marriages, circumcision celebrations, prevention of intoxicants and faction fighting. With the passage of time his movement spread in the whole of the then Peshawar district. On Haji Sahib's advice, *jargay* were formed in different areas parallel to that of officially formed *jargay*. British courts and other institutions were boycotted. Haji Sahib realized that social uplift was impossible without education. A network of *azad madaris* were formed to educate the Pukhtun youth. Such formal *madaris*<sup>5</sup> were the first indigenous initiative and the response of the people was tremendous. Children flocked to these institutions, as education was free. All details are not available about the exact number of these schools and its finances but it seems that they were financed through donations. The colonial authorities did not tolerate the movement and Haji Sahib was arrested, and to be released only on surety bond. His surety lapsed in March 1915, and he left his home town for tribal area in June 1915.

The policies of the *Raj* completely changed the outlook of Haji Sahib. In collaboration with the tribal leaders, he started an armed struggle against British Imperialism. In the tribal areas, his activities were against the British and its allowance holders. However, though on a small scale, he continued his reform movement in the tribal belt as well. In some cases he got assistance from the Afghan government. He had links with anti-British elements in India and the tribal areas.

The movement of Haji Sahib impacted Pukhtun society to a great extent. There was the realization that the only way out was through self-reformation based upon the core tenets of Islam and Pukhtun traditions. Faction fighting was somewhat reduced. Schools were opened in different parts of the Peshawar district initially, followed by rest of the province. Last but not the least, Abdul Ghaffar Khan popularly known as Bacha Khan, trained by

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4 A Movement was started by Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi (1786-1831) in the Peshawar valley but neither he was ethnically Pukhtun nor belonged to the area.

5 It is relevant to note that earlier there was no *madrassah* system in Pukhtun areas. However, the youth used to learn writing and basics of religion in every mosque. Moreover, there were *ulama* in different areas where the youth used to get knowledge.

Haji Sahib, initiated a movement which occupied the politics of the province for decades to come.

Sufficient research has not been conducted on the reform and resistance movement of Haji Sahib Turangzai. A variety of books are available on the complex nature of the North-West Frontier. There are many writers who had focused on the different aspects of the region, its strategic importance and the people of the area. Lal Baha's *N-W. F. P. Administration under the British Rule, 1901-1919*, deals with the region under the British after the formation of the new province. The author discusses the strategic importance of the province, the nature of the society and development of various fields such as education, revenue and agriculture under the colonial administration.

A comprehensive work is Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah's *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in North-West Frontier Province, 1937-47*. The author discusses the complex nature of Pukhtun society, their attachment to religion and their anti-Imperial sentiments. Additionally, he discusses the rise of reform movements under the Pukhtun intelligentsia. However, his main focus remains on the socio-political history of the province.

Allah Bakhsh Yusafi's *Sarhad aur Jadujahad-i-Azadi* (Urdu) discusses the colonial policies that are responsible for the Pukhtun's backwardness.

Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans: 550 BC-AD 1957* is a good source on the history of the Pukhtuns, despite his colonial perspective. Apart from other chapters, he discusses in detail the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi, his struggle against the Sikhs and his relation with the Pukhtuns. A detailed account also deals with the Pukhtun's resistance to the British government.

Abdul Wali Khan in *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari* (Pukhtu), describes in detail the society, British occupation and their policies in the area, and the rise of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement. The book contains some information about Haji Sahib but lacks detail.

Ghulam Rasul Mihr's *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin* (Urdu) is an exclusive work on the activities of the Mujahidin in the tribal areas. He discusses in details the movement of Mahmud-ul- Hassan alias Shaikh ul Hind and its connection with Haji Sahib Turangzai.

There is a scarcity of works exclusively on the life and achievements of Haji Sahib Turangzai. Some writers, who had

discussed the Pukhtun leaders and Sufis, had given similar information about the Haji Sahib. They include Muhammad Shafi Sabir in *Sarfarushan Sarhad* (Urdu), Muhammad Amir Shah Qadri in his *Ulama wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad* (Urdu), and few others.

An exclusive book on Haji Sahib's life and achievements is Aziz Javid's *Bar-e-Sagheer Pak wa Hind ka Azeem Mujahid: Haji Sahib of Turangzai*. However, there are some serious reservations on the sources, cited by the author.

Nasar Ullah Khan Nasar's *Da Turangzu Haji Sahib* (Pukhtu) is a primary source on the life of Haji Sahib. He gives few details but his main objective is promotion of the Pukhtu language rather than the Haji Sahib's life.

A comprehensive work in poetic form, is written by Noor Muhammad entitled *Jangnama da Ghazi Haji Sahib da Turangzo* (Pukhtu). He has written a good account of Haji Sahib's life and time. He has also focused on the role played by the Haji Sahib in the politics of Afghanistan. A complete account of Haji Sahib's campaign in Mohmand area has also been given.

Sheheryar Khan has written a Master's thesis entitled *Haji Sahib of Turangzai: A Profile*, at the Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar in 2001. He has utilized official sources but the thesis lacks proper articulation and methodology.

A lot of material is available in records section of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives Peshawar. It includes Political Diaries (Weekly), NWFP Political Dairies (Fortnightly), Political Dairies Mohmand, Border Administration Report and Special Branch Police Reports.

The book frames the life of Haji Sahib and his contribution to the reform and resistance movement by embedding it within the British colonial occupation of Pukhtuns' areas. These factors have been elaborated in this monograph which contributed to Haji Sahib's reform movement. The British policies toward Pukhtuns have been discussed with care. The reform movement of Haji Sahib and its failure due to Colonial policies is given a sufficient space. Various phases of Haji Sahib's life are also elaborated.

The response of the people to Haji Sahib's movement in the district of Peshawar and adjacent tribal areas has been brought under discussion. Moreover, Haji Sahib's influence over the Pukhtun intelligentsia, which played a key role in shaping the socio-

political history of the North-West Frontier, also forms an important part of this work.

Apart from conducting research in the NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Provincial Archives Peshawar, secondary sources in various libraries were located. In this regard, the libraries of the Area Study Centre (Central Asia, Russia and China), Pakistan Study Centre, Department of History and Islamia College Peshawar were utilized.

Personal interviews were also conducted. Sayyid Khushal Bacha, grandson of Haji Sahib, helped a lot in this regard. He provided information regarding Haji Sahib's movement and his personal life. Muhammad Siddiq Bacha, son of Sher Ullah popularly known Palo Dhand Faqir Sahib, a disciple of Haji Sahib also assisted a lot. He elaborated upon the impact of Haji Sahib's movement on Pukhtun society.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, the book is divided into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and the Colonial policy towards Pukhtuns. Chapter two highlights Haji Sahib's family, his social and educational reforms. Chapter three discusses his political reforms. Chapter four emphasizes on Haji Sahib's activities against the colonial authorities as well as Haji Sahib's role in the shaping of politics in Afghanistan. Chapter five provides details regarding Haji Sahib's connection with anti-British elements and the impact of Haji Sahib's movement on Pukhtun society.

# Chapter 1

## The North-West Frontier: Historical Background

The region, designated by the British as the North-West Frontier Province (hereafter NWFP),<sup>1</sup> has played a vital role in shaping Indian and Central Asian history, due to its strategic importance. It remained a passage for the invaders from Central Asia and South Asia, attacking on, either side, according to the historical archive. The NWFP, now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is situated 34°0'0" north latitude and 71°19'12" east longitude.<sup>2</sup> The greatest length of the province before partition of the sub-continent was 408 miles and, its greatest breadth 279 miles;<sup>3</sup> the total area being approximately 74,521 km (28,772.7 sqml).<sup>4</sup> To its north lay Hindukush, to the south Balochistan and Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab; Kashmir and the Punjab lay to its east and Afghanistan to its west. The province was thus divided into the cis-Indus district of Hazara and some area of

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- 1 N-W.F.P. was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010 according to one of the clauses of 18th Amendment of the 1973 Constituion of Pakistan.
  - 2 [http://toolserver.org/~geohack/geohack.php?pagename=Khyber\\_Pakhtunkhwa&params=34.00\\_N\\_71.32\\_E](http://toolserver.org/~geohack/geohack.php?pagename=Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa&params=34.00_N_71.32_E) accessed on 05.08.2010. However another source has showed it 35° 109'11" north latitude and 73°00'65" east longitude.  
<http://www.distancesfrom.com/pk/patan-khyberpakhtunkhwa-latitude-longitude-patan-khyberpakhtunkhwa-latitude-patan-khyberpakhtunkhwa-/LatLongHistory/1926520.aspx> accessed on 05.08.2013.
  - 3 *Census of India 1911, Vol. XIII, North West Frontier Province* (Peshawar: 1912), p. 7, cited by Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in North West Frontier Province, 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999). Henceforth Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*.
  - 4 <http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/aboutus/Area-Population.php> accessed on 05.08.2013.



Kohistan, and the trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.<sup>5</sup>

For centuries the region was a passage for invaders and immigrants. In around 1500 B.C., a section of the Aryans crossed it, followed by Alexander the Great twelve hundred years later and then a series of invaders including the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Kushans, Huns, Persians, Tartars, Mongols, Turks, Afghans and Mughuls. The situation is unchanged today and the area is a bone of contention between many state and non-state actors vying for supremacy.<sup>6</sup> Few of the invaders settled permanently in the region, but most probably due to lack of economic resources others simply passing through enroute to their respective destinations. The politics of the region changed when the Mughals established themselves in Delhi and began to expand into the Pukhtun areas. They fought the Pukhtuns of this area many times, resulting in disastrous defeat at times. One such glaring example was the famous battle fought between the two aforesaid rivals in 1586 in Karakar,<sup>7</sup> when the Mughal army faced a humiliating defeat.<sup>8</sup> The Mughals, after subduing some Pukhtun tribes,<sup>9</sup> governed from Peshawar and Kabul. Their main purpose was to control the routes leading to Kabul. In the 18th century, after the death of Nadir Shah (d. 1747) of Persia, Ahmad Shah Abdali (d. 1773) emerged and formed the kingdom of Afghanistan. After consolidating his power, he

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5 Lal Baha, *NWFP Administration under British Rule, 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), p. 1. Henceforth Baha, *NWFP Administration*.

6 One may refer to USSR and USA struggle in the area in the previous century and the recent ongoing war on terror and resistance from Afghanistan to the US forces.

7 Karakar is located in present Buner district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

8 S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1997), p. 246. Henceforth Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*.

9 In this entire work, we are not using the terms tribe and tribal in the Colonial connotation rather a group of people living according to their set up with no or limited state interference.

expanded his authority to some parts of Northern India including Punjab. The Pukhtuns accompanied him in the third battle of Panipat (1761). In their internal affairs, however, the majority of the Pukhtun tribes remained independent. Factional feuds and civil war resulted in the decline of the Sadduzai, followed by the emergence of Sikhs in the Punjab. The Sikhs under Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore in 1799 and within two decades occupied parts of the North-West Frontier. However, their authority was confined to places where Sikh troops were stationed. They were unable to collect the revenue tax without the help of the troops.<sup>10</sup> Another noteworthy event was the Jihad Movement launched by Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi against the Sikhs. He selected the North-West Frontier due to its strategic location, its proximity with independent Muslim areas to the north, and the nature of the Pukhtun tribesmen. He thought that he might be able to acquire support from Afghanistan and other neighbouring princes. He installed himself *Amir al-Mominin* (commander of the faithful) and announced certain measures for the imposition of *sharia*. The economic burden in the shape of *ushar*, marriages of their daughters and sisters to Indians or *Hindki* were not accepted. The Pukhtuns in general and Mandanr in particular rose against the Mujahidin and expelled them from the Peshawar valley after killing some of them. The Mujahidin went to Kaghan valley and Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi was defeated and killed by the Sikhs in Balakot along with few hundred Mujahidin.<sup>11</sup> Apart from the above aforementioned, there were other factors that contributed to the failure of the Jihad movement. The remnants of the Mujahidin established their colonies in the mountainous area of the Yusafzais.<sup>12</sup>

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10 Allah Bakhsh Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi* (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1968), p. 24. Henceforth Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*.

11 Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, n.d.), p. 1. Henceforth Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*. See also Altaf Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective* (Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015).

12 Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans: BC 550-AD 1957* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 304-305. Henceforth Caroe, *The Pathans*.

In 1843, Sindh was annexed by the English. To defend their boundary a system of local irregular force was introduced and it was named the Sindh Frontier Force. It was a local force under the English officers. The boundary was about 150 miles and it was successfully protected. However, after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the colonial authorities faced a different situation. The border there was 800 miles and unlike Sindh, there was no desert between the English territory and the tribes' possessions. Moreover, unlike Sindhis and Balochs, Pukhtun tribesmen were not blind followers of their chiefs. For defense purpose, a force was raised under limited English officers on the footing of Sindh. The force was kept under Brigadier-General, directly subordinate to the Punjab government. This force was stationed in seven cantonments. For administrative purpose, the area was divided into five districts, and the administration was conducted by members of the Punjab Commission, who generally came from the military background.<sup>13</sup>

### **Close Border and Forward Policies under the British Colonial Authority**

After the annexation of the Punjab, for nearly thirteen years, the close border system was in practice. That system prevented district officers from any intervention in trans-border tribal affairs. The system was introduced by Lawrence, a member of the Punjab Commission, and was strictly followed by men like Edwardes, Mackson, James Abbott, Nicholson, and Reynell Talyer, pillars of the colonial administration in the North-West Frontier.<sup>14</sup> Though, under that system, tribesmen were well received in the English territory, and were offered jobs but intervention in their affairs was not allowed. With the passage of time, some officers of the Punjab Commission were not willing to follow the said

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13 Thomas Henry Thornton, *Colonel Sir Roberts Sandeman* (reprint) (Quetta: Goshai-i-Adab, 1977), pp. 15-17. Henceforth Thornton, *Sandeman*.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

policy,<sup>15</sup> especially after the uprising of 1857 and subsequent replacing of East India Company's rule by the Crown. They were of the opinion that non-intervention was not in the interests of the British. Two immediate factors gave popularity to their views. Firstly, the Mujahidin—remnants of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi, who were previously residing in different locations but finally settled in Malka in the Mahabanr range.<sup>16</sup> Those Mujahidin were mainly Hindustanis. They were named Wahabis<sup>17</sup> and Hindustani Fanatics by the colonial authorities. It was a common practice of the Mujahidin to attack the British territory and create law and order situation. In 1863, the British Indian government decided to destroy the Mujahidin colony at Malka. The authorities did not take in confidence the tribes of Buner. The government's act annoyed the tribal chiefs of Buner and huge force was deployed in the Ambela Campaign.<sup>18</sup> However, the issue was resolved with the active support of the local tribal *jargah*.<sup>19</sup>

The second disturbing factor for the British Indian government was the Russian advance in Central Asia. In June 1865, Tashkent was annexed by Russia. Two years later, Samarkand faced the same fate, and in 1869 the Amir of Bukhara was forced into a treaty, thus Russian influence was extended to the northern boundary of Afghanistan.

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15 D.S. Richards, *The Savage Frontier: The Story of Anglo-Afghan Wars* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 74-75. Hereafter Richards, *The Savage Frontier*.

16 Malka is situated in Amazi area of the present district Buner, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

17 Wahabis are followers of Muhammad (d. 1792) bin Abdul Wahab of Najad. They follow none of the five major jurists, prefer to take direct guidance from Quran and traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). They call themselves Salafi but usually people call them *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

18 The sole objective of the Ambela Campaign 1863 was to destroy the Mujahidin colony at Malka, evident from the British officers' memoirs which they wrote after the episode. See John Miller Adye, *Sitana: A Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Afghanistan in 1863* (reprint) (London: Adamant Media Corporation, 2002) and Captain Fosbery, *The Umbeyla Campaign*, [www.tribalanalysiscentre.com](http://www.tribalanalysiscentre.com) accessed on 31 March 2010.

19 Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 365-68.

Khiva fell into Russian hands in 1873. It alarmed Amir Sher Ali Khan of Afghanistan to seek British help. An Afghan envoy was dispatched to Simla, but the cool response of the British government disappointed the Amir, who started direct negotiations with Russia. In the meantime, the Conservative Party came into power after winning the election in Britain. Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, urged the Governor-General of India, Lord Northbrook, to press Amir Sher Ali Khan to accept British agents in Herat, to monitor developments on Central Asia. Lord Northbrook did not agree and resigned. Lord Lytton, an enthusiastic supporter of Salisbury's policy, was appointed the new Governor-General.

Lord Lytton informed Amir Sher Ali Khan that a special envoy was going to be sent to his court to discuss matters of mutual interest. Amir Sher Ali Khan knew that if British agents were to be admitted to the court, Russia would demand the same privilege. Lord Lytton warned Amir Sher Ali Khan that a refusal to receive the British envoy would be regarded as an unfriendly act, which might lead to something unhappy,<sup>20</sup> and they would reconsider the previous treaties obligations, with the exception of the terms of the Treaty of Peshawar, 1855.<sup>21</sup> The British felt its Indian dominion in danger, only from the North-West. It was their only defence line—India is surrounded by the sea; and British often referred as the 'Prince of Sea'; it did not feel threatened from any other quarter. Earlier, it was satisfied due to the enmity between the Ottomans and the Russians, but the Ottoman Empire was weakened by then. The British wanted to make Amir Sher Ali Khan their ally against Russia or occupy as

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20 Richards, *The Savage Frontier*, pp. 80-82.

21 After the First Anglo-Afghan War, the Russians, interested in the territories of Central Asia, advanced southward. The British, hoping to stop Russian advance, resumed relations with Dost Muhammad Khan in 1854. In 1855 the Treaty of Peshawar proclaimed respect for Afghanistan's and Britain's territorial integrity and declared each to be friends of each other's friends and enemies of each other enemies. Nyrop, Richard F. and Donald M. Seekins, eds., *Afghanistan a Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1986), pp. 30-31.

much land from Afghanistan, as it needed to block Russia, to reach the scientific boundary of South Asia, i.e. Hindukush.<sup>22</sup> Lord Lytton wanted to station political observers in Kabul and Herat. Amir Sher Ali Khan showed his unwillingness in this regard and it eventually resulted in the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) and the flight of the Amir to Central Asia. After his escape, his son Yaqub Khan was installed on the throne of Kabul. The new Amir was compelled to accept the terms of the British government: (a) that the foreign relations of Afghanistan would be in British control, (b) British missions would be stationed in Kabul and other cities and (c) Khyber, Kurram, Pishin and Sibi were to be administered by the British.<sup>23</sup> However, the Afghans were unwilling to accept foreign authority over them and the mission members were killed in Kabul. Once again Afghanistan was attacked and after initial success, British forces were defeated in Maiwand. Although the details of the Second Anglo-Afghan War are out of the scope of this study, what is central to this discussion is the forward policy and the consequent repercussions for the Pukhtuns. The British now came to the conclusion that the physical occupation of Afghanistan was near to impossible, so Amir Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Amir Sher Ali Khan, who was in exile in Turkistan was brought back and given the throne of Kabul. Nevertheless, under the 'Treaty of Gandamak' he could not establish diplomatic relations with Russia.<sup>24</sup> The British wanted to move forward, but due to the fear of Russia they were unable to do so. However, the British achieved a great

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22 Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. I (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Chapzai, 1992), p. 320. Henceforth Khan, *Bacha Khan*.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 225-28.

24 Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 380-82. The Treaty of Gandamak officially ended the first phase of the Second Anglo-Afghan War. Afghanistan ceded various areas to British India. It was signed by Muhammad Yaqub Khan, Amir of Afghanistan, and Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari representing the British's Government of India on 26 May, 1879, at a British army camp near the village of Gandamak, about seventy miles east of Kabul. The treaty was ratified by Lord Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Viceroy of India, on 30 May, 1879. Most historical writings consider the Treaty of Gandamak as a prelude to the second phase of the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

victory through its mission to Afghanistan led by Henry Mortimer Durand. As a result of this visit, Amir Abdur Rahman signed the Durand Line Agreement in 1893; a continued controversy. Even though the treatise was of no benefit to Afghanistan, Amir Abdur Rahman accepted it. The Amir knew that Russia was unable to support him<sup>25</sup> and he did not have the personal capacity to defeat the British. According to traditional accounts, he accepted the agreement under duress and compulsion. It was so unnatural that even families were divided.<sup>26</sup>

Forward move was also pursued in the north, with the object of securing control over the passes in eastern Hindukush. Gilgit agency was formed in 1889. Taking advantage of the Chitral ruler's death, garrisons were installed in Hunza and some other places.<sup>27</sup> Russia took forward move in Pamir and the British sent her troops to Chitral, via Dir. The Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral popularly known as Malakand Agency was formed after this campaign, with which other areas were linked later on. Being an important area, Malakand was kept under the direct control of the Government of India.<sup>28</sup>

The Pukhtun tribes were annoyed by this forward move and the demarcation of Durand Line. They were unhappy with the British garrisons in Chakdarra, Malakand and various important posts, and the inevitable outcome was the uprising of 1897. For several months, there was fighting in the Frontier. Due to the lack of resources and central command and coordination, the tribesmen could not succeed,<sup>29</sup> but what resulted was the growing desire for the formation of a new province. This idea was not something new. It came out of the strengthening views of officers of the Punjab Commission.

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25 Khan, *Bacha Khan*, p. 327.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 340-45.

27 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 7.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

29 Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 380-82.

### **The Formation of North-West Frontier Province**

On assuming the office as Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, an expert on Central Asian affairs, decided to solve the problems of the Frontier. He knew the nature of the Pukhtun tribes and was aware that their economic condition was very weak. So giving them jobs in the local militia could serve several objectives. It would help in making the law and order situation better; the British troops would be stationed in cantonments behind them, thus reducing the expenditure. Moreover, the province would be under direct control of the Government of India, to provide better administration of the area from a strategic point of view.<sup>30</sup> The formation of the North-West Frontier Province was thus enacted on 9 November, 1901. The formal inauguration of the NWFP took place on 26 April 1902. The head of the new province was a Chief Commissioner/Agent to the Governor-General, directly responsible to the Government of India. Harold Deane was appointed the first head of the province; in the capacity of Agent to Governor-General, he was responsible to manage relations with the border tribes; while as Chief Commissioner, he exercised the civil authority over the province.<sup>31</sup> Some consider it a division of the Pukhtuns. Afghanistan was treated as a buffer state. The Durand line was another division, and to the east of the Durand line there was the 'Settled Area' and the 'Tribal Area'.<sup>32</sup> The settled area included districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara. The chief officer of the district was the Deputy Commissioner. The tribal area was comprised of five political agencies, Kurram, North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Khyber and the Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral commonly called the Malakand Agency. Each of these agencies was under a political agent. The officials consisted of the members of the Indian Civil Service, military officers of

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30 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, pp. 12-16.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

32 Khan, *Bacha Khan*, pp. 235-40.



the Political Department of the Government of India and the Punjab Commission.<sup>33</sup>

### **Socio-Economic Condition of the Province**

Although, the exact population of the Frontier was not known, but according to the *Census Report of 1891*, the population of Peshawar district was 450,099 in 1855 and 703,708 in 1891. The then Peshawar district included Charsadda, Nowshera, Mardan and Swabi.<sup>34</sup> According to the *Census Report of 1921*, it was 50,76,476. Only 7 percent were residing in urban centres and 93 percent in rural areas. Out of them 93 percent were Muslims and 7 percent non-Muslim.<sup>35</sup> Muslims, a huge majority of whom were Pukhtuns, were mainly agriculturalists. They did not like trade and commerce. They considered it a job of *baniyas*—Hindu money lenders or shopkeepers. They considered themselves a martial race, fit for fighting only.<sup>36</sup> The non-Muslims preferred to live in towns, for social, economic and political reasons and trade was occupied by the Hindus. They were suppliers of foodstuff to the military, market administrators and commission agents. Sikhs were also suppliers to the military and residents of the towns. The Christians in NWFP were mainly British and other Europeans, employed in military and civil administration. They were concentrated in cantonments.<sup>37</sup> Trans-border migration and circulation was rare. With the British occupation of the Frontier, the population of Peshawar district increased by a huge percentage due to the government policy of permanent settlement, developing

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33 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 26.

34 *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98* (reprint) (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1989), p. 92. Henceforth *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98*.

35 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 5.

36 Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*, p. 67. The Martial Race concept is a stereotype, promoted by the state actors since long and the modern state actors are promoting the same phenomena with a religious blend. The recent phenomenon is too dangerous as the Pukhtuns are turned religious ideologue, for political reasons.

37 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 5.

irrigation system in Hashtnagar and Mardan; the construction of a railway track in Peshawar Valley and alike job opportunities. Many people from the Tribal Areas populated the city, some of them permanently while many others came as seasonal labourers. The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1882) also forced many people to leave Afghanistan and mainly settle in the Peshawar valley.<sup>38</sup> Migration from villages to towns was common. Those who gained government employment moved to urban centres.<sup>39</sup>

Numerically Pukhtuns were in the majority, however, in some areas like Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan, other ethnic groups also resided. Pukhtu was the main language of the population. Hindko, Seraiki and some other local dialects were also spoken.<sup>40</sup>

The majority of the population were agriculturalists. They were mainly in Hazara, followed by Peshawar, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan respectively. Before the British occupation, the land was jointly owned by the Yusafzais and Muhammadzais: the land was distributed in tribes and clans. The system was called *wesh*—distribution.<sup>41</sup> Sheikh Malli, a Sixteenth Century Yusafzai chief, introduced the system. The distribution of land was in accordance with the number of male members of a particular tribe. Every few years reallocation would take place.<sup>42</sup> Over time, the *wesh* system was abandoned. This was due to foreign rule in the area;<sup>43</sup> however, permanent settlement was already started in Peshawar much before the arrival of the British. The British, on their occupation of the Frontier, accelerated permanent settlement. It served Imperialists in two ways: the revenue was easily collected and big *jagirs* were allocated to the loyalists—servants or allies of the Imperialists. They were

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38 *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98*, pp. 94-95.

39 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 5.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

41 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 134.

42 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 6.

43 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 134.

given the organization of revenue collection. They were the most influential figures in the official circles and their sons were appointed to public offices. They were given titles like *Khan Bahadar* and *Khan Sahib*. Common people had very little cultivated land and had to work in the Khan's *jagir* in return for a share in the crop. The Khanan did not cultivate themselves. There were *dehqans*, *hamsayas*, and *faqirs*.<sup>44</sup> They were dependent, even in *wesh* system the land was not allotted to them because of their not belonging to that particular segment of the population.<sup>45</sup> The majority of the agricultural population of the province was *khudkasht zamindars*. There were cultivators who rented lands from big landowners in return for a share in the crop. There were also *brakhikhor* or *ijaradars*, who got their income from agricultural land but did not cultivate the land themselves or through their relations and servants. They rented the land from a *zamindar* for a fixed term at a fixed cash rate. They were neither so prosperous nor poor, however, many of them were deeply involved in debt.<sup>46</sup>

### Education in the Frontier

The introduction of modern schooling in the NWFP is a relatively new phenomenon. Since the Frontier region was peripheral tracts, the Colonial government's efforts in introducing and expanding its educational system in the territory were more restricted compared to other areas of British India. The people of the province were opposed towards the British educational system. The *mullas* and other religious men, who had influence over the population, were hostile to the British scheme of popular education. They were of the opinion that it was a deliberate attempt to

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44 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 7. *Hamsaya*, *Dehqan* and *Faqir* are different names of the same people in different locations. It is commonly believed that ethnically they are not Pukhtuns and thus deprived of the certain privileges which a Pukhtun held due to ethnicity. They could not own land till 1950s when Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, chief minister of NWFP, granted them the right through an act of legislature.

45 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 134.

46 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 7.

undermine their sacerdotal authority and to destroy the religious faith of the people. The Pukhtuns were proud of their warlike character and always preferred 'sword to the pen'. For many years there was no progress in the field of education, mainly due to two factors: the lack of initiative and drive on the part of the educational authorities and the scarcity of funds. The majority of the local population was also non-cooperative in this regard.<sup>47</sup> Influence of the Christian Missionaries over these schools created doubt in the minds of the people. The *mullas* were also against modern education due to their failure to comprehend the need of the time. If they could arrange modern education themselves: pukhtuns would have been better and developed. It was due to their opposition that people of the area lag behind other communities in the field of education, thus lacking a proper incentive at a particular time and occasion.<sup>48</sup>

At the time of the formation of the new Province, three kinds of schools were working there: those established and maintained privately by individuals or community; those established and managed privately, but recognized and financed by the government; and those managed and maintained by the government through Local Boards. All the three communities, i.e., Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs had their private schools.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, in NWFP, every mosque served as a school for basic education. In these mosque *maktab*, children were taught Quran and the basics of Islam. In some cases, they were taught writing and some basic Persian books like *gulistan* and *bostan*. There were some *ulama*—religious scholars—whom imparted higher education privately, that included Arabic grammar, mathematics, logic and exegesis of Quran. Initially, the teaching of *ahadith*—traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him)—was avoided due to lack of understanding. Those people who considered it important were discouraged and

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47 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, pp. 192-93.

48 Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*, pp. 87-88.

49 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, pp. 192-93.

instead preferred few books of jurisprudence. The *mullas* did nothing for the teaching of *ahadith*. The translation of Quran was avoided and considered difficult. It was obligatory to learn many components of Arabic grammar, i.e., *Sarf wa Nahwa*, *Ilm-ul-Kalam*, *Fiqh* and many more before learning the translation of the Quran.<sup>50</sup>

The *mullas* did not receive a salary for their services, yet they were present in every village. In some areas they were allotted a small piece of cultivated land called *serai* to earn their livelihood. They were responsible for the religious instruction and spiritual guidance of the villagers.<sup>51</sup>

According to the *Census Report of 1911*, only 23 Muslim males out of 1000, were literate, while 0.08 out of 1000 Muslim females could fulfil the same criteria.<sup>52</sup> To encourage education among the Muslims, the Colonial Government offered concessions in fees and special scholarships. There were 9 high schools and 13 middle schools. The Victoria scholarship was awarded annually, and special elementary schools for Muslim boys were maintained in Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Abbottabad. Peshawar had an Islamia Anglo-Vernacular high school and an Anglo-Vernacular middle school.<sup>53</sup>

### **Political Situation in the Frontier**

The inhabitants of the region were not aware of party politics in modern sense of the term. Pukhtuns had very few individual leaders. Like other societies on the peripheries, the Pukhtuns also opposed the Imperial power with all possible means. Whenever they found an occasion, they exploited it. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 till 1899 as many as sixty expeditions were sent against the Pukhtun tribes.<sup>54</sup>

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50 Yusafi, *Sarhad aur jadu-jahd-i-Azadi*, p. 85.

51 Sayyid Mustafa Barailvi, *Musalmanan-i-Sarhad ki Taleem* (Urdu) (Karachi: All Pakistan Educational Conference, 1980), p. 13.

52 *Census of India 1911 NWFP, Vol. XIII*, p. 188.

53 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 195.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

After the formation of the NWFP, instead of Acts of Legislature passed by the Governor-General-in-Council, or by the Punjab Legislative Council, there were a number of regulations issued by the authority of the Governor-General. One of these major regulations was the Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901.<sup>55</sup> This regulation aimed to suppress the people. It provided unchecked power to the officers; penalties in the shape of blockades of tribes, or fines on communities, demolition of buildings used by robbers; power to arrest; security and surveillance, and imprisonment with a view to prevent crimes. The people have no right of appeal against any decision, but a restricted power of civil or criminal revision by the Chief Commissioner.<sup>56</sup> Though the Queen in her Proclamation had announced on November 1, 1858, that in the future none of her subjects would face any injustice due to his religion, creed or nationality, the practice was totally different. A very notorious act in this regard was the Murderous Outrage Act of 1877, popularly known as the Ghazi Act. Under this act, a person could be punished only on the basis of suspicion or attempt without judicial trial.<sup>57</sup> There are instances in which a person was executed in twenty-four hours, who had either attempted to assassinate a British officer or the authorities suspected that he would

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55 The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) comprises a set of laws enforced by the British *Raj* in the Pukhtuns-inhabited tribal areas at the Northwest British India. They were specially devised to counter the fierce opposition of the Pukhtuns to British rule, and their main objective was to protect the interests of the British Empire. The FCR dates back to the occupation of the Pukhtuns' land by the English in 1849. The regulation was re-enacted in 1873 and again in 1876, with minor modifications. With the passage of time, the regulation was found to be inadequate and new acts and offences were added to it to extend its scope. This was done through promulgation of the Frontier Crimes Regulation 1901. For a detailed account of the FCR see Robert Nichols, (ed.), *The Frontier Crimes Regulation* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

56 D.C. Obhrai, *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province* (reprint) (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1983), pp. 118-19. It is pertinent to note that after its inception, Pakistan continued with FCR and slight amendments were incorporated after decades. The major amendments were introduced in 2011 but its proper implementation is hindered by the promulgation of Action in Aid (Civil Power) Regulation 2011.

57 Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*, p. 61.

attempt so.<sup>58</sup> It was propagated that conditions in the Frontier were special, so none of the reforms were introduced in the region. It was claimed that the purpose of the introduction of FCR was to reduce crimes in the area. Due to these circumstances the province was named *Sarzamin-e-be-Ain*—“land without constitution”<sup>59</sup> by Muhammad Ali Jauhar, a twentieth century, South Asian, Pan-Islamist leader. The elders and traditional leaders of the Pukhtuns were deprived of their due status by the colonial authorities, and instead a new lot of loyal leaders was created. They always served the colonial authorities as they did not have power without the help of the government.<sup>60</sup> There was a *jargah* system among the Pukhtuns that consisted of the elders of each family and clan. The *jargah* system was perverted, due to the fact that the Deputy Commissioner or District Officer nominated *jargah* members who were designated by the British as ‘leaders of the nation’.<sup>61</sup>

In Pukhtun society, Islam was given key importance. They had great regard for religious people. They performed their role in almost every aspect of life, and were responsible for guidance in both religious and personal matters. In some areas they exercised judicial and executive powers. During a crisis they assumed political authority.<sup>62</sup> Unlike the *ulama* of other provinces, the majority of the *ulama* of the Frontier were anti-establishment. Throughout the British Rule in India, they opposed government. Many *ulama* of the Pukhtuns like Mulla Pawinda, Hadda Mulla, Sartor Faqir, Faqir Ipi and Haji Fazl-i-Wahid of Turangzai, had mobilized a

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58 Noor Habib was put to death without judicial trial within 24 hours when he made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Assistant Commissioner, Charsadda.

59 Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*, p. 63.

60 Khan, *Bacha Khan*, p. 344.

61 Mir Abdul Samad, *Loi Pukhtun* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 54.

62 Andre Singer, *Lords of the Khyber: The Story of the North-West Frontier* (London: Fabre and Fabre, 1984), pp. 158-59.

religious-cum-political movement against the government.<sup>63</sup> These were religious leaders who had potential and utilized it for the reformation of the society. In the modern era, Haji Sahib was the first among the Pukhtuns, who gave key importance to the elimination of social evils in the Pukhtun society. The nature of his movement was social and educational, but due to the policies of the colonial government, he turned anti *Raj*, thus giving his movement a political bend.

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63 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, p. 11.





## Chapter 2

### Haji Sahib of Turangzai and his Social Reforms

#### Birth and Ancestry

Fazl-i-Wahid, popularly known as Haji Sahib Turangzai was born in 1859.<sup>1</sup> His father Fazl-i-Ahmad belonged to a Sayyid family of Turangzai, a village in the Charsadda area.<sup>2</sup> His mother was a Kakakhel, another respectable family of Nowshera. It is commonly believed that the family of the Haji Sahib originally belonged to Afghanistan. After Shahab-ud-Din Ghauri's conquest of Northern India, some Pukhtun families decided to settle permanently in the Peshawar valley, Koh-i-Sufaid and Bajawar. According to family sources, some Muhammadzai chiefs then went to Qandahar and requested Baba Wali Qandahari, a spiritual elder and ancestor of Haji Sahib Turangzai to accompany them to that part of South Asia. Baba Qandahari himself declined the request and sent his son Sayyid Baha-ud-Din to accompany these Pukhtun elders. Baha-ud-Din was given some land by these elders so that he could earn his livelihood easily. Sayyid Baha-ud-Din got popularity as Pir Bodlai or Nemaaurai Baba. Since then the family was engaged in preaching *Sharia* and in guiding the people.<sup>3</sup>

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1 *AF-18 Vol. VI, CID Record, 1916*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 71. Henceforth *AF-18 Vol.* The vernacular sources refer to Fazl-i-Wahid birth much earlier.

2 Nasar Ullah Khan Nasar, *Da Turangzo Haji Sahib* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Adabi Tolana, 1951), p. 3. Henceforth Nasr, *Haji Sahib*.

3 Personal interview with Sayyid Khushal Bacha at Pirsado, Mardan, on 23 April, 2002. However Abdul Wali Khan asserts that Muhammadzai were brought to Charsadda by Sheikh Malli, a Yusafzai chief, who sought their help against Dalazak. Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol. I (Peshawar: Chapzai, 1993), p. 354. Henceforth Khan, *Bacha Khan*.

In Pukhtun society the *pir* and other religious persons were always respected. They participated in almost every activity of life, and were readily available to provide guidance in both religious and social matters. In some cases they even exercised judicial and executive power.<sup>4</sup> According to the family sources of Fazl-i-Wahid, during the Jihad movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi, Sayyid Rustam Shah, the grandfather of Fazl-i-Wahid helped Sayyid Ahmad.<sup>5</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi had migrated to the North-West Frontier with the claim to wage *jihad* against the Sikhs and establish an Islamic State on the ideals of the early days of Islam. He, however, failed to achieve his objective mainly due to miscalculations and the Mujahidin's (his followers from India) disregard for Pukhtuns' socio-economic and political set up.<sup>6</sup>

In his boyhood, Fazl-i-Wahid was sent to the mosque, which was the only educational institution available to the people.<sup>7</sup> He was taught the Holy Quran by Maulvi Hamid-ud-Din. A great scholar of the time, Maulana Abu Bakar Akhonzada taught him basic religious education. When Fazl-i-Wahid was fourteen, apart from the Holy Quran, he had already studied some books of Persian language and the basics of Islam.<sup>8</sup> For further education, Fazl-i-Wahid was sent to Tahkal's Madrasa, a 19<sup>th</sup> century centre of religious

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4 Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslims Politics in North-West Frontier Province, 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 9. Henceforth Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*.

5 Personal interview with Sayyid Khushal Bacha at Pirsado, Mardan, on 23 April 2002. It is pertinent to note that none of the sources, we consulted, supports the claim.

6 For details see Altaf Qadir, *Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi: His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective* (Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015).

7 Lal Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration under the British Rule, 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), p. 192. Henceforth Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*.

8 Aziz Javed, *Bar-e-Sagheer Pak wa Hind ka Azeem Mujahid: Haji Sahib of Turangzai* (Urdu) (Peshawar: Idara-i-Tahqeeq wa Tasneef, 1982), p. 39. Henceforth Javed, *Haji Sahib of Turangzai*.

education in the North-West Frontier. He remained there for six years.<sup>9</sup>

After completion of his education, Fazl-i-Wahid returned to Turangzai and married Bibi Hawa, daughter of Khalid Bacha.<sup>10</sup> In his village, he adopted the profession of farming, but was more inclined towards Sufism and thus started meditating. During his search of a spiritual guide, he went to Hadda, a village to the south of Jalalabad, where Najm-ud-Din popularly known as Hadda Mulla was residing. Hadda Mulla was then one of the most formidable foes of British Imperialism. Fazl-i-Wahid became his disciple. It was his dedication to his spiritual guide and his sincerity to the cause that led to his nomination of the *khalifa*—spiritual successor of Hadda Mulla. In addition to Fazl-i-Wahid, Hadda Mulla had many other prominent disciples including Maulana Sahib Tigao, Hazrat Sahib Tabkhak, Sufi Alam Gul Shinwari, Maulana Sahib Kalanhar, and Badshah Sahib Islampur.<sup>11</sup>

After spending some time in Hadda, Fazl-i-Wahid came back and then went to India to visit the Deoband seminary, the prominent seat of learning, established in Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh. After the fall of Delhi, Deoband had become the centre of religious education and Muslims from all over India and even neighbouring Afghanistan, who intended to get religious education, used to go there. Being a well-known figure, he was warmly received by Pukhtun students at the Deoband seminary. There he met Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan, a young revolutionary teacher, a moving spirit for his students. In the meantime, Fazl-i-Wahid came to know that many *ulama* including Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautavi were going to perform *hajj*. They were prominent anti-British

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9 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkira Sarfaroshan-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 222. Henceforth Sabir, *Tazkira*. No details regarding his teacher and *madrassa* are available. However, it is commonly believed that his teacher was disciple of Hadda Mulla.

10 *AF-18 Vol. IV*, p. 39.

11 Ijazul Haq Quddusi, *Tazkira Sofia-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1966), pp. 40-41. Henceforth Quddusi, *Sofia-i-Sarhad*.

Indian scholars, who believed in the liberation of their country from the *Raj*. Fazl-i-Wahid also accompanied them.<sup>12</sup>

As performing *hajj* during those days was difficult and rare, Fazl-i-Wahid got popularity with the name of Haji Sahib Turangzai upon his returning home. He might have been amongst those rare people in the area who had the privilege of performing *hajj*.<sup>13</sup>

### The Reform Movement

The starting date of the Haji Turangzai's movement was unknown. One source claims that the movement started before performing his second *hajj* in 1898.<sup>14</sup>

It has been rightly observed that probably the Haji Sahib was one of the first among Pukhtuns who gave a great deal of importance to the reform of Pukhtun society. Amongst the Pukhtuns were able rulers and some of the best generals but the majority of them migrated to India.<sup>15</sup> Most settled there and even founded dynasties such as the Lodi and Suri. However, the nature of tribal society remained the same, and with the demise of an able ruler the empire did not last long. One of the major reasons was the civil war. *Tarburwali*—enmity amongst first cousins—remained a social ill in Pukhtun society, as they always felt jealousy towards their cousins, kith and kin.

Before the British occupation of the North-West Frontier, there was rarely permanent settlement amongst the Yusafzais, Mandanr and Muhammadzais. Land was distributed according to *dawtar* and the clans had to circulate after an interval of fixed time. This practice was in vogue even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the tribal areas adjacent to the

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12 Sabir, *Tazkira*, p.222; Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 42.

13 Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 42.

14 *Ibid.*, p.75. According to Muhammad Shafi Sabir he started his reform movement in 1908. But it does not seem accurate because the official record reveals that by 1908 he was under observation.

15 S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1997), p. 233. Henceforth Ikram, *Muslim Rule in Indo-Pak*.

NWFP.<sup>16</sup> With the British occupation of the North-West Frontier, permanent settlement was encouraged. It served the government in two ways; collection of revenue became easy and those individuals who served the *Raj* were rewarded. At the same time, few families were deprived of their previous belongings. Pukhtuns were not interested in trade and commerce and had left it to Hindus, who constituted about 6% of the province population. The *mullas* were to perform all sorts of religious rituals. In many cases they were not well aware of the knowledge of the Quran and *ahadith*. A layman was not guided regarding the social and political aspects of Islam. Common people were satisfied with the practice of few religious rituals.<sup>17</sup>

There was a lack of awareness among the masses regarding the status of women. In the traditional *wesh*<sup>18</sup> system, females were not granted a share in real estate and thus deprived of their due share of inheritance.<sup>19</sup> Another social evil of the time was inviting eunuchs and female dancers to marriage ceremonies. Lavish spending was common on such occasions. At the marriage, the family of the girl would demand *walwar*—an amount from the bridegroom for the marriage. Sometimes, if a person had no money, his sister would be married in exchange, or he would have to remain a bachelor.<sup>20</sup> Several times, if a person had money or a daughter and no son, he could marry a girl of his

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16 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 133.

17 Allah Bakhsh Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi* ((Urdu) (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1968), p. 67. Henceforth Yusafi, *Sarhad aur Jadujahd-i-Azadi*.

18 *Wesh* system was introduced by Sheikh Malli, a sixteenth century Pukhtun chief. According to the system, land was distributed among the Pukhtun tribes and clans on the basis of their male members. They had to shift from their places allotted to them, after specific intervals. The shifting time was different in different places from 3 to 20 years.

19 Denying share to female was visible in other ethnic entities like Balochs, Sindhis and Punjabis. The colonial authorities in the Punjab had sought people's consent in regard to inheritance and they had preferred *riwaj*—customary law to *sharia*.

20 Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 45.

daughter's age.<sup>21</sup> Another social practice at the time was inviting eunuchs to the birth of a male. At the birth of a female, however, often the mother was reprimanded and held accountable. No one dared to think that the mother had no choice in the matter. Such attitudes and practices often led to family feuds, a common practice that would occasionally result in clan or tribal feuds.<sup>22</sup>

Alarmed by the decaying condition of Pukhtun society, Haji Sahib initiated his reform movement. To improve the decaying social values amongst Pukhtuns, he started touring the Peshawar district.<sup>23</sup> Unlike other *pirs*, he did not wait for the people to come. He adopted the method of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) in visiting people for preaching purposes. Lund Khawar and the areas nearby were the main areas in which he organized his activities.<sup>24</sup> During his visits, people gathered around him as he educated them on the reform of their society.<sup>25</sup> They were advised to follow the *sharia* in letter and spirit, as without religious revivalism it was impossible to establish a peaceful society. Haji Sahib had developed an approach that Islam has the potential to guide people in all aspects of their lives. Soon he gained popularity in the area and some influential people of the area also became his disciples. They included Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan of Sherpao,<sup>26</sup> Abdullah Khan and Umara Khan of Umarzai and some other leading *Khanan* of Utmanzai.<sup>27</sup> The father of Abdul Akbar Khan Umarzai allotted him a piece of land near Umarzai,

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21 Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand au Jadujahd* (Pukhtu) (Kabul: Daulti Matb'a, 1983), p. 52. Henceforth Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand*.

22 Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 45.

23 Peshawar district of that time comprised of present Peshawar, Charasada, Nowshera, Mardan and Swabi districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

24 *AF 18 Vol. III*, p. 15.

25 Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Safarnama Rosi Turkistan* (Urdu) (Charsada: by the author, 1972), p. 7. Henceforth Akbar, *Safarnama Turkistan*.

26 Father of Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao (late) and Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, former governor of NWFP and former Chief Minister of NWFP respectively.

27 *AF-18 Vol. III*, p. 15.

where he constructed a mosque. This place was popularly known as Hajiabad.<sup>28</sup> Haji Sahib became spiritual guide of the people due to his piety; people were ready to follow him and accept his verdicts. His popularity increased with the passage of time. His main emphasis remained on the preaching of the *sharia*. He always advised people to follow *sharia*, and secure a respectable place for themselves in this world and in the hereafter. During his tours, he also participated and performed matrimonial ceremonies for people.<sup>29</sup> In his presence, in such ceremonies, nominal was spent. The *mahar* (dower) was fixed according to *sharia*. In this way lavish spending was minimized. Whenever Haji Sahib would reach a village, the people would be gathered and information would be collected regarding the adult males and females of each family. The already engaged were married on the spot. The village elders were advised to arrange for the marriages of those who were unmarried as soon as possible and in accordance with the *sharia*.<sup>30</sup> The Haji Sahib also advised people to give due share to their women folk by adhering to the Islamic guidelines on inheritance.<sup>31</sup>

On the occasion of circumcision, it was a common practice to invite eunuchs for several days. He advised people to avoid such un-Islamic practices. Due to these un-Islamic practices, the economic condition of the people was getting worse. They did not hesitate to take debt from moneylenders, mainly Hindus and being unable to pay the amount due to the high rate of interest they decided to renounce their claims upon their ancestral land, which thus became the property of the moneylenders.<sup>32</sup>

The movement, initiated by Haji Sahib was not a new one. In the same manner, as stated earlier, Sayyid Ahmad

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28 Akbar, *Safarnama Turkistan*, p. 6.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Personal interview with Sayyid Khushal Bacha at Pirsado, Mardan on 24 April 2002.

31 Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 51.

32 Sabir, *Tazkira*, p. 224.



Barailvi had started the reform movement but was opposed by the masses. Two basic factors were responsible for his failure: firstly, that he was an alien, speaking an alien language and the people were unable to understand his message. Secondly, Sayyid Ahmad disregarded the socio-economic and political set up of the inhabitants of the area. The Haji Sahib was one of them. He was part of the society and people knew him well. They were able to evaluate him at their scale. He was well received by the *ulama* in the Frontier. The only influential man among the religious leaders, who opposed him, was Mulla Manki.<sup>33</sup> The real cause for their opposition, besides following different schools of thought, was not known. However, both wanted to extend their influences in certain area.

The movement of Haji Sahib was not confined to settled districts, even before his migration to the tribal areas, he usually visited those areas to preach virtues and prohibit vice. Initially, though he was not much popular there, but still he had links there and was utilizing it to the best of his resources. During World War I, Haji Sahib migrated to Independent Territory. His main objective was to fight British Imperialism in that part of South Asia. After wandering for some time in Buner, Swat and Dir, he settled permanently in Sur Kamar, near Lakarai, an area of Qandahari Mohmand and named it Ghaziabad. There he resumed his reform movement with a new zeal. The Majority of the tribesmen were busy in mutual feuds and the British Indian government usually supported one faction against the other. They tried their best to annex some more areas to their dominion and thus the forward move in the tribal areas continued. Haji Sahib Turangzai wanted an end to tribal and faction feuds. In the Independent Tribal Territory his activities multiplied, but still his main concern was reformation of society. For this purpose, he visited various tribes. Initially, he served as a deputy of Babara Mulla, who was another anti-British figure, who preached *jihad* against the British. In the very first

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33 AF-18, Vol. III, p-15.

*jargah*, convened in Ghaziabad, he denounced all raiders as enemies of Islam. The Kamali and Pandiali, two branches of the local Mohmandan, were asked to restrain their bad characters for the future. He asked them to release all Hindus abducted from the Peshawar district. Both the tribes protested but were compelled to settle the matter according to his directives.<sup>34</sup> The Hindus comprised the wealthy class of the district of Peshawar and were an easy target for kidnapping, to be released on ransom. Not only Hindus, sometimes the wealthy Muslims were also the target of such kidnapping. As a true Muslim, Haji Sahib Turangzai was against such acts of the tribesmen. He did not want to harm the residents of the British territory, who were under British Imperialism. He was supported by many other religious scholars in this regard and other *mullas* like Chaknawar<sup>35</sup> and Babara<sup>36</sup> were also against such practices. Babara Mulla and the Haji Sahib formally sent their emissaries with letters, to the leading *maliks* and *mullas* in the Mohmand country directing them to expel all those persons who had abducted women from other parts of the country and also to burn their houses, just to follow the tribal traditions for such acts. Mostly their directives were followed.<sup>37</sup> They wanted to discourage any un-Islamic acts of the tribesmen, which could tarnish the image of the Pukhtuns outside the Province. He wanted to establish a public treasury; its main purpose was to help the families of those who were at war with the British, in this connection he asked Safian to pay *ushar* and *zakat*, to be utilized for the welfare of the needy. As they were not

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34 *NWF Provincial Diaries, 1916*, File. 50 Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 5. Henceforth *NWFPD*. Also *Peshawar Political Diaries (weekly) 1916*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 3. Henceforth *PPD*.

35 Chaknawar Mulla was one of the prominent leaders of the tribesmen, who never hesitated to harm British Indian government. He belonged to tribal area, and was influential in Mohmand and Bajawar. The Amir of Afghanistan had great regard for him.

36 Said Mir Jan, popularly known as Babara Mulla was son of Abdur Rahman, Salarzai of Bajawar. He was very influential and played a vital role in attacking Shabqadar Fort in 1915.

37 *NWFPD 1916*, p. 222.

used to paying it, they declined and it appeared the Haji Sahib had bid them farewell and returned to Buner, when a *jargah* had arrived and invited the Haji Sahib to Buner.<sup>38</sup> However, the tribesmen requested the Haji Sahib to stay among them as the issue would be resolved according to his wishes.

Other *mullas* of the tribal area assisted Haji Sahib of Turangzai in his reform movement. During a meeting at Doda, it was decided by Haji Sahib, Babara Mulla and Jan Sahib Doda that Haji Sahib should go to Gandab Halimzais to urge them to follow the right path of Islam, and if the Halimzais resist him Babara Mulla would come to help him. Haji Sahib agreed provided that some Baezai and Safi accompany him. He visited the area in the company of the tribesmen and preached to them the tenets of Islam. As the tribesmen were involved in mutual enmity, very frequently the elders of the area would arrange *tiga*—temporary truce, which were usually broken by them time and again. To prevent them from breaking truces, it was decided to impose a heavy fine on such persons and tribes. Initially, Haji Sahib was unable to recover fines from the offending tribe, due to lack of force.<sup>39</sup> With the passage of time, he was able to consolidate his position. Haji Sahib was not only busy personally but also appointed his representatives where needed. Ghulam Sadiq Mian of Kakshal (Peshawar) was appointed at Gandab to preach virtues and prohibit vice.<sup>40</sup> Like the settled areas, Haji Sahib insisted on following the *sharia*, and opposed the un-Islamic acts of the tribesmen. The Gandab Halimzais were on friendly terms with the British Indian government and they always created problems for Haji Sahib, which was mostly instigated by the British. They were used to break truces and were habitual gamblers. The Haji Sahib visited Gandab to inquire into certain

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38 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1917*, File. 119, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 21. Henceforth *PPD 1917*.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-85.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

infringements of truces and to stop gambling.<sup>41</sup> He used to visit the Mohmand region preaching virtues and good character. His tours were of two types: one was just to preach virtues and if a tribe would not come to accept his request then he would go with a *lakhkar* to punish the tribe. At times, tribes would ask him to come to their area along with a few men, as they were unable to entertain a huge *lakhkar*. Then he would go there with some *mazoons*.<sup>42</sup> He did not hesitate to punish anyone, no matter how influential and powerful he was. He wanted to end the tribal feuds so that they would be able to prepare for *jihad* against the British. He always punished those who broke truces. A truce was concluded between Malik Hazrat Din on one side, and Gulai and Gurbaz on the other. The Gulai and Gurbaz faction broke the truce and Gulai killed two men of Hazrat Din. Haji Sahib raised a *lakhkar* of Baezais, and burnt the houses of Gulai. A fine of Rs. 7500/- (Kabuli, Afghan Currency) was also imposed upon Gulai that was distributed among the *lakhkar*.<sup>43</sup> At any crisis Haji Sahib never hesitated to visit the aggrieved area and offer his services. Following the Islamic tradition, Haji Sahib took strong action against robbers. Once the Hamza Khel (Halimzai) robbed some travelers of Bajawar. On hearing this, Haji Sahib started raising a *lakhkar* to punish them. On receiving such news, they immediately returned the stolen items to their owners.<sup>44</sup>

Haji Sahib increased his power to the extent that by 1927, he was the only one to arrange truces among the Mohmand tribes. He made a considerable impression on the Essa Khel and Burhan Khel Mohmandan. He visited Pandiali and burnt the houses of those who had violated the *sharia*

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41 *NWF Provincial Diaries 1917*, File. 53 Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 29.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

44 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1921*, File.123, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 145. Henceforth *PPD 1921*.

by robbing travellers in the Ali Kandi Pass.<sup>45</sup> He sent his agents to make truces between various clans, because it was not possible for him to reach each tribe personally. He sent his *mazoons* to Pandiali to make a truce between the Essa Khel factions who were fighting against each other.<sup>46</sup>

The fine was frequently imposed upon those who violated the truces. It was due to the fact that the tribesmen possessed meagre resources and were unable to pay heavy fines. The purpose of imposing fines was to make them careful in their attitude towards truces for the future. The tribes who were on friendly terms with the Colonial government opposed the frequent tours of Haji Sahib to the Mohmand region. Gandab Halimzai was one of them. Whenever he tried to visit their area, they opposed him on the ground that he might be able to burn the houses of those who took *majib* from the colonial government. They usually hesitated to meet him.<sup>47</sup> Haji Sahib was eager to reform those tribes who were on friendly terms with the colonial government. Due to his influence, he was often requested to conclude truces among the tribes. The tribes had by now realized the fruits of peace. Haji Sahib's power increased with the passage of time and he was able to challenge any *malak* or influential person who violated the tenets of Islam. On one such occasion, he informed Malak Anmir Halimzai that he was coming to Gandab to punish him for his allowing *lakhtai* to dance on the wedding of his sons. Malak Anmir informed Haji Sahib that no dance was done but still he was ready to receive Haji Sahib and be punished according to the *sharia* if found guilty.<sup>48</sup> Haji Sahib wanted to reform the tribal society on the basis of *sharia* to enable them to fight against the colonial forces. Thus the disputes of the

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45 *Mohmand Border Administration Report 1923-24*, File. 155, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 29. Henceforth *MBAR*.

46 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1923*, File. 125, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 76. Henceforth *PPD 1923*.

47 *Ibid.*, 113.

48 *Mohmand Political Diaries 1924*, File. 94, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 25. Henceforth *MPD*.

tribesmen were settled according to the Islamic *sharia* and Pukhtunwali. He advised people to live their lives according to the Quran and Sunnah. He used to reconcile warring factions by visiting them personally to try and arrange a settlement. He would always tell them that Islam has discouraged mutual fighting and if there is any dispute it must be settled within three days. In this way both factions would come to an agreement. He wanted to use the united force of these tribesmen against British Imperialism in that part of South Asia.

### **Educational Reforms**

Haji Sahib Turangzai's reform movement was multi-dimensional. During his push for social reforms he realized that without education, the level of society could not be improved. Without literacy change was near to impossible. With the view that education is a milestone towards sustainable development, he concluded education could help in the eradication of many social evils, thus indirectly helping in achieving freedom.<sup>49</sup> He observed that the British system of schooling had negatively impacted society.<sup>50</sup> He wanted to initiate a system of education, which would not only meet the needs of the time but also ensure that Pukhtun youth become good Muslims. After 1857, Muslims had not only lost their nominal authority over Delhi and the surrounding areas, but had also expedited their degradation in all walks of life. Their leaders comprehended that without the promotion of education their uplift was not possible. However, regarding the system of education, there was a diversity of opinion. Different types of educational systems then prevailed in the country: the Native and British. Although, the native system in practice was much criticized by various circles, but in fact it had some good features. The system enabled students to think critically. A British Military officer William Sleeman<sup>51</sup> stated that Indian Muslims learned

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49 Qudusi, *Sofia-i-Sarhad*, p. 616.

50 Sabir, *Tazkira*, p. 225.

51 Sir William Henry Sleeman (8 August, 1788—10 February 1856) was a British military officer, served in different capacities and was posted in Oudh

those subjects in Arabic and Persian and their children learned them in colleges in Latin and English. He further stated that after completion of seven years of study, an Indian student could talk fluently on Socrates, Aristotle, Plato and Avicenna as their students did in Western colleges.<sup>52</sup> However, this was only the case in regards to logic and reasoning. The system otherwise was out dated and there was no teaching of the natural sciences. Muslim leaders in India differed in opinion over what the Muslim educational system should look like. As a result, two schools of thought emerged, Aligarh, promoting the modern schooling system, and, Deoband, promoting the traditional educational system. Many tried to initiate a middle ground between the two, however, very little success was achieved in this regard.<sup>53</sup> Though, Nadwat ul Ulama Lacknow was able to create a balance for a considerable time.

Haji Sahib had been to India in his youth and might have come across the above-mentioned systems. In modern schooling, in backwardness, NWFP was second only to Burma. Since the Frontier area was a remote zone, the government's efforts in initiating and expanding its educational system in the territory were more limited than in the centrally located provinces. The people of the province were opposed towards the British educational system. The *mullas* and other religious men, who had influence over the population, were antagonistic to the British scheme of popular schooling. They were of the opinion that it was a planned endeavour to weaken their sacerdotal authority and destroy the religious faith of the people.<sup>54</sup>

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during the crucial time, deadly against its annexation. However, his fame rests in his writings, i.e., *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (1844) and *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Volumes I & II, published posthumously in 1858.

52 Sayyid Manazar Ahsan Gillani, *Musalmano ka Nizam-e-Taleem wa Tarbiat* (Urdu) (Lahore: n.d), p. 293. Henceforth Gilani, *Musalmano Ka Nizam-e-Taleem*.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

54 Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration*, p. 192.

Haji Sahib had links with the Deoband School since his youth. Ghulam Rasul Mihr asserts that Haji Sahib was guided by Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan to open schools in the tribal areas. Sheikh-ul-Hind asked every person, who had the potential to open a school in his own area<sup>55</sup> and work for the liberation of South Asia. Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq is of the opinion that Maulvi Abdul Aziz motivated him to focus on educational reforms. He was of the opinion that mysticism alone could not solve complex societal problems. He remarked to Haji Sahib that a society would progress only if its members were educated.<sup>56</sup> However, the official record does not confirm these views of his inspiration from others.<sup>57</sup> A statement that appeared in the press states: "In 1912, the deceased (Haji Sahib) launched a movement of opening private village schools in the British territory and succeeded in spreading the network of such schools to hundreds".<sup>58</sup> It thus becomes apparent that Haji Sahib himself took this initiative; however, there is no doubt that many *ulama* and his disciples assisted him.

The movement of Haji Sahib was also distinctive in another way. The centres of these educational activities were mostly rural areas and not the big towns. Only two schools were opened in Peshawar. On the other hand, eight such schools were opened in different villages of present day Swabi district.<sup>59</sup>

Gadar, which was centrally located between Charsadda, Swabi and Mardan, was selected as the headquarters for

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55 Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Sargozasht-i-Mujahidin* (Urdu) (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, n.d), p. 530. Henceforth Mihr, *Sargozasht*.

56 Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang: Sa Lidale au sa Awredali* (Pukhtu), reprint (Peshawar: Idara-i-Isha'at Sarhad, 1972), p. 7. Henceforth Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang*. Abdul Ghaffar also asserts that Maulvi Abdul Aziz diverted his attention to social and educational reforms. Bashir Rabbani, *Maulvi Abdul Aziz Shaheed* (manuscript). The referred manuscript had mainly relied on Abdul Ghaffar's autobiography and family traditions.

57 *AF-18, Vol. X*, p. 69.

58 *The Tribune Delhi, 18 December, 1937*, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar.

59 *AF-18, Vol. IV*, p.31.



these academic activities. The schools were mainly opened in the mosques. There were two factors for this decision: firstly, there was lack of resources; secondly, they wanted to avoid direct confrontation with the government. The network initiated by Haji Sahib was neither on the lines of Deoband nor Aligarh; however, it contained several features of both. He wanted to impart modern similar to Aligarh's curriculum and pedagogy and the more traditional approaches of the Deobandi style. The syllabus consisted of Arabic, Persian, Pukhtu, English, Mathematics, Geography, History, Physics and the basics of Islam.<sup>60</sup>

The exact number of these schools was not available. However, official sources have referred to thirty schools, which were closed, and the teachers arrested after Haji Sahib's migration to the tribal territory in 1915.<sup>61</sup> Haji Sahib's main purpose in establishing the network of the educational institutions was the mobilization of masses to realize its importance and to participate in such activities. The network was run by a *majlis*, council of *ulama* which included Taj Muhammad of Mardan, Maulvi Shakirullah of Utmanzai, Qari Sami-ul-Haq, Qari Abdul Musta'an of Akbarpura, Maulvi Sayyid Zaman Shah of Lahore (Swabi) and Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Utmanzai.<sup>62</sup> This council was responsible for the affairs of the schools.

Among Haji Sahib's network, the most popular schools were at Utmanzai and Gadar Hamza Khan, the latter being the centre of the network as well. Taj Muhammad of Mardan was made the overall in-charge of these schools. He was a former graduate of Aligarh; in this capacity he was also responsible for conducting examinations and annual inspections. The members of the council were well known to the people but still there were other people who were also assisting Haji Sahib in the movement one way or the other.

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60 Muhammad Amir Shah Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 209. Henceforth Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*.

61 History Sheet of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, A.F-18, vol-V.

62 Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*, pp. 209-10.

Haji Sahib was not simply a cleric. He knew the requirements of the time. Great attention was given to the personality groom of students. The students of these schools were encouraged to discuss various issues. Debate contests were regularly held. The students of different schools were invited to a centrally located school to participate in these debates and contests.<sup>63</sup>

The Haji Sahib was very particular about the inspections of the schools. On such occasions, his concern was to encourage both teachers and students. One such visit was recorded by the weekly *Afghan*:

On 6<sup>th</sup> Muharram, Haji Sahib Turangzai visited Dar-ul-Ulum Gadar. The organizing committee and students welcomed Haji Sahib and his associates. A meeting was held. Haji Sahib advised the people in an effective way. Next day another meeting was held. After meeting people, they were asked to extend charity, which was successful. Then examination was conducted. Haji Sahib was pleased with the condition of school and rewarded Rs.50/- to teachers and Rs.5/- to students.<sup>64</sup>

No details are available regarding the income and expenditures of these schools. However, it is a common belief that these schools were run by charity as had also been hinted at by the weekly *Afghan*'s report. There is no evidence that a school had been closed due to lack of finances. Some of the teachers were paid regular salaries and others worked voluntarily.

The Haji Sahib was not following mere rituals. For him, Islam was a complete *din*. He believed in practical work and not mere rituals and preaching. That was one of the factors, which contributed to his popularity. The Colonial Government was annoyed at the activities of Haji Sahib. The British did not want any movement that could mobilize the Pukhtuns socially and politically. The authorities could not

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63 Akbar, *Safarnama Turkistan*, p. 6

64 *Weekly Afghan Peshawar*, Feb. 19, 1912, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar.

tolerate the educational activities of Haji Sahib and was arrested in 1908. He was accused of seditious preaching.<sup>65</sup>

He was released when ten leading *malakan* gave surety that he would not preach in an inflammatory style nor would leave the district without the colonial authorities' prior permission. He also visited Kabul in 1908.<sup>66</sup> The purpose was not known but he might have visited the shrine of his spiritual preceptor at Hadda near Jalalabad. The authorities also thought to prohibit him from travelling for the purpose of preaching. In 1907, Ram Chand, an educated Hindu formed the provincial branch of Congress. He was arrested and the newly formed party was banned under the Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901. In such a situation, the Haji Sahib continued his activities, which were definitely not liked by the British. It was the Balkan War (1912-13), which brought politics into the Province. It was realized even by the common man that the British were going to destroy the Ottoman Caliphate, the symbolic centre of the Muslims. The Pukhtuns took the cause of their Turkish brethren.<sup>67</sup>

In defiance of the British authorities, Haji Sahib at the age of 59 migrated to the tribal territory. After his migration to the tribal area, Haji Sahib remained preoccupied with other activities and he was unable to establish schools there. Moreover, unlike the British territory, there were not enough resources, especially qualified people to run educational institutions in the tribal area. Still Haji Sahib did not sit idle and tried to start such schools wherever possible. He opened two schools, one at Ghaziabad, in the mosque of Haji Sahib, and the other at Gandab. The Haji Sahib approached Gandab Halimzai with a view to construct a mosque in their area. The mosque served as a school. This move indicated an altered spirit and a chastened mood, and was regarded by the Mohmand tribesmen as a step in the right direction, towards an offer to obtain pardon and

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65 *AF-18, Vol. VI, p.71.*

66 *Ibid.*

67 Khaleeq, *Da Azadai, Jang*, p. 9.

repatriation.<sup>68</sup> Except these two schools, Haji Sahib was unable to establish more schools in the tribal territory. Though, there were *mullas* and *imams* in almost all mosques who were busy in teaching the Holy Quran, the full-fledged schools were only two. The council conducting the administration of the network in British territory faced oppression from the authorities. Many of them were put behind the bars, some migrated with Haji Sahib and settled in different areas of the tribal territory.<sup>69</sup> The rest of his life, Haji Sahib lived in tribal territory. His activities in the tribal area were directed against the British government.

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68 *Political Border Administration Report 1918-1919*, File. 325, Bundle 11, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 44.

69 Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*, p. 209.



## Chapter 3

### Political Reform Movement

The Haji Sahib Turangzai was not only a religious leader, but also a seasoned politician. He might not be a modern politician but he can not be considered ignorant either in the field of politics. He was a resourceful person and did not confine himself to a single field. He wanted to make Pukhtuns aware of their rights and duties. In those days government service was considered a very prestigious job. The *Khanan* and other wealthy people of the area were always holding good relations with the Colonial authorities to make their future safe. They offered their services in lieu of the honours and titles conferred upon them by the Colonial government from time to time. This was indeed considered a symbol of status to offer hospitality to the representatives of the *Raj* during their visit to a particular area.<sup>1</sup>

Haji Sahib Turangzai knew well the techniques to assert authority. Along with these skills and techniques, he gave much importance to the local population, without whose active cooperation nothing could be achieved. He also knew that without support from the locals, the British were unable to run the administration of the country. He wanted the local population's support against the *Raj*, in order to isolate the rulers and compel them to grant freedom to India. But this was only possible through a systematic process: cooperation at an all-India level amongst the natives against alien rule, which was very difficult to achieve. There were differing opinions regarding British rule in India amongst the Indians. The reform movement of Haji Sahib was multi-dimensional.

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1 Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Safarnama Rosi Turkistan* (Pashto) (Charsadda: 1973), p. 5. Henceforth Akbar, *Safarnama Turkistan*.

He wanted to mobilize the masses and boycott the educational institutions of the British. In this connection he opened various schools in different parts of the district of Peshawar and the North-West Frontier Province, and appealed to the people to admit their children in 'national' schools.<sup>2</sup> After his successful experience with educational activities, he diverted his attention to the political field. His struggle can be rightly divided into three parts: the boycott of British courts, the struggle against allowance holders, and the struggle against British allies.

### **Boycott of British Courts**

During Muslim rule in India, the judicial system was in accordance with the needs and customs of the area, which also has an element of Islamic *sharia*. Among the non-Muslims in rural areas and amongst *biradaris*, there were *panchayat* to solve disputes. Apart from these *panchayats*, the principal agency for the settlement of disputes was the *quza's* courts. The Muslim civil cases were adjudicated by the *quza* according to the *sharia*. The issue was referred to *pandit* or the *panchayat* for elucidation when the disputing parties were Hindus.<sup>3</sup> Despite the flaws, the prevalent judicial system met the exigency of the time. There was no fee to register cases in *quza's* court. In the North-West Frontier of India, the *jargah system*—council of the Pukhtun tribal elders—worked like *panchayat*. The *jargah* looked into issues faced by families, or the sub-tribe, or Pukhtuns at large. It looked into the matter, and heard all parties. Issues were only resolved after in-depth discussions and deliberations. The cases were decided locally, and neither of the parties needed to travel to town for adjudication. The *jargay* performed efficiently, as the members were acquainted with the local norms and traditions.<sup>4</sup>

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

3 S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Cultural Research, 1997), p. 480. Hereafter Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India*.

4 One may refer to the *jargah*, called to resolve the issue after the murder of Nadir Shah of Persia which gave its verdict in favour of Ahmad Khan,

After the establishment of British rule in India, the *quza* courts were replaced with English courts (1862), which decided cases on the system of Common Law. The new system was complicated and costly. Previously, there were no lawyers to argue for one's crime or innocence in the *qazi* courts but the parties often themselves pleaded their cases. With the introduction of British law and courts, lawyers who knew that new law and were ready to represent persons unacquainted with the law came forward as agents or *wakils* (lawyers) to plead their cases after charging a fee for it. They became an integral part of the system. The people now had to pay court fees also for filing writs, lawyers' fees for pleading their cases and other expenses like stamp dues. This became a source of income to the government but increased the financial burden of the people.

After starting his political movement, Haji Sahib was the first who took the initiative to revive the traditional *jargah* system. He urged people to avoid the British courts for adjudication of their feuds and to refer their cases to the *jargay* for resolution.<sup>5</sup> The Haji Sahib used to resolve such feuds with the assistance of local *jargah* in the vicinity of Turangzai and Umarzai. In rest of the Peshawar District, he formed one *jargah* in almost every town, comprising the elders of the area. The *jargah* used to hear the parties and decide according to *Pukhtu* and tenets of Islam.<sup>6</sup> Though these *jargay* had no force to implement their decisions but social pressure worked in helping to implement its verdicts. The violators of the decisions of the *jargay* were socially boycotted, so as to mend their ways. These *jargah* members were neither officially employed nor received salaries. Being part of the society, they knew how to find out facts and making case rulings fast and easy.

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popularly known as Ahmad Shah Abdali, the founder of Modern Afghanistan.

5 Abdul Qayyum, *Mashahir-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 118. Henceforth Qayyum, *Mashahir*.

6 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkira Sarfaroshan-i-Soba Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 225. Hereafter Sabir, *Tazkira*.



On the contrary, in the British courts, the judge was an outsider and in most cases, unaware of the complexity of traditional Pukhtun society. He was more concerned with the arguments forwarded by lawyers instead of finding the facts. The courts had office timings and followed them strictly. No matter how important a case was under consideration the courts would not open until the allotted time.<sup>7</sup> The *jargah* was different in this regard. There were no office hours for them and they could work for a longer duration. Usually there would be one case before them and enough time was given to evaluate and decide. They were responsible to decide any case, no matter how serious it would be.<sup>8</sup> That was why the people did not feel any need to go to the British courts. Justice was provided near their doorsteps.<sup>9</sup>

Haji Sahib's revival of the *jargah* was an attempt to provide a service to the local population that they could access readily and one that would lead to the betterment of the society as well as individuals. His system of adjudicating cases locally attracted many *ulama* around him. They were appointed to decide feuds and those *ulama* advised the people to boycott public institutions.<sup>10</sup> He was a pioneer of the political activities in the Frontier and was followed by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in later years. Before his movement, boycotting public institutions was rarely known in Colonial India in general and the Province in particular, but his

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7 I have personal experiences of the inefficiency and corruption of the prevalent judicial system. In one case despite the facts provided to the court, the lawyer of the opposite group was better in arguing the case as compared to my lawyer and the Peshawar High Court decided the case in favour of other party. I appealed to the Supreme Court of Pakistan but for years the turn of hearing did not come and subsequently I left the claim. There is another example of such delaying tactics. The Peshawar High Court decided a case in 2014 which was registered in court in 1916.

8 Farigh Bokhari, *Tahrik-i-Azadi aur Bacha Khan* (Urdu) (Lahore: Fiction House, 1991), p. 14. Henceforth Bokhari, *Tahrik-i-Azadi*.

9 Sabir, *Tazkira*, p. 225.

10 M. Amir Shah Qadri, *Tazkira Ulama wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad*, Vol. I (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 208. Hereafter Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*.

initiative was followed by many others in the decades to come.

His activities were not tolerated and in 1908 the Colonial authorities arrested him, but in the same year he was released on the security of ten leading men of Charsadda. In March 1915 his security lapsed and he migrated to independent territory in August, 1915.<sup>11</sup>

### **Haji Sahib's Struggle against British Allowance-Holders**

After his settlement at Sur Kamar in the Mohmand area,<sup>12</sup> Haji Sahib continued his reform movement for the social uplift of Pukhtuns. It has been rightly pointed out by various historians that the British policy in India was 'divide and rule'.<sup>13</sup> The Pukhtuns were divided into three parts: the Durand line was demarcated in 1893, and they were further divided into NWFP, Balochistan and the tribal areas. To avoid any link or cooperation among the Pukhtuns, no roads or rail tracks were constructed. These rail tracks run parallel from the Punjab towards the border of Afghanistan. The rail tracks to Dargai, Landi Kotal, Kohat, Bannu, Tank and Zhob were not interconnected.<sup>14</sup> To make themselves secure, the British adopted several methods. A *jargah* system of their own style, to suit their interests was introduced and the members appointed to the *jargah* did not represent the local people. Titles such as Khan Bahadar, Khan Sahib and Malak were given to the loyalists. These title holders really safeguarded the interests of the colonial government. They

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11 *AF-18 Vol. VI*, CID record 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 71.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Naqsh-i-Hayat* (Urdu), reprint (Karachi: Dar-ul-Isha'at, n.d.), p. 299. Henceforth Madani, *Naqsh-i-Hayat*. However, in case of Pukhtuns, it is on the record that the Mughals had adopted the 'divide and rule' policy by supporting one tribe against the other. One may refer to Akbar and later Aurangzeb policy in this regard.

14 Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol.I (Pashto) (Peshawar: Chapzai, 1992), pp.345-46. Henceforth Khan, *Bacha Khan*.

were rewarded for their services. The list of these title holders and awardees also included some religious figures.<sup>15</sup>

The British also employed a local militia known as *khasadar* for maintaining law and order in their respective areas. The tribal chieftains were paid *majib* to employ the militia and that was a source of regular income for the tribe. It served several purposes; firstly the regular troops were kept in cantonments to save expenses. Secondly, in the case of the Pukhtuns' uprising against the *Raj*, they had to fight against their own people.<sup>16</sup>

Haji Sahib advised the *Malakan* not to accept *majib* from the British. It was a critical time for the British because World War I had just started in Europe and was moving fast towards the colonies. In India, the main source of British power was the Indian forces. Then only a few *ulama* were preaching boycott. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan and his companions advised the Indians to boycott the British army. However, the majority of Indians, particularly the loyal subjects of the Crown, extended their full cooperation during the years of war. They helped in recruitment to the British Indian army in lieu of the titles conferred upon them<sup>17</sup> and promise of reforms after the war.

During the years of war the British government was passing through crucial times. At the early stage of the war it was facing defeats. Amir Habibullah Khan, the then Amir of Afghanistan, was an ally of the British and was not wise enough to exploit the situation. On 4 August 1915, a mass meeting of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was held in the Islamia Club Hall, Peshawar. Arbab Muhammad Azam Khan was elected president at the occasion. After making speeches by the leading members of the different communities, prayers were offered for the speedy

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15 *Ibid.*, p. 334.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 333.

17 Akbar, *Safarnama Turkistan*, p. 11.

termination of the war and the complete victory of the Allies.<sup>18</sup>

Under such circumstances, Haji Sahib of Turangzai started his anti-British activities in the tribal areas. He initially settled in Bagh, near Lakarai, Safi country, and opened a *langar*—kitchen for poor, at the Gwad Mulla's mosque.<sup>19</sup>

In the early stages, Haji Sahib acted as a deputy of Babara Mulla, and established cordial relations with Sandakai Mulla<sup>20</sup> and Chaknawar Mulla, both anti-British elements in the tribal areas. All of them remained busy in preaching the tenets of Islam in the Mohmand, Bajawar and Swat areas. They wanted to isolate the British from the local people. They advised a boycott of the British in whatever way possible. They also took strong actions against those who were on friendly terms with the British government.

Some pro-government tribes were strong enough and could not be dealt with alone; Haji Sahib and his associates discussed the matter to take punitive measures against the British allies in the tribal areas. For the said purpose, they went to the Halimzai area and made preparations for *jihad*.<sup>21</sup> Halimzai section of Mohmand was on friendly terms with the colonial government and did not allow Mullas and Haji Sahib to attack the British government troops through their area. It was the responsibility of the government allowance holders to inform the colonial government of any development, and failure resulted in the stoppage of their *majib*. They had to

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18 *North West Frontier Provincial Diaries 1915*. File. 50, Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 199. Henceforth *NWFPD 1915*; *Peshawar Political Diaries 1916*, File. 118, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 1-2. Henceforth *PPD 1916*.

19 *North-West Frontier Provincial Diaries 1916*, File. 51, Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 35. Henceforth *NWFPD 1916*.

20 Sandakai Mulla was a follower of Haji Sahib in his educational reforms; he opened private schools in Peshawar and Kalu Khan (Swabi). Khurshid, "Sandakai Mulla: Career and Role in the Formation of Swat State, Pakistan", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi), Vol. 45, April-June 1999, pp. 77-81.

21 *NWFPD 1916*, p. 189.

take measures to discourage any movement or *lakhkar* against the Colonial government. The Haji Sahib denounced all allowance-holders as 'tools' of British Imperialism. He also considered them as traitors to the nation. He wanted to reform their character through preaching virtues. With the passage of time, however, he received sufficient power and was able to seek explanations from those allowance-holders. He advised the tribesmen to socially boycott allowance-holders and isolate them until they repent and reform their ways. Jar Khan was a leading personality of Bajawar. He was taking *majib* from the government. He was forced not to accept any allowances or gifts from the colonial authorities. First he declined, but later on he came to a compromise and accepted the directives of Haji Sahib. Still he sought Haji Sahib's permission, even after his repentance, to join a funeral ceremony.<sup>22</sup>

The Haji Sahib was a staunch enemy of British Imperialism, and the British representatives were its symbol. He showed his resistance to the official visits at the borders. On 10 March 1917, the Viceroy of India visited the Mohmand blockade line. Haji Sahib came to Gandab in person to stir up trouble against the proposed visit of the Viceroy.<sup>23</sup> Such boldness was a threat to the agents of the Colonial government. Though Haji Sahib did not have enough force to attack the border, still the Colonial authorities felt insecurity. Troops were called from Peshawar to protect the Viceroy and his delegation.<sup>24</sup>

Since Haji Sahib was against any cooperation with the British, he advised the *malakan* not to help the Imperialists in any way. He was also against the recruitment of the tribesmen in the local militia; however, the British authorities also countered Haji Sahib's moves and directed their allies to

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22 Mian Akbar Shah, *Azadi ki Talash*, tr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1989), p. 58. Henceforth Shah, *Azadi ki Talash*.

23 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1917*, File. 119, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 32. Henceforth *PPD 1917*.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

resist his efforts in this connection. Some of the Mohmand tribes were asked not to bow before him and thus at times he was compelled to waste his energies and power against his fellow Pukhtuns.<sup>25</sup> The tribes were thus divided into two categories; the 'assured tribes' and the 'non-assured tribes'. The 'assured tribes' were constantly creating problems for Haji Sahib. Time and again he visited the assured tribes and advised them to reverse the British allowances. Often on such tours he was accompanied by a *lakhkar* of about one thousand men.<sup>26</sup> Such *lakhkars* served two purposes; firstly, to defend himself from the intrigues of the Colonial authorities; secondly, to create a sense of fear in the minds of the Mohmandan that Haji Sahib possesses sufficient force to punish them. Once, Badshah Gul, son of Haji Sahib was visiting the area of the Dawezai clan of the Mohmand tribe to preach virtues and prohibit vice. In the mean time, he was informed that Malak Payudin Dawezai had just received a British allowance. As he had not paid any heed to the previous advice of Haji Sahib, his house was burnt immediately.<sup>27</sup> Badshah Gul then proceeded to Pipal Dawezai, with a *lakhkar* of six hundred when the elders of the tribe were at Shabqadar to receive their allowances. He burnt ten houses including the houses of Malak Payudin, Malak Zorawar, Malak Musafar Khan and Malak Mian Lal.<sup>28</sup>

In the Mohmand area the major ally of the Colonial government was Malak Anmir, a Halimzai. Moreover, the Gandab Halimzais, some Kamali Halimzais and Utmanzai were also on friendly terms with the colonial government. Interestingly, Haji Sahib had the support of some of the

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25 *North-West Frontier Provincial Diaries 1918*, File. 52, Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 178. Henceforth *NWFPD 1918*; *Political Border Administration Report 1918-19*, File.123, Bundle 7, p. 49. Henceforth *PBA 1918-19*.

26 *Mohmand Border Administration Report 1923-24*, File 155, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 33. Hereafter *MBAR 1923-24*.

27 *Political Diary Mohmand 1926*, File. 96, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 6. Henceforth *PDM 1926*.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Halimzais while others were supporters of the *Raj*. Other tribes including Qandaharian, Safian and Mitai Musa Khel were supporting Haji Sahib. In 1927, Mitai Musa Khel turned against Haji Sahib. Kamali Halimzai contacted Malak Anmir, British ally, and Gandab Halimzai *malakan* to help them against Haji Sahib. Malak Anmir and other *malakan* replied that they would help on the condition that Mitai Musa Khel would stop any dealings with Haji Sahib and also stop going with him to Jalalabad.<sup>29</sup> The British supporters in the tribal area tried their utmost to stop the activities of Haji Sahib, but without rare success.

The Haji Sahib advised the tribesmen to boycott British allowance-holders in their social lives as well. Once during funeral services being conducted in the Kamali Halimzai area, a number of *mullas* of Yakhdhand protested against the presence of Abdullah Jan son of Malak Umar Utmanzai, a receiver of the British-allowance. Abdullah Jan challenged the *mullas* to remove him if they could; a *mulla* came up and tried to remove him, whereupon Abdullah Jan turned upon his assailant and knocked him down.

A general disturbance occurred as a result, and the *mullas* were roughly handled. They immediately went to Haji Sahib and laid their grievances before him, who acted at once and burnt a number of houses in Utmanzai and the Kamali Halimzai area. He was accompanied by some of his followers and the fact that no opposition was offered to him indicated his rising ascendancy amongst the upper Mohmandan.<sup>30</sup>

This alarmed the British authorities leading them to call for a combined *jargah* of Utmanzais, Kamali Halimzais and Dawezai tribes. In the *jargah*, the tribes assured the Deputy Commissioner that they would make alliances against Haji Sahib if he would visit again.<sup>31</sup> Malak Umar Khan Utmanzai,

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29 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

30 *Ibid.*, p.92.

31 *Peshawar Political Diary 1927*, File. 129, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 13. Henceforth *PPD 1927*.

another ally of the British, also took actions against the *mullas* by establishing truces in his tribe against them. He requested the colonial government to help him in turning all the *mullas* out of the Utmanzai area.<sup>32</sup> The government, however, did not agree to directly involve itself in the matter.

The Haji Sahib planned to settle the matter once and for all. He intended to turn out the British allowance-holders and reconcile those tribes. The colonial government asked the Lower Mohmand to assist the Utmanzai and Kamali Halimzai tribes. The Faqir of Alingar, who had settled and possessed a strong hold over the Bajawrian, supported Haji Sahib. The Bajawar and Baezai tribes, did not want encroachment from the authorities over their area, and supported Haji Sahib in this matter.<sup>33</sup> The Haji Sahib collected a huge *lakhkar* of Halimzai, Tarakzai and Pindiali and proceeded to Kamali and the Utmanzai area. He found that the Utmanzai and the Kamali Halimzai were divided between themselves. Haji Sahib set out for Kundo Kohi and these two sections turned on their leading allowance-holders, drew them out of their houses and destroyed their property. Malak Umar Khan, Payudin and Jaffar Utmanzai and Abdullah Jan, Kamali Halimzai fled to Matta Mughal Khel. Some exchange of firing started between Haji Sahib's associates and allowance-holders. The Haji Sahib then sent Qasai Mian to open negotiations with Anmir. He agreed to receive a *jargah* provided that it would come unarmed. As a result of negotiations, Haji Sahib was allowed to set fire to the house of Malak Anmir and took two cows as a fine. Similarly the houses of some other leading *malakan* were also burnt. On the next day Haji Sahib held a *jargah* with the Halimzais at Dag, at which he announced that he had no desire to interfere in the mutual relations of the lower tribes and the government. However, he appointed Qasai Mian to preach the tenets of Islam to the Lower clans.<sup>34</sup>

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32 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.



Through the preaching of Haji Sahib and the burning of their houses the Kamali Halimzais failed to reform their ways. Haji Sahib ordered the *mullas* of Yakhdhand to exclude all allowance-holders and their adherents from public prayers. He asked them to refuse burial of their dead. Upon the orders of Haji Sahib many cases were reported to the British government that their supporters were faced with difficulties in these areas. They were compelled to bring a *mulla* from the limits of the other tribes to conduct their funeral with proper ceremony. The effect of that order had been to isolate the leading *malakan*.<sup>35</sup> The same way of social boycott was applied in the British territory as well. Haji Sahib wanted to pressurize the *malakan* through different means to mend their ways.

A Musa Khel<sup>36</sup> *jargah* was convened by the Deputy Commissioner on the 12 March 1927 and was fined for their participating in the activities of Haji Sahib.<sup>37</sup> In the same *jargah* they were given their allowances. The imposition of a fine was to show their authority and discourage the tribe in taking any action against the British government in the future. Another *jargah* was convened and Haji Sahib tried to stop their proposed visit to Peshawar. Due to his failure in stopping them from visiting Peshawar, he made an alliance with Said Khan and Abdul Rasul Mitai Musa Khel and

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35 *Report on Mohmand Situation 1927*, File. 188, Bundle 10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 5. Hereafter *RMS 1927*.

36 Musa Khels were the followers of the Haji Sahib and since 1913 they were neither visiting the authorities nor receiving their allowances. The Colonial government tried through the assured tribes and won over them to their side and ultimately a *jargah* was convened. When the Haji Sahib was busy in reforming them, the British government increased their allowance. The Colonial government convened their *jargah* in this regard. The tribal *jargah* contemplated visiting Peshawar, and the Haji Sahib sent his *mazoons* to prevent the departure of the *malakan*. Subsequently he sent his son and eventually went himself to Mitai and requested the elders in the name of Quran not to go. The *Malakan* replied that the matter was one of great importance to them and that they would certainly go. At this the Haji Sahib left Mitai and threatened the tribe that he would take action against them.

37 *RMS 1927*, p. 27.

brought a *lakhkar*. They burnt some houses of the allowance holders in protest.<sup>38</sup>

Haji Sahib was very much concerned with such developments in the Mohmand areas. To punish the allowance holders, he visited Dawezai and burnt some of their houses for receiving their autumn allowances.<sup>39</sup>

In retaliation, the government took action against the Safi and Musa Khel sections of the Baezai tribe, who had supported the Haji's move. Haji Sahib urged the allowance-holders to reform themselves, otherwise he would once again visit their villages. His energies would be directed towards the Kamali Halimzai and Utmanzai *Malakan*. He was able to convince Mohmandan and Bajawrian to support his efforts. He was also in correspondence with the sons of Babara Mulla and Faqir of Alingar. Two Baizai *malakan*, Malak Muhasil and Abdul Rasool, expressed their intentions to support the endeavours of Haji Sahib in the future.<sup>40</sup>

To counter Haji Sahib's efforts through this alliance, the Colonial government summoned a *jargah* of Halimzai, Tarakzai, Essa Khel and Burhan Khel sections at Shabqadar. The *jargah* met on the 28 March 1927. The District Officer, Frontier Constabulary, Shabqadar, Kuli Khan<sup>41</sup> briefed the *jargah* on the plans that the government had to oppose the efforts of Haji Sahib. It was also made clear to them that this was the perfect occasion to free them from the influence of Haji Sahib. The only way this could be accomplished would be through the unification and aid of the Utmanzai, Dawezai and Kamali Halimzai sections. The *jargah* was further informed that earlier, they were not rewarded in a proper way for their services. The District Officer promised compensation provided they oppose Haji Sahib with all the force and power they could muster.

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38 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

40 *PDM 1927*, pp. 30-31.

41 Father of Lt. General Habibullah Khan (d. 1994) and grandfather of Lt. General Ali Kuli Khan.

Additionally, to ensure their loyalty they were told that if the truce was broken a fine would be imposed upon the clan.<sup>42</sup>

The circumstances turned against Haji Sahib, but soon faction-feuds provided an opportunity for him to take punitive measures against Abdullah Jan, leader of the opposing factions. His house was burnt, and although he offered resistance it was to no avail. In the cross-fire, Mian of Khanka, one of Haji Sahib's disciples killed.<sup>43</sup>

Both Haji Sahib and the British authorities tried to isolate the opposing side, and both faced difficulties in this regard. It seemed that at times money had won over allies to the British in Mohmand area. The Mohmand region was barren and those living there had meager economic resources. The *malakan* were inclined to get favours from the British at maximum. The colonial government also utilized this factor to its utmost and won over many *malakan* to its side by paying them monthly allowances. However, in the end we see a major shift in the attitudes of the Mohmandan. Many supported Haji Sahib in his endeavours against the *Raj* and offered resistance to the forward moves of the Imperial forces in their respective areas.

### **Struggle against the Khan of Khar and the Nawab of Dir**

Apart from the above mentioned allowance holders in the Independent tribal territory; the two major allies of British Imperialism were the Nawab of Dir and the Khan of Khar. Both of them were the staunch supporters of the British and thus were a constant threat to the opponents of the *Raj*. On the other hand, Abdul Matin Khan, son of Umara Khan of Jandul and the Khan of Nawagai, were supporting Haji Sahib. The main concern of the Khan of Khar was to occupy the fort of Nawagai, as it was key to hold and control Safi Mohmand area. Moreover, Haji Sahib was also residing in

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42 *PDM 1927*, pp. 31-33.

43 *Peshawar Political Diary 1928*, File. 130, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 53-55. Henceforth *PPD 1928*.

the same locality so probably indirectly the Khan of Khar also wanted to expel him and attract British sympathies.<sup>44</sup>

The Khan of Khar was supported by the Nawab of Dir and the British were always available to help him in his activities. Haji Sahib and Babara Mulla were supporting the Khan of Nawagai as it was their ultimate line of defense. As stated earlier, though Haji Sahib was reluctant to attack a Pukhtun brother, he was left with no other option. The Khan of Khar captured Tangi, a village of Nawagai. Ahmad Jan, the Khan of Nawagai requested Haji Sahib to help him against the Khan of Khar. Haji Sahib, following Pukhtun traditions, consulted his allies, particularly the Mohmandan.<sup>45</sup> They showed their willingness to help the Khan of Nawagai: Badshah Gul to proceed to Nawagai to assist Muhammad Ali Khan and Ahmad Jan Khan against the Khan of Khar. Badshah Gul summoned the Qandaharian and Mitai Musa Khel for the fight. After full arrangements, a message was conveyed to the Khan of Khar to return Tangi and Ghundai to the Khan of Nawagai, the only condition for avoiding Mohmand's offence on his force. The Khan of Khar earlier occupied both villages and Haji Sahib himself was in Bajawar to prepare Utman Khel Baizai to assist him against the Khan of Khar. Ultimately, a fight took place between the Khan of Khar and Badshah Gul, without any result. Eventually, Haji Sahib asked Gandab Halimzai to arrange peace between the Khan of Khar and the Khan of Nawagai.<sup>46</sup> After the failure of peace talks, both parties intensified fighting and Badshah Gul occupied some territory from the Khan of Khar.<sup>47</sup> Haji Sahib advised the Utman Khel to avoid helping the Khan of Khar, otherwise they would face the consequences. The ultimate result of all of these

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44 *Political Border Administration Report 1931-32*, File. 162, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 37. Henceforth *PBDR 1931-32*.

45 *Political Diary Mohmand 1924*, File. 94, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 27. Henceforth *PDM 1924*.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

developments was a truce for three months between Badshah Gul and the Khan of Khar and they ordered their respective *lakhkars* to retire.<sup>48</sup>

Hostilities between the Khan of Khar and the Khan of Nawagai once again began in 1925, when the former attacked the latter. After his defeat, the Khan of Nawagai requested Badshah Gul II to help him: both Haji Sahib and Badshah Gul I were at Kabul during that time. Badshah Gul II sent forty men from Alingar and Safi villages and promised to send more help at the return of his father from Kabul. To strengthen his position, the Khan of Khar asked the Khan of Jandul to help him. The latter replied that there was no hope of success as the majority of Mohmandan were ready to fight on the side of Ahmad Jan Khan of Nawagai.<sup>49</sup> At his return from Kabul, Badshah Gul I led a *lakhkar*, left Lakarai and proceeded to support the Khan of Nawagai. They wanted to decide the matter once and for all.<sup>50</sup> A letter was sent by Haji Sahib to the Amir of Afghanistan that the British government was aiding the Khan of Khar; their main purpose was to bring Nawagai under its control through the Khan of Khar; if that would happen Haji Sahib's influence among the Mohmand would disappear and he would have to move from their midst. His departure would cause a considerable decrease in the Amir's prestige amongst the Mohmandan. The Mohmandan had refused to lend him aid against the Khan of Khar. It was thought that the Amir in his own interests should take some precautionary measures, and supply Haji Sahib with men and money to continue the struggle against the Khan of Khar.<sup>51</sup> No support was extended to Haji Sahib, as the Amir was preoccupied with the internal disturbance in the country. Immediately after

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48 *Ibid.* This sort of truce for a specific time was called *tiga* and is famous even to this day in the tribal belt. The aim of the temporary peace is to find ways for the permanent peace settlement.

49 *Political Diary Mohmand 1925*, File. 95, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 8. Henceforth *PDM 1925*.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

these developments, the Mangals revolted in Afghanistan. The fear of Haji Sahib was true as the British and the Khan of Khar were trying to expel Haji Sahib from Mohmand country. The Khan of Khar captured Asghar village in Charmung. The Musa Khels were also willing to assist the Khan of Khar in expelling Haji Sahib from the area provided the Khan of Khar gave assurance that he would not interfere in Musa Khel factional affairs.<sup>52</sup>

To strengthen his position against the Khan of Khar, Haji Sahib wrote to Malak Muhasil Koda Khel Baezai, on behalf of the Safian that he would be accepted as the leader of the tribe, as their Khan. Furthermore, they would pay him *ushar* and he would be responsible for the protection of the tribe from the Khan of Khar's aggression.<sup>53</sup> Malak Muhasil did not agree to the offer of Haji Sahib, but latter's position was still strengthened. The Khan of Khar did not dare to attack the Mohmandan for two years and there was peace in the area. After two years, he was once again able to collect a *lakhkar* to attack Nawagai. Musa Khel informed him that they would not allow his *lakhkar* to pass through their limits, because he would harass Mitai Musa Khels as was done by the late Khan of Nawagai. The former were taking allowances from the British, and they informed Assistant Political Officer Kuli Khan that Haji Sahib and Badshah Gul have declared them *kafirs* (infidels) due to their non-participation in the struggle against the Imperial forces. The Assistant Political Officer asked them to side with the Khan of Khar. The tribe replied that they would do so provided the government gave them assurance that the Khan of Khar would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Mitai Musa Khel.<sup>54</sup> The tension over Nawagai was due to its strategic position. The fort was the key to ultimate annexation of the Safi area. The Khan of Khar wanted to have the fort under his sway and thus be

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52 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

53 *Peshawar Political Diary 1928*, File.130, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 55. Henceforth *PPD 1928*.

54 *Political Diary Mohmand 1930*, File. 105, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 27. Henceforth *PDM 1930*.

able to minimize the influence of Haji Sahib in the Mohmand area.<sup>55</sup> The Colonial government was unable to give assurance to Musa Khel and the Khan of Khar was not allowed to pass through their area. Ultimately, he was unable to attack the Safian. In the remaining years of Haji Sahib's life, no attack took place. There were several factors responsible. The Colonial government was preoccupied with the internal situation of the Frontier due to the activities of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement,<sup>56</sup> and it was unable to support the Khan of Khar. The political activities in India had gained momentum and there was constant disturbance in the down country. The rising power of Germany in Europe posed a serious threat to the British and their interests shifted to making alliances in Europe. Last but not the least, several attacks on the fort of Nawagai had failed due to several reasons and the Khan of Khar realized that the occupation of the fort was not possible for him. As stated earlier, Haji Sahib was not an ambitious man. He neither wanted to attack a Pukhtun brother nor extend his influence by occupying more territories; rather he was more interested in the reformation of the tribesmen through preaching and tribal traditions.

Like the Khan of Khar, the Nawab of Dir was also a British ally. Haji Sahib and the Nawab of Dir did not confront each other. There are several factors: Mohmand and Dir did not share a boundary, and the Nawab of Dir was more interested in Swat, instead of the barren hills of Mohmand. Haji Sahib did not confine his struggle against the British Allies but waged a holy war against Imperialism, which is further elaborated and discussed in the succeeding pages.

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55 *Political Border Administration Report 1931-32*, File. 162, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtukhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 37. Henceforth *PBAR 1931-32*.

56 For a comprehensive study of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement, see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in North-West Frontier Province 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

## **Chapter 4**

### **Anti-British Struggle**

The 28 June 1914 Sarajevo accident became an immediate cause for hostilities between Austria and Serbia. Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated by a Serbian student. This incident triggered the start of the World War I, which soon involved other major European Powers supporting either side during the War. Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914.<sup>1</sup> Though the war was a European one, it soon spread to the British colonies, who also followed Britain in this regard. Being a colony of the British Empire, India also joined the war. It had played a significant role in the victory of the Allies. The Indian forces were sent to the Middle East, Europe and elsewhere to fight for the *Raj*. Although, we are not concerned with the details of the war, however, some related details would be provided which are essential for our discussion on the contemporary events of India. The freedom fighters struggling for their liberation took it as a golden opportunity because they were convinced that the British forces were engaged in a European War and had little time for Indian affairs.

#### **Migration of Haji Sahib to Tribal Area**

On the declaration of the War, a number of prominent *ulama*, led by Mahmud-ul-Hassan started an anti-British campaign. They were opposing the British, because the Turks, their Muslim brethren, had joined Germany against the Allies. Being the centre of the Caliphate, the Muslims had an emotional affiliation with Turkey. Sheikh-ul-Islam, the

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<sup>1</sup> H.L. Peacock, *A History of Modern Europe 1789-1968* (London: Heinemann, 1958), pp. 277-78.



religious head of Turkey declared *jihad* against the Allies and asked the Muslims to keep themselves at the disposal of the Sultan of Turkey.<sup>2</sup> Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman<sup>3</sup> was sent by Mahmud-ul-Hassan to Haji Sahib Turangzai and asked him to migrate to the tribal areas.<sup>4</sup> The Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar issued an arrest order, but he was timely informed by Muhammad Azam Khan, who was a British employ and a disciple of Haji Sahib<sup>5</sup> who immediately prepared himself for the migration. He announced that he wanted to offer alms after his deceased mother and called his friends to Turangzai. The matter of *jihad* and migration was discussed and in the still of the night he started his journey, accompanied by his two sons, Fazli Akbar and Fazal Shah. He advised Qari Abdul Musta'an of Akbarpura, one of his disciples, to bring the rest of his family next morning, and then proceeded to the Buner border via Maneri (Swabi). Haji Sahib was accompanied by Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman, Maulvi Abdul Aziz (Utmanzai), Maulvi Fazli Rabbi of Baffa (Mansehra), two disciples Sa'ad Ullah, Sajeed Gul and several other men. They started preaching *jihad* against the British Indian government after entering Buner.<sup>6</sup>

### Preparation for Jihad at Buner

Haji Sahib arrived at Dagai, Buner on 13 July 1915, and started preaching *jihad* against the British. He was disappointed with the attitude of Ayub Khan, Chief Khan of

2 *Hindustani Fanatics A-F-17*, Vol. 1, CID 1921, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 39. Henceforth *Hindustani Fanatics A-F-17*.

3 Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman, born in Mathra (Peshawar), educated in Deoband and became a disciple of Mahmud-ul-Hassan. He was sent to Haji Turangzai and after his migration to tribal area, he settled in Afghanistan.

4 Noor Muhammad, *Mujahid-e-Sarhad: Manzoom Jangnama Haji Sahib Turangzai* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Siddiq Brothers, 1959), p. 23. Henceforth Muhammad, *Jangnama*. Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand au Jaddojahad* (Pukhtu) (Kabul: Daulati Matba'a, 1983), pp. 109-110. Henceforth Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand*.

5 Nasar Ullah Khan Nasar, *Da Turangzo Haji Sahib* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Pukhtu Adabi Tolana, 1951), p. 15. Hereafter Nasar, *Haji Sahib*.

6 *AF-18 Vol. VI*, CID, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 71; Muhammad, *Jangnama*. pp. 23-27.

Buner. Next he met the *mullas* of Mirzai, Nurezai, and Daulatzai. He was informed that they would decide immediately after *Eid*, whether they would be extending help or not. Ni'amatullah, the Amir of the Hindustani Mujahidin was also met in this connection.<sup>7</sup> During the month of *Ramadhan*, they were busy preaching *jihad* and spiritual devotion. For this purpose, local *mullas* including Sandakai Mulla were contacted. Haji Sahib remained busy and visited Chakesar, Azi Khel, Chagarzai, Madda Khel, Hassanzai, Akazai, Swatian of Deshi Tikri, Allai and Thakot. The Majority of these tribes promised to support him in his anti-British activities. At the same time, supporters of the *Raj* were also busy in propagating against Haji Sahib and sending information to the authorities regarding his activities. In this connection, some local chiefs including Amir Khan of Batagram and Biradar Khan of Thakot expressed their loyalties and assured the Colonial Government of their stand against Haji Sahib.<sup>8</sup>

Haji Sahib remained busy in his arrangements for *jihad* and many tribes were contacted. Haji Sahib and Ni'amatullah, Amir of the Hindustani Mujahidin dispatched a delegation to meet Habibullah Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan with a request to fix a date for the commencement of Holy war against British Imperialism. The reply of the Amir was expected after *Eid*, however, when informed, the British Indian government was sure that the Amir of Afghanistan would not create any problem for them on the western borders, because he was a firm supporter of the British Indian Government.<sup>9</sup>

To avoid any direct confrontation with Haji Sahib, Sir George Roose-Keppel, then Chief Commissioner of the NWFP, made some personal efforts. A *jargah*, consisting of Khan Bahadar Sa'ad Ullah Khan (Umarzai), Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan (Tahkal) and a few other influential figures

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7 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1915*, File 117, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 176. Henceforth *PPD 1915*.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 199.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

were sent to Buner with a full authority of negotiations to bring Haji Sahib back to his hometown at any cost. The *jargah* met him at Buner, most probably in the month of July, and informed him that the colonial government was willing to accept his demands provided he would return. Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman represented Haji Sahib and told the *jargah* members bluntly that they should be ashamed of stopping Haji Sahib from waging *jihad* against the British. He reminded them that being Pukhtun they should support Haji Sahib in his endeavours against imperialism and that Britain should leave India unconditionally.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the *jargah* members returned unsuccessful.

### **The Skirmishes with the British Forces at Surkawi**

Preparations were made on both sides, and the colonial government was well aware of the activities of Haji Sahib and other anti-Imperialist groups. Moreover, as Buner was close to Mardan, allowance holders were the main source of information for the government. In mid-August 1915, the Buner tribesmen started collecting at the passes near Rustam (Mardan). Haji Sahib himself arrived at Ambela and British troops arrived at Rustam the same day. On 17 August 1915, about 4000 tribesmen armed with swords and guns attacked the British forces. The subsequent battle resulted in heavy casualties on the tribesmen's side with 20 dead and many injured. While according to the official estimate 40 wounded and 50 dead; the British troops suffered only one casualty: a seapoy dead and two wounded.<sup>11</sup> The defeat of the tribal *lakhkar* was due to various factors, including lack of proper training and inferior quality of arms compared to a well-trained and heavily equipped army. After this skirmish, the majority of tribesmen returned to their homes, however, the Hindustani Mujahidin were still resisting the Imperial

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10 Nasar, *Haji Sahib*, pp. 17-18; Muhammad, *Jangnama*, pp. 28-30.

11 *PPD 1915*, p. 214.

troops. At times they engaged the British troops, but eventually left the area without making any major gains.<sup>12</sup>

Eventually the Buner tribesmen decided for reconciliation with the British authorities. As a first step in this connection, they asked Haji Sahib to leave their area, which he did. Nevertheless, when he decided to leave Buner there were about 120 families including the prominent Sartor Faqir, who accompanied Haji Sahib to Swat. These are the people who supported him in his anti-British struggle for the remaining years of his life.<sup>13</sup>

As Haji Sahib entered the Swat Valley, about four hundred tribesmen accompanied him. The Sartor Faqir and Sandakai Mulla had an old feud, but with Haji Sahib's efforts both decided to overlook their differences and join hands against the colonial forces.<sup>14</sup> Both advanced to the down valley with a considerable force. The Swatian were excited with the rising of the Buner tribesmen; however, Aba Khel and Musa Khel opposed the *mullas* passage through their territories. Other tribes were contacted including Khan Khel, Ranizai, Sam Ranizai, who showed their willingness to support Musa Khels. The *mullas* did not leave their activities and tried to stir up the people with some success.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately, an attack was made on the pickets of the Movable Column on the night of 29 August. In the fight, which lasted for a night, some 100 tribesmen were wounded and killed. The British casualties were 11. Another attack was made on the British troops at Thana, some of the troops were killed, while others were taken away by the tribesmen.<sup>16</sup>

Madda Khel and other tribesmen from Chakesar also joined Haji Sahib at Buner. The Black Mountain tribes,

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12 *Ibid.*, p. 222. It is pertinent to note that the Amir of Mujahidin concluded a peace treaty with the British Indian government a couple of years later.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43.

however, did not participate in the *jihad*. As a preventive measure, the colonial government summoned the headmen of all the border villages to Ogi (Mansehra) and instructed them to inform the government of the approach of any hostile *lakhkar*.<sup>17</sup>

### **Haji Sahib in Swat and the Internal Situation of the Area**

Politically there was no central government or authority in Swat in those days. The people were living according to Pukhtu—Pukhtun code of conduct.<sup>18</sup> Sandakai Mulla was a spiritual as well as political leader of that part of Swat. It was under his leadership that they were able to defend themselves from the oppression of the Nawab of Dir. Under his leadership the forces of the Nawab of Dir were defeated in 1915, which resulted in giving considerable political authority to the Sandakai Mulla. They invited Sayyid Abdul Jabbar Shah, grandson of Sayyid Akbar Shah, the former Badshah of Swat, to accept responsibility, which he did accordingly,<sup>19</sup> but after the approval from the British authorities.

When Abdul Jabbar Shah became ruler, none believed that he would succeed. With the passage of time he faced troubles and difficulties.<sup>20</sup> The Swatian found an excuse to expel Abdul Jabbar Shah from Swat because he had allegedly converted to the Ahmadiyah sect.<sup>21</sup> The people of

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17 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

18 Fredrick Barth, *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans* (London: The Athlone Press, 1959), p. 128. Henceforth Barth, *Political Leadership*.

19 Khurshid, "Sandakai Mulla: Career and Role in the Formation of Swat State, Pakistan", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, Vol. 47, April-June 1999. Henceforth Khurshid, "Sandakai Mulla".

20 Abdul Jabbar Shah had sought Deputy Commissioner's consent when the *jargah* from Swat approached him to become the ruler of Swat. For a comprehensive study of Swat see Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969): From Genesis to Merger: An Analysis of Political, Administrative, Socio-Political, and Economic Developments* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

21 Abdul Jabbar Shah Sithanavi's position can be easily known if one is able to read his manuscript entitled *Shahadat-ul-Thaqlain*.... The publication of the said manuscript will give a new twist to the history of the area.

Swat could not tolerate such a person to rule them. The Sandakai Mulla and other religious people agitated against him and he was asked to make clear his position. He said: "You brought me peacefully, you should send me peacefully, without molesting my relatives and servants."<sup>22</sup> He was dethroned and Swat plunged into civil war which culminated in the success of Miangul Abdul Wadud, one of the descendents of Akhund Abdul Ghafur (Saidu Baba) of Swat.

Before the replacement of Sayyid Abdul Jabbar Shah by Miangul as the ruler of Swat, Haji Sahib was invited by Sandakai Mulla. He reached Swat after his failure in Buner and started preaching *jihad*. He and Sandakai Mulla were asked by the ruler of Swat to avoid preaching *jihad* at that juncture as the situation was not favourable. Ghulam Rasul Mihr asserts that Sandakai Mulla did not like that and went to Buner himself, but was recalled by the ruler and prepared a *lakhkar* to attack the British troops, stationed at Dir, but remained unsuccessful and ultimately went back.<sup>23</sup> However, Mihr's contention is not supported by the facts.

Meanwhile, Miangul was collecting forces to be used against Sandakai Mulla and Haji Sahib. He also declared that *mullas* had brought sufferings to the people of Swat. Some local *mullas*, under the instigation of Miangul challenged Haji Sahib and Sandakai Mulla to prove that their activities were not against the basic tenets of Islam.<sup>24</sup>

After their failure in getting a positive response in Swat, Haji Sahib and Sandakai Mulla went to Kohistan to raise a *lakhkar* against the British, but did not succeed.<sup>25</sup> After his failure in Swat and Kohistan, he settled in the Mohmand area. During the war years, Haji Sahib and anti-British elements in the tribal area directed their activities against the British government. The war was in full swing and the Allies

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22 Khurshid, "Sandakai Mulla".

23 Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1974), pp. 527-28. Hereafter Mihr, *Sarguzasht*.

24 *PPD 1915*, p. 251.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

were facing hard times. Before Haji Sahib's arrival in Mohmand country, Badshah Sahib of Islampur, Babara Mulla and Chaknawar Mulla were raising *lakhkars* for *jihad*. The Badshah Sahib of Islampur and Chaknawar Mulla with a force of six thousand took position at Hafiz Kor in lower Mohmand. Babara Mulla's three thousand men occupied the mountains, east to the Ali Kandi Pass. In the encounter between the British troops and the *lakhkar*, seven officers were killed and fifty-three wounded. The tribesmen's losses were about eighty to hundred, and the exact number of the injured was not available.<sup>26</sup> The encounter revealed that the tribesmen's losses were more than the British troops, because they lacked proper training, planning and had out dated arms.

After his settling in the Safi country, Haji Sahib tried to stir up the Mohmandan against the colonial government. Initially, he tried to establish himself on strong footings. Later, he increased his influence in the area and started his anti-British activities.

In 1923, the colonial government started operations in Waziristan against the Mahsud tribe. Haji Sahib was much concerned about these operations. In April 1923, he sent five letters, in Pukhtu, to Malak Anmir Halimzai, to be delivered to the leading Shinwari and Afridi *Malakan*, i.e. Bazmir and Khan Bahadar Mir Akbar Khan of Lowargi (Landi Kotal), Jabbar Khan and Khan Bahadar Zaman Khan Kuki Khel, and Jabbar Khan Zakha Khel. The letters were written with a purpose: to warn them of the British action against the Mahsuds and to request them to raise their combined voice against the operation in Waziristan. Although Haji Sahib knew that these tribal elders were not in a position to stop these raids against the Mahsuds, he simply wanted to convey to the British authorities that the Pukhtuns were apprehensive towards the military action in Waziristan.<sup>27</sup>

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26 *Ibid.*, P. 273.

27 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1923*, File 125, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 36-37; *Mohmand Border Administration*

### Afghanistan and Haji Sahib of Turangzai

The rulers of Afghanistan were on friendly terms with the British government, and after the second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1882) no serious differences arose between the two. At the outbreak of the war in Europe, the Amir of Afghanistan was informed through a letter from the Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, that the British had declared war on Germany. The Viceroy also wanted Afghanistan's neutrality in this connection. The Amir replied immediately that Afghanistan would remain neutral and would not join any of the warring parties. This was quite an encouraging response to the British. The Government of India had sent its forces to the Middle East and elsewhere in the World to fight for the Allies. Very few garrisons were left on Indian soil. During the war time the anti-British elements stirred up people to rise against the colonial government, but without success. The British played their cards wisely. On the one hand, the Amir's sympathies were gained, and on the other hand, it was propagated that *jihad* could not be legalized without the consent of the Muslim king.<sup>28</sup> This was to avoid the tribesmen's uprising on a large scale. During the war, the Amir of Afghanistan was taking oaths from the leading men of Afghanistan, the tribal areas and NWFP, that till he declares war on the British, they would not wage *jihad*. As stated earlier, the people were told that a *jihad* without the prior permission of the Muslim king was against the *sharia*.<sup>29</sup> Chaknawar Mulla, Haji Sahib and others tried to convince the Amir to declare *jihad*, but without success. Turkey being the seat of the Caliphate had always enjoyed respect from

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*Report 1922-23*, File 155, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 35. Henceforth *MBDR 1922-23*.

- 28 Majority of the contextualist Ulama held this opinion and are not authorizing privatization of *jihad* as this trend has damaged the image of Islam. It is pertinent to note that tribal and peripheral societies resist the extension of state authority and may give any name to their resistance. Despite his declaration, the struggle of the Haji Sahib may not fall in the fold of pure technical term of *jihad*, rather an attempt to resist the colonial rule.
- 29 Abdullah Laghari, *Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi ki Sarguzasht-i-Kabul* (Urdu) (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), p. 59. Henceforth Laghari, *Ubaidullah Sindhi*.



other Muslims, Afghanistan being no exception. The Afghans appealed to their monarch to declare *jihad* against the British and its Allies but to no avail. Within the ruling elite, there were three groups led by Sardar Nasar Ullah Khan, the Amir's younger brother, Prince Aman Ullah Khan his son, and Sardar Mahmud Tarzi editor of *Siraj-al-Akhbar* and one of the trusted nobles of the Amir. They put pressure upon the Amir, time and again, to declare war against the British, but the Amir did not agree on the plea of the neutrality of Afghanistan.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, a Turko-German Mission arrived in Kabul. The Mission remained there for a long time. They urged the Amir to declare war against Britain.<sup>31</sup> The Amir did not promise to wage war and pleaded regarding the neutrality of Afghanistan. The mission eventually left Kabul after its failure to get Afghanistan's support against the British.

At the end of the War, with the Allies' victory, a Peace Conference was convened in Paris, which took place between January-June 1919, the final treaty being signed on 28 June. The Amir wrote to the Viceroy of India to extend a formal invitation to the Amir for his participation in the Peace Conference at Paris, but the Viceroy turned down the request. On 2 February 1919, he once again wrote to the Viceroy to conclude a treaty with him to proclaim Afghanistan as an independent state, otherwise he would send his delegation to the Peace Conference directly and disclose the deceiving nature of the British Indian authorities. The Viceroy had not replied yet, when the Amir was assassinated in Jalalabad.<sup>32</sup>

Sardar Nasar Ullah Khan proclaimed himself Amir in Jalalabad and in Kabul Prince Aman Ullah Khan declared

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30 Abdul Hai, *Afghanistan au Sarhad: Yawa Tarikhi Jaiza* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Taj Mahal Company, 1988), pp. 315-17. Henceforth Hai, *Afghanistan*.

31 *Maulvi Obedullah Sindhi*, A-F-5, Vol. I, Special Branch 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 30. Henceforth *Obedullah Sindhi*.

32 Hai, *Afghanistan*, p. 222.

himself King of Afghanistan. Aman Ullah Khan strengthened his position and was accepted by all segments of society in Afghanistan, as well as to the east of the Durand Line.<sup>33</sup> In a few months time, Aman Ullah Khan announced the independence of Afghanistan.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, the Bolshevik regime in the USSR under Vladimir Ilyich Lenin immediately accepted him as king and promised to extend full support, whenever needed.<sup>35</sup>

In India, the situation worsened with the Jalianwala Bagh incident on 13 April 1919, which resulted in the death of hundreds of people. The people were already annoyed at the passage of the Rowlatt Act,<sup>36</sup> which was introduced by the authorities to curb the activities of the Indian revolutionaries.<sup>37</sup> During the War, the Indians were promised that reforms would be introduced, but instead they received the Rowlatt Act. The turmoil in India created a favourable atmosphere for King Aman Ullah Khan. He commenced hostilities against the Government of India on 9 May 1919.<sup>38</sup>

Afghan forces and Pukhtun tribes attacked the British Indian border. Though the Afghan forces were not well-equipped and trained, they still had the enthusiasm for jihad and for the liberation of Afghanistan. At Dakka, the

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33 *Frontier Reports*, 1919, File 144, Bundle 8, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 13.

34 Laghari, *Ubaidullah Sindhi*, p. 189.

35 Hai, *Afghanistan*, p. 225.

36 The Rowlatt Act was a law passed by the British in colonial India in March 1919, indefinitely extending "emergency measures" (of the Defence of India Regulations Act) enacted during the World War I in order to control public unrest and root out conspiracy. Passed on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission, named for its president, British judge Sir Sidney Rowlatt, this act effectively authorized the government to imprison for a maximum period of two years, without trial, any person suspected of terrorism living in the *Raj*. The Rowlatt Act gave British imperial authorities power to deal with revolutionary activities.

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

38 *Political Border Administration Report 1918-19*, File 150, Bundle 11, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 24. Henceforth *PBAR 1918-19*.

Mohmandan under Badshah Gul were sent by Haji Sahib and played a prominent role. They were able to check the advance of the British forces and saved Jalalabad from the British occupation.<sup>39</sup> Nadir Khan, who later became king of Afghanistan, succeeded on another front and occupied the fort at Tal.<sup>40</sup> The majority of British Indian troops were outside India, moreover, they were tired after actively participating in an exhaustive World War I. Furthermore, the internal situation in India was hostile to the colonial government.

All of these factors helped the Afghan government and eventually resulted in the British renouncing its claim over Afghan foreign policy. Independence was proclaimed in the Treaty of 1919, which was followed by another in 1921, confirming its independent position.<sup>41</sup> Haji Sahib played a prominent role in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Anglo-Afghan War. He wanted to attack Shabqadar, but was opposed by the lower Mohmandan, who were on friendly terms with the British. Haji Sahib was unable to attack Shabqadar,<sup>42</sup> his activities on the Mohmand border made it difficult for the colonial government to shift their forces from the Shabqadar fort to face Afghan forces at some other place. Though both British India and Afghanistan announced its victory in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Anglo-Afghan War, Afghanistan won over its independence as a result of the War.

The British then started instigating various tribal revolts against the Amir to weaken his position. In 1924, the Mangals of Khost revolted. Their objection was over the *nizamnama*—a legal code introduced by Aman Ullah for running Afghanistan. At the revolt of the Mangals, the Amir summoned the tribes to Jalalabad and presented the

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39 *Political Border Administration Report 1920-21*, File 151, Bundle 9, p. 10. Henceforth *PBAR 1920-21*.

40 Hai, *Afghanistan*, pp. 340-41.

41 John C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan: Key to a Continent* (London: Westview Press, 1981), p. 48. Henceforth Griffiths, *Afghanistan*.

42 Ijaz-ul-Haq Quddusi, *Tazkirah Sufia-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1966), p. 216. Henceforth Quddusi, *Sufia-i-Sarhad*.

*nizamnama* to the *mullas* present on the occasion. The *mullas* told the Amir that they would study the code and see what was objectionable according to the *sharia*, and they would prepare a code entitled '*majma'a ul fatawa*' and the country would be ruled according to that code.<sup>43</sup>

The Mangals were then informed by the Amir that the *nizamnama* they resented had been repealed and that they would be considered rebels if they committed any mischief henceforth. The Mangals defied the Amir's orders. Mir Zaman Khan of Kunar was ordered to proceed against the Mangals with 4000 men. Mulla Chaknawar sent a letter to Haji Sahib to the effect that the Amir of Afghanistan wanted the presence of all Mohmand and Bajawari tribes at Jalalabad. The concern of the Amir was to organize a *lakhkar* and to send it against the Mangals. Badshah Gul went to Zorawar Khan of Charmung in order to collect a *lakhkar* of the Charmungis. The Haji Sahib himself initiated peace talks between Gurbaz and Safian to enable himself to collect a *lakhkar* of the Qandaharian.<sup>44</sup> On the persuasion of Haji Sahib, several tribes including the Qandahari, Safi, Gurbaz, Utmanzai, Dawezai and Charmungi offered their services to the Amir.<sup>45</sup> Badshah Gul was followed by Haji Sahib with about forty Kamali Halimzai and eighty Qandaharian. The total number of people under Haji Sahib including Badshah Gul's persons was one hundred and seventy men. On the other side, two hundred and sixty people accompanied Malak Muhasil.<sup>46</sup> After some days, Haji Sahib appealed to the Qandaharian to send one person per house to Jalalabad. However, he received a letter from the governor of Jalalabad to the effect that the Mohmandan were required to protect the city of Kabul only instead of going to the field against the rebels.<sup>47</sup>

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43 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1924*, File 94, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 60. Hereafter *PDM 1924*.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61A.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

47 *Ibid.*

On the war front, the Mangals defeated the Afghan troops and the troops were reinforced by the Mohmand *lakhkar*. A counter attack was made upon the Mangals, which defeated the Mangals and left them with heavy casualties.<sup>48</sup> After the defeat of the Mangals, the Amir honoured the Mohmandan.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, the Mangals apologized for their past conduct and requested for peace. They gave their two hundred leading *malakan* as hostages to the Amir. The British authorities stopped the allowances of those tribes including Dawezai and Utmanzai who took active part in the suppression of the Mangals.<sup>50</sup>

### **The Combined Struggle of Haji Sahib and Faqir of Alingar**

After his return from Afghanistan, Haji Sahib started a campaign to raise *lakhkar* against the British. On 1 November 1926, at Lakarai, a *jargah* was convened to discuss their future strategy regarding the British. Eight prominent Afridis of Tirah, ten *malakan* of the Safi and Qandahari, Malak Muhasil and Malak Umar Koda Khel, six *malakan* of the Utman Khel and Malak Salamat, Said Khan and Abdul Rasul, Mitai Musa Khel, also attended the *jargah* along with twelve followers. The total number of *jargah* members was about two hundred.<sup>51</sup>

The *jargah's* proceeding started with Haji Sahib's speech. He elaborated the activities of the colonial government that, according to him, were aimed against Islam and they were restarting such efforts with their full might and power. Malak Muhasil and the Afridi

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48 The winning was due to a trick played by the Mohmand under Badshah Gul, Umar Khan and Malak Muhasil. One night they lighted lamps in their tents and themselves sat in ambush at a distance from their camp. The Mangals attacked the empty tents, while the Mohmands fell upon them from behind and routed them. About hundred Mangals were captured alive and some of them were killed and wounded.

49 *PDM 1924*, p. 75.

50 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1925*, File 95, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 60. Henceforth *PDM 1925*.

51 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1926*, File 96, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 77. Henceforth *PDM 1926*.

representatives followed Haji Sahib. The general tone of the speeches, however, remained anti-British. They pledged to resist the Imperialist designs of the British authorities. Some prominent tribes including the Halimzai, Tarakzai, Essa Khel, Burhan Khel and Dawezai did not attend the *jargah* for various reasons.<sup>52</sup>

Haji Sahib remained busy in preaching *jihad*. The colonial government, suspiciously, did not punish the tribes, which attended the *jargah*. They probably did it to avoid more hatred against the government. The next step on the part of the authorities was the removal of various blockades, which the Mohmandan were facing since 1897. One of the many reasons, as stated earlier, was the promotion of friendly relations between the authorities and the Mohmand tribe.<sup>53</sup>

In the meantime, the Faqir of Alingar issued a *fatwa* for *jihad*. He sought support from Haji Sahib, which was readily available. The Faqir of Alingar attacked Subhan Khawar near Shabqadar. On 5 June 1927, with a *lakhkar* of about three thousand and followed by Haji Sahib they attacked Pindiali. This time they were better prepared and well-organized.<sup>54</sup>

The colonial government decided to use the air force to disperse the invading tribesmen. On 7 June in the early morning, air operations started, which lasted till late evening of the same day. The *lakhkar* was unable to defend itself from the air strikes so they requested Halimzai and Burhan Khel, who were on friendly terms with the government to stop these strikes. The *lakhkar* eventually dispersed with heavy casualties, i.e. thirty men dead and many wounded.<sup>55</sup>

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52 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

53 *Political Border Administration Report 1926-27*, File 157, Bundle 11, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 30. Henceforth *PDAR 1926-27*.

54 *Report on Mohmand Situation 1927*, File 188, Bundle 10, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 5. Henceforth *RMS 1927*.

55 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1927*, File 101, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 11-12. Henceforth *PDM 1927*.

The air operations demoralized the Mohmandan and Faqir of Alingar. During the fight the 'Assured Tribes' offered their best services to the colonial government. Tarakzai, Halimzai, Burhan Khel and Essa Khel tribes guaranteed the blockade line.<sup>56</sup> The news of the retreat of Haji Sahib and Faqir along with thier *lakhkars* was received by Badshah Gul at Jalalabad. The Afghan government was watching the events cautiously and was disturbed at the defeat of the *lakhkar*.<sup>57</sup>

The defeat of the combined *lakhkars* of Haji Sahib and the Faqir of Alingar had its repercussions on the Mohmandan. The colonial government was now regularly deploying the air force to disperse the hostile tribesmen. This demoralized the tribesmen to such an extent that for a few years to come, no uprising was reported in the Mohmand area.

### **The Civil Disobedience Movement in NWFP, Qissa Khawani Massacre (1930) and Haji Sahib's Responses**

The Frontier Congressmen including Lal Badshah, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdur Rahim and Habib Ullah Khan formed the Frontier Province Congress Committee (FPCC) on November 17, 1929. With the formation of the FPCC, the political activities in the province increased. Under the direction of the central organization, the FPCC decided to observe 26 January 1930 as 'Independence Day'. It requested Abdul Ghaffar Khan to utilize his good offices and to gain support for the Congress programme. In the next few months, the Congress got enough support. The Frontier Congress workers violated the Salt Law, by manufacturing it locally on 15 April 1930. The next step was the picketing of liquor shops and April 23 was selected for this purpose.<sup>58</sup> On the night of 23 April the leaders of the FPCC were arrested. The next day two prominent Congressmen were arrested in

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56 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

58 The myth of non-violence is clear from the episode which had a planned use of force for closure of liquor shops.

daylight. It worsened the situation and the police and military fired the Congress activists. This resulted in the killing of hundreds of political activists.<sup>59</sup> Firing at Peshawar was followed by similar acts in Takkar (Mardan), Utmanzai (Charsadda) and Hathi Khel (Bannu). These firing incidents created more hatred against the British in the NWFP, and the adjacent tribal areas. The police on different charges victimized the political activists. The Khudai Khidmatgar leaders including Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khilafat volunteers were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>60</sup>

The tragic news of the firing in Peshawar and Charsadda and the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others leaders was conveyed to Haji Sahib.<sup>61</sup> Indignant over these reports, he at once decided to intervene.<sup>62</sup> He sent one of his sons to Utman Khel Mohmand. A son of Babara Mulla and Faqir of Alingar were sent to Bajawar to raise a *lakhkar* against the British. Haji Sahib, accompanied by his associates entered Gandab and wrote letters to Halimzai *malakan* to help them against the British government. A *jargah* was held in which Haji Sahib decided to move and carry anti-British demonstrations to set free the ring leaders, arrested in Peshawar. The Halimzai *malakan* advised him to go back, because Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested for defying the British authority. Some of his associates requested Haji Sahib to go back, because the tribesmen lacked enough resources, preparations, and it was harvesting season, additionally *Eid* was approaching. Ultimately, he returned from the Halimzai area and approached other tribes.<sup>63</sup>

Badshah Gul, accompanied by some two hundred persons went to Pindiali, where he asked Burhan Khels and Essa Khels to raise a *lakhkar* against the British, but they

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59 Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*, pp. 31-32.

60 Allah Bakhsh Yusafi, *The Frontier Tragedy*, reprint (Karachi: Mohammed Ali Education Society, 1986), p. 15.

61 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1930*, File 105, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 21.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

63 *Ibid.*



refused to do so. On the pretext of the coming *Eid*, the Utman Khel and Musa Khel did not respond positively.<sup>64</sup> Haji Sahib then proceeded to Ghallanai and Badshah Gul to Sahib Gul Shaheed, a village near Shabqadar. They were supplied food by people of Katozai, Utmanzai and other villages of Doaba and Hashnagar. The colonial government ordered the Frontier Constabulary to arrest the suppliers and three such men were captured.<sup>65</sup>

At the time of the Qissa Khawani massacre, Badshah Gul I and Malak Muhasil were in Jalalabad. Haji Sahib sent them a message to come back at once because Indians had revolted against the colonial government and had requested him to appear with a *lakhkar* and the Indians themselves would accomplish the rest. After a few days Malak Muhasil and Malak Umar Koda Khel arrived at Sahib Gul Shaheed to join Badshah Gul II. The upper Mohmand were not prepared to join Haji Sahib due to the harvest season.<sup>66</sup>

Haji Sahib asked Malak Anmir to call the Halimzai *khassadar*, in order to avoid confrontation with their Pukhtun brethren. In case he would not act according to his direction, his village would be burnt. Assistant Political Agent Khan Bahadar Kuli Khan asked Malak Anmir not to bow down before Haji Sahib and to resist the *lakhkar* with a heavy hand. The colonial government would bomb the *lakhkar*, attacking his village.<sup>67</sup> Apart from giving assurance to Malak Anmir, the colonial government distributed money to the tribesmen to avoid a collective force on their borders. They were asked to avoid joining Haji Sahib and Malak Muhasil. While Haji Sahib and Malak Muhasil constantly asked the Mohmandan to join them for the sake of their tribal honour.<sup>68</sup>

*Malakan* of the 'assured tribes' asked the colonial government to bomb the *lakhkar* of Badshah Gul and till that

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64 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

65 *Ibid.*

66 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

68 *Ibid.*

time they would avoid joining him under the pretext of collecting their harvest. They were hopeful that in the meanwhile the British Indian government would disperse the *lakhkar* by dropping bombs on the tribesmen opposing the *Raj*. They further suggested that letters in Pukhtu and Persian should be distributed, advising the Mohmandan to stay in their houses and not to join the Haji Sahib and company. If anybody would come out at the behest of anti-British people, he himself would be responsible for his consequent destruction.<sup>69</sup>

On the recommendation of the Assistant Political Agent of Mohmand, aeroplanes flew on the Mohmand area. In some areas it targeted the *lakhkar* and even suspected houses were bombed. The family of Haji Sahib left their house and went to the nearby caves in the mountains, which they had made for their protection during such instances.<sup>70</sup>

In December 1931, after the failure of the Round Table Conference, the Khudai Khidmatgaran of the Peshawar District were arrested on a large scale. Haji Sahib received this news with great displeasure. He decided immediately to resume his anti-British activities. He used the occasion for two purposes: to raise a *lakhkar* against the British and to punish the allowance holders, however, he failed to achieve either. Meanwhile, some Khudai Khidmatgaran entered Bajawar, approached Faqir of Alingar and requested him to support their cause against Imperialism. On their request, he started preaching *jihad* in the Shamozaï, Mamund, Salarzai and other Bajawar tribes. Badshah Gul and the Faqir of Alingar collected two thousand persons. The *mullas* of Yakhdhand preached *jihad* among the Utmanzai, Dawezai and Kamali Halimzai. Another part entered Utmanzai and at that time the colonial government warned the Utmanzai through the Halimzai *malakan* not to join the hostile *lakhkar*. Meanwhile, an advanced guard of the Bajawar *lakhkar* entered Pindiali, led by Gul Sahib, son of Babara Mulla and

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69 *Ibid.*

70 *Political Border Administration Report 1931-32*, File 162, Bundle 9, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 8-9.

Badshah Gul III. The Utmanzai failed to heed the government's warning. Once again the government warned them that Yakhdhand and the surrounding villages would be bombed on March 12. On 11 March, a *lakhkar* man fired an aircraft then flying over Rud in Pindiali. In retaliation, the colonial government bombed the *lakhkar*,<sup>71</sup> which resulted in eighteen casualties. Ultimately, the *lakhkar* dispersed and left Pindiali. In another air action the residence of Haji Sahib and the surrounding houses were destroyed,<sup>72</sup> however, the family of Haji Sahib was not hurt as they had left their residence before the bombing.

The colonial government was annoyed at the activities of Haji Sahib. He was accused of raising *lakhkars* against the government, time and again. The air strikes were a strong reminder to Haji Sahib and his associates, who could not defend themselves against such bombing. By using air artillery against civilian targets, the government achieved another success: the Pukhtun tribesmen were demoralized because from the skies they were an easy target.

### **The Construction of Road in Mohmand Country**

After the 1931-32 bombing, Haji Sahib remained quiet for some time but the colonial government invited trouble for itself in the Mohmand area. They initiated the construction of a road in Mohmand area, which was simply a continuation of their forward movement. The tribesmen did not like interference in their area. The construction was planned in 1926, but opposition of the sections of the Mohmand tribe made the construction difficult, at least for the time being.<sup>73</sup>

In the construction of the road, the 'Assured Tribes' offered their services including labour, but due to Haji Sahib's influences and movement the plan was postponed.

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71 The Pakistan army has been using air bombing in FATA and Swat during the so called war on terror though the Indian army has not used air bombing in Kashmir against the fighters since 1989. It shows the colonial legacy that the regime is changed but the military mindset is still the same.

72 Muhammad, *Jangnama*, pp. 67-68.

73 Muhammad Amir Shah Qadri, *Tazkirah Ulama wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad*, Vol. I, (Urdu) (Peshawar: n.d.), p. 217. Henceforth Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*.

After utilizing air power, they gave it a second thought. There was a truce between the tribes and the colonial authorities, stating that the authorities would not follow such activities, which would be harmful to the tribesmen.<sup>74</sup>

In 1933, the colonial government started the construction of the road. Haji Sahib sent his son Badshah Gul to oppose it and burnt the houses of the Halimzai, who had provided labour and other facilities. Badshah Gul also damaged the road and the government sent its forces. A road was constructed till Gandab. After several days of fighting, a truce was made and stated that the tribes would not damage the already constructed road and the colonial government would not construct further road. Furthermore, the colonial government would withdraw its forces from Gandab.<sup>75</sup> After the passage of two years, in 1935, the plan was renewed. Haji Sahib once again urged the tribes to rise against the colonial government.<sup>76</sup>

Badshah Gul was sent to Utman Khel to raise a *lakhkar* against the British. In retaliation, the colonial authorities arrested relatives of the tribesmen in the British territory and were asked to convey message to their relatives not to support Haji Sahib against the British. If they did so they would be guaranteed release. The tribesmen assured Haji Sahib that he would not be left alone. Since the Burhan Khel and Essa Khel were given huge amounts as a bribe for the construction of the road. The tribes started to fight over the distribution of the sum of money, however, this proved to be a blessing in disguise for Haji Sahib and his associates. They attacked the British camp in Karappa and the fight went on for three days. Meanwhile, Haji Sahib sent a *lakhkar* under Badshah Gul to destroy the road. The *khasadars*, who were safeguarding the road fled when they heard of the advance of the *lakhkar*. The road was almost destroyed and after the destruction of the road, they went to the Gandab

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74 Muhammad, *Jangnama*, p. 80.

75 Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*, pp. 217-18.

76 Muhammad, *Jangnama*, pp. 82-86.

valley. The colonial government ordered its forces to move and the Royal Air Force was to assist the army in its movement against the Mohmandan, who had taken positions in Karappa, Ali Kandi and Pir Kalay. The army contingent from Peshawar was also dispatched to Pir Kalay. The reinforcement reached Karappa on 16 August 1935 and the planes were ordered to kill those who were destroying the road. It was also reported that the Commanding Officer further ordered the bombing of every village in Pindiali, Danish Khel and Bazid Khel areas. For four days bombs were dropped in Burhan Khel, Essa Khel and the rest of the Mohmand area. This resulted in the inflicting of heavy casualties both in terms of human beings and their livelihood. Furthermore, hundreds of houses were destroyed in these bombardments.<sup>77</sup>

British troops were ordered to occupy Dhand, resulting in hand to hand fighting and the deaths of several British officers. The troops were unable to remove the tribesmen from their positions and on 24 August a severe battle took place in Karappa. Both sides suffered heavy losses. Bombs were also dropped on Ghalanai on 23 August, but still the Mohmandan and Bajawrian were holding their positions. On the same day Lakarai was also bombed and Haji Sahib's family took refuge in the nearby mountains.<sup>78</sup>

### **Illness and Death of Haji Sahib**

The activities of 1935 were the last pursuit of Haji Sahib. He was suffering from partial paralysis since 1926, but in late 1936, he was completely paralyzed. He was immediately taken to Kabul for treatment and the King of Afghanistan took personal care of him. Despite the best possible treatment at Kabul, no sign of recovery was evident. On the advice of his disciples and family members, he was brought back to Mohmand country.<sup>79</sup> He died on the 14 December

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77 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-91.

78 *AF-18, Vol.V, CID, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 71.*Henceforth *AF-18, Vol. V.*

79 Muhammad, *Jangnama*, pp. 94-97.

1937 and was buried at Ghaziabad.<sup>80</sup> The news of his death shocked his disciples and Pukhtuns not only in the tribal belt but elsewhere. All business came to a standstill at Shankargarh, Akora Khattak, Kohat, Mardan and Takhtbhai as a mark of respect.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, a partial *hartal* was also observed in Peshawar.<sup>82</sup> This was to mourn the death of Haji Sahib and to offer *fateha*—prayers for the departed soul—in almost every town in the NWFP and the adjacent tribal areas, along with condolence meetings. On this occasion, the life and service of Haji Sahib was eulogized.<sup>83</sup>

After the death of Haji Sahib, his sons continued their activities and provided a platform to his disciples. Daily, hundreds of disciples visit the last resting place of Haji Sahib.<sup>84</sup> This is a testament and tribute to his services and contribution to the struggle for freedom in the subcontinent.

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80 *AF-18, Vol. V, p. 73.*

81 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

83 *Ibid.*

84 In the recent wave of militancy in the Pukhtun belt of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, his tomb was occupied by the militants in 2007. It is not irrelevant to note here that his armed struggle was against the colonial authorities and he never involved in killing the innocent people.



## Chapter 5

### Connection with Anti-British Elements and Impact of the Movement

Haji Sahib of Turangzai had a broad vision of modern politics. He knew that it was impossible for him to achieve his goal in isolation; therefore, the assistance of other anti-British elements was essential. Only with such collaboration the liberation of India would become a reality. In this connection, he established his contacts in Afghanistan, anti-British elements in the tribal areas and down country India.

For many years he had a connection with Deoband through his contact with Mahmud-ul-Hassan and his companions.<sup>1</sup> Some people believed that the reform movement of Haji Sahib was the brainchild of Mahmud-ul-Hassan, also referred to as Sheikh-ul-Hind,<sup>2</sup> however, there is a lack of verifiable data to confer this hypothesis. Although, there is sufficient evidence pointing to the fact that Mahmud-ul-Hassan was in contact with Haji Sahib because of his potential and his opposition to the *Raj*. Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman acted as their link. Sheikh-ul-Hind had planned to liberate India with the help of a foreign force, but at that time the internal situation was unfavourable for a revolutionary movement. To create a favourable situation for *jihad* and to give further boost to the liberation movement, it was decided to send Maulvi Ubaidullah Sindhi to Kabul to request the Afghan monarch to help the liberation movement in India.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin* (Urdu) (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1974), p. 532. Hereafter Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*.

2 Aziz Javed, *Haji Sahib of Turangzai* (Urdu) (Peshawar: Idara-i-Tahqeeq wa Tasneef, 1982), p. 54. Henceforth Javed, *Haji Sahib of Turangzai*.

3 Maulana Abdullah Laghari, *Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi ki Sarguzasht-i-Kabul* (Urdu) (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), p. 31. Hereafter Laghari, *Ubaidullah Sindhi*.



Maulvi Ahmad Ali, popularly known as Sandakai Mulla was asked to establish an Islamic school in his area. Haji Sahib was also a member of this circle, and was busy in establishing such schools in his district.<sup>4</sup> According to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he and Fazli Mahmud Makhfi were advised by Sheikh-ul-Hind to select a place for similar activities in the tribal area. They went there and selected a place and waited for Ubaidullah Sindhi but he did not come.<sup>5</sup>

On the outbreak of World War I, the situation changed drastically. It was realized that now the time for quick action had come. Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman was sent to work for cooperation amongst the anti-British elements of the tribal area.<sup>6</sup> The Silk Handkerchief Movement was initiated by the revolutionaries, in order to liberate India from the clutches of foreign rule. For a long time Shaikh-ul-Hind had been planning for such a movement and World War I provided an opportunity to expedite the activities of these revolutionaries. In the first phase, the people who were attached to the movement initiated *madaris* in various parts of the country. Their main purpose was to prepare the masses for such a revolution.<sup>7</sup> Ubaidullah Sindhi opened Nazarat-ul-Maahf-ul-Qurania<sup>8</sup> in 1913 at Delhi, and Abu-al-Kalam Azad opened Dar-ul-Irshad in 1915 at Calcutta. The aim of these schools was to propagate Pan-Islamism and to liberate the country from the control of foreign powers.<sup>9</sup>

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4 Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, p. 530. The reform movement and establishing schools was the personal initiative of Haji Sahib but he became a member of the circle of Mahmud-ul-Hassan.

5 Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand au Jaddojahad* (Pashto) (Kabul: Daulati Ma'tba, 1983), p. 96. Hereafter Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand*.

6 Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, p. 532; Ghaffar, *Zama Jwand*, p. 109.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 530.

8 Sayyid Mohammad Mian, *Tahreek-i-Sheikh-ul-Hind* (Urdu) (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Zakaria, 1975), p. 464. Henceforth Mian, *Sheikh-ul-Hind*. Mian claims that his book is the translation of the record preserved at the India Office/ British Library under the title of *Silk Handkerchief Case*. Also Mihr, *Sarguzash-t-Mujahidin*, p. 11.

9 Mihr, *Sarguzashat-i-Mujahidin*, p. 417.

Ubaidullah Sindhi went to Kabul to convince the Amir of Afghanistan to wage *jihad* against the British. Furthermore, he had to work for creating an atmosphere of cooperation among Afghanistan, Iran and the Ottoman Empire. In Kabul, he founded the *Jundullah*. The commander in chief of the army was Mahmud-ul-Hassan and almost all pan-Islamists were included in this army without any discrimination of race, nationality and colour. He also formed the Provisional Government of India with the collaboration of Indian revolutionaries with Raja Mahendra Pratap<sup>10</sup> as its president, Barkat Ullah Bhopali prime minister and Ubaidullah Home Minister.<sup>11</sup> On behalf of the Provisional Government, missions were sent to different countries. Ubaidullah sent letters to the Indians to revolt against the British on the eve of an attack from the North West.<sup>12</sup> Another letter was sent to the Amir of Mujahidin.<sup>13</sup> Haji Sahib of Turangzai had already migrated to the tribal areas to organize tribesmen against the *Raj*. The aim was to weaken the British and thus not only liberate the country but also help the Turks, as they had declared war on the British.<sup>14</sup> Sheikh-ul-Hind wanted to seek Turkish help in the liberation of India.<sup>15</sup>

During this time, Ubaidullah Sindhi wrote a letter to Mahmud-ul-Hassan regarding his activities in Kabul. These letters did not reach its destination and were intercepted by the colonial authorities. Many people were arrested in

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10 On 1 December 1915, the Indian revolutionaries formed the Provisional Government of India in-exile, at Kabul. Anti-British forces supported this movement, but for obvious loyalty to the British, the Amir kept on delaying the expedition. Due to his revolutionary ideas Raja Mahendra Pratap had a good relationship with Lenin. Lenin invited him to Russia after the revolution and welcomed him. He had become a real threat to British rule in India. The British Government of India declared a reward as his head-money, confiscated his entire estate and declared him a fugitive.

11 *Maulvi Obedullah Sindhi AF-5 Vol. I*, 1916, Special Branch Record, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 85-86. Henceforth *Maulvi Obedullah Sindhi*.

12 The letter, written in Urdu language is given in Appendix C.

13 The letter in Urdu is given in Appendix D.

14 Mian, *Sheikh-ul-Hind*, p. 426; Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, p. 532.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

various parts of the country.<sup>16</sup> Eventually, the movement failed and Haji Turangzai and his associates were to rely on their own resources to fight against the British. Mahmud-ul-Hassan was arrested in Taif, later on sent to Malta, where he remained in prison for three years. His associates including Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman, Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Utmanzai, Maulvi Fazli Rabbi of Baffa (Mansehra) and Fazli Mahmud Makhfi accompanied Haji Sahib to the independent tribal areas. Later on, Saif-ur-Rahman settled in Kabul. Abdul Aziz went to Swat and was killed there after some years, while Fazli Mahmud Makhfi and Fazli Rabbi joined Abdul Ghaffar Khan and rendered valuable services in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement.<sup>17</sup>

After his migration from British India, Haji Sahib Turangzai roamed in the Independent tribal area for some time. He also went to Swat and eventually settled permanently in Lakarai, Mohmand area. The first prominent anti-British person, Haji Sahib met, was Babara Mulla, who had led the tribesmen in attacking Shabqadar in 1915.

Haji Sahib Turangzai was a new comer in the area, so Babara Mulla appointed him as his deputy. To pacify the tribesmen, a Mohmand *jargah* was called by the authorities to Shabqadar in December 1915. The *jargah* also asked Babara Mulla for a meeting. He replied that he would meet them in the Gwad Mulla mosque at Bagh. He himself avoided such contacts and sent Haji Sahib Turangzai as his deputy to negotiate at the *jargah*. Haji Sahib Turangzai was

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16 Mihr, *Sarguzashat-i-Mujahidin*, p. 535.

17 *Fazal Rabbi, Maulvi, AF-11*, 1936, C1D Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 57. Henceforth *Fazal Rabbi*. Fazli Rabbi was a popular figure in Afghanistan. When there was friction between Maulvi Bashir and Fazal Ilahi of Chamarkand Colony, he came in person and tried to reconcile them, but unable to do so. *Hindustani Fanatics AF-17, Vol. IV*, File 6, Bundle 79, 1933, Special Branch Record, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar.

given the seal and was authorized to decide on his behalf on that occasion.<sup>18</sup>

However, the cordial relations between them did not remain smooth forever. Differences started between them on the issue of raising tribesmen against the British. Haji Sahib wanted to raise the *lakhkar* immediately, while Babara Mulla had a different point of view. Despite such minor differences, as a whole, their mutual relations remained cordial. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> Anglo-Afghan War (1919), Babara Mulla accompanied Haji Sahib Turangzai and other freedom fighters in attacking Shabqadar. In 1922 and then in 1926, Babara Mulla joined Haji Sahib against the British. He also supported Haji Sahib in his social reform movement and helped him in burning the houses of *majib khors*.<sup>19</sup> As stated earlier, there were some sections of various tribes who were unwilling to accept Haji Sahib as their leader. In this regard, Babara Mulla visited these tribes and convinced them to acknowledge Haji Sahib as their undisputed leader during the anti-British campaign.<sup>20</sup> Haji Sahib on his part also provided his support to Babara Mulla in settling local disputes.<sup>21</sup> Babara Mulla sought Haji Sahib's help to settle the matter with the Khan of Khar.<sup>22</sup> The latter intended to annex some area of Mohmand, which was a major threat to the anti-British elements in the tribal area. After consultation, they threatened the Khan of Khar to adopt a friendly attitude otherwise the combined force of the tribes would attack him.<sup>23</sup>

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18 *North-West Frontier Provincial Diaries 1916*, File 50, Bundle 4, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 4. Henceforth *NWFPD 1916*.

19 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1916*, File 90, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 142. Henceforth *PDM 1916*.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

22 *Political Diaries Mohmand 1920*, File 100, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, p. 81. Henceforth *PDM 1920*.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Apart from these prominent individuals, Haji Sahib was also supported by various factions of Mujahidin then residing in Chamarkand and Smaste.<sup>24</sup> According to some reliable sources, forty-five Mujahidin volunteered themselves to live permanently with Haji Sahib and to fight British Imperialism in that part of South Asia.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from the tribesmen, Haji Sahib had a large number of anti-British followers in the settled areas, the majority of them being from the Peshawar district. One of the most prominent disciples of Haji Sahib was Abdul Ghaffar Khan,<sup>26</sup> a resident of Utmanzai, Charsadda, who later on dominated the Frontier Province for decades to come. He gave his full fledge support to the reform movement of Haji Sahib and was amongst the close associates of Haji Sahib and faced intimidation on the flight of Haji Sahib to the independent tribal territory.<sup>27</sup>

Abdul Ghaffar Khan followed the footsteps of Haji Sahib, after his migration to the tribal territories. Abdul Ghaffar Khan remained in touch with Haji Sahib until his death. Haji Sahib helped many associates of Abdul Ghaffar Khan to cross over to Afghanistan via the Mohmand, thus offering them a safe passage through the tribal areas.<sup>28</sup>

During the Hijrat Movement, following many other like-minded people, Abdul Ghaffar also migrated to Afghanistan. Later on he realized that staying further in Afghanistan would

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24 The remnants of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi had established their colonies at various places, the most prominent being Smaste (Asmar for colonial masters and outsiders) and Chamakand for two reasons. Smaste remained Mujahidin's colony for quite a long time and Chamarkand colony was established in 20th Century. They contributed in the supply of arms to the nationalists in India.

25 *NWFPD 1916*, p. 77.

26 Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan au Khudai Khidmatgari*, Vol.I (Pashto) (Peshawar: Chapzai, 1992), p. 355. Henceforth Khan, *Bacha Khan*.

27 *Index of the Names of the Followers of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, AF-18, Vol. IV*, 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. XIII.

28 Mian Akbar Shah, *Azadi Ki Talash*, tr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah (Urdu) (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1989), p. 57. Hereafter Shah, *Azadi ki Talash*.

serve no objective of him and his comrades in winning independence for the country. He started his journey back to India. On his way back he stayed for a few days with Haji Sahib.<sup>29</sup> After his return from Afghanistan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan started his reform movement, which mainly aimed at the social reformation of the Pukhtun society.<sup>30</sup> The colonial government could not remain a silent spectator for a long time; soon Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested and sent to Dera Ismail Khan Prison. Evidence suggests that Haji Sahib remained in touch with Abdul Ghaffar Khan during his imprisonment.<sup>31</sup>

As stated, during the Hijrat Movement, Haji Sahib helped those people who migrated to Afghanistan. The Khilafat Committee Peshawar sent a deputation to Matta Mughal Khel on 13 July 1920 to meet Haji Sahib and to discuss the Muhajireen's further journey to Kabul via Ali Kandi. Haji Sahib of Turangzai assured the committee that he would supervise the safe passage of the Muhajireen through Mohmand area.<sup>32</sup> Haji Sahib conveyed his message to all sections of the Mohmand that such Muhajireen were to be treated as honourable guests.<sup>33</sup>

Many of the Muhajireen visited Lakarai to pay their homage to Haji Sahib. Haji Sahib moved to Khwaezai country, so that he would be located along the route towards Kabul and thus minimize the troubles of the Muhajireen. He also sent his *mazoons* to help them on the line of march. He asked all the *mullas* in the Charsadda tahsil to encourage the Hijrat Movement in all possible ways.<sup>34</sup>

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29 *Peshawar Political Diaries 1920*, File 122, Bundle 7, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 130. Henceforth *PPD 1920*.

30 Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in North West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 22. Henceforth Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism*.

31 *AF-18 Vol. VIII*, CID NWFP, 1922, File 79, Bundle 5, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 9. Henceforth *AF-18, Vol. VIII*.

32 *PPD*, 1920, p.87.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Likewise, Maulvi Bashir of Chamarkand Colony of the Mujahidin had a close connection with Haji Sahib Turangzai. When there was a dispute between Maulvi Bashir and Fazli Ilahi over the leadership of the Chamarkand Colony, the Haji Sahib sided with the former. He visited Lakarai to meet Haji Sahib several times.<sup>35</sup> In 1934, Maulvi Bashir was assassinated at his residence. Badshah Gul came to Chamarkand and due to his efforts the Mujahidin Colony was saved from the revenge of the people of the area. Though the murderer was not identified, but Fazli Ilahi was asked to leave the Mujahidin Colony.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from Muslims, evidences suggest that Haji Sahib was in touch with revolutionary movements, led by non-Muslims. They included Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Ghadar Party; the latter sent two of its members to Lakarai. To deceive the official informers, they pretended to be Sikhs who wanted to embrace Islam. They stayed at Lakarai and then visited Kabul to meet the Indian revolutionaries then residing there. On their way to Kabul they also met Mujahidin at Chmarkand. While in Lakarai, they adopted Muslim names. They were required to supply bombs and other weapons to their party members through the Chamarkand Mujahidin. One of them succeeded in escaping to Lahore and the second was arrested by the British authorities at Shabqadar.<sup>37</sup>

One of the prominent figures of the Pukhtuns was Haji Muhammad Amin Shinwari. He was a disciple of Haji Sahib and in later days led tribesmen in Kashmir war, 1948. He was the founder of the Jama'at Najia, still working for the reformation of Pukhtuns.<sup>38</sup> It is pertinent to note that some

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35 *The Gadar Party*, Special Branch Police, File 150, Bundle 83, 1933, Khyber Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 77. Henceforth *The Gadar Party*.

36 Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, p. 557.

37 *Gadar Party*, p. 78.

38 Personal interview with Maulvi Alhamd-o-Lillah s/o Haji Muhammad Amin at Turangzai, Charsadda, 22.2.2002. It is relevant to note that since the partition of India, Jama'at Najia is more inclined to armed struggle as compared to reformation of society. It has actively participated in Kashmir War (1948) and was supported by the government of Pakistan to enlist

scholars consider him a controversial personality due to his very close ties with the Pakistani establishment.

### **Effects of Haji Sahib's Movement on Pukhtun Society**

The movement of Haji Sahib of Turangzai was multidimensional. He wanted to reform society in many ways. His main objective was to eliminate social evils. Due to his sincerity and dedication, he was successful to a great extent. The people of the area welcomed his reform movement. He was serving them without any discrimination between the poor and wealthy. As stated earlier, the custom of extravagancy was in vogue in Pukhtun society. Lavish spending on the occasion of marriages and other social events was a routine. Haji Sahib Turangzai advised people to avoid such things and make their economic condition better. The method adopted by Haji Sahib in this regard was totally different from other reformers. He used to visit a certain area or a town and perform *nikahs* for those who were still waiting for their opportune time due to financial constraints. Usually, Haji Sahib used to come to the mosque and read the *khutba* of *nikah* and the girls were sent off to their husbands' houses.<sup>39</sup> In some cases, forty marriages were arranged on a single occasion.<sup>40</sup> Many disciples of Haji Sahib continued to arrange marriages under the banner of *sharia*. The effect of Haji Sahib's movement was so strong that people accepted all his instructions by heart. In some cases, people promised Haji Sahib that they would not violate the *sharia*, otherwise they would be socially boycotted.<sup>41</sup>

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tribesmen in its force to fight Indian troops in valley. It has been also involved in war against foreign troops in Afghanistan since USSR intervention.

39 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkirah Sarfaroshan-i-Suba Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), pp. 224-25. Hereafter Sabir, *Tazkirah*.

40 Personal interview with Sayyid Khushal Bacha at Pirsado, Mardan, 24.4.2002.

41 Aziz Javed, *Haji Sahib of Turangzai* (Urdu) (Peshawar: Idara Tahqeeq wa Tasneef, 1982), p. 58. Henceforth Javed, *Haji Sahib*.



The social reform movement of Haji Sahib of Turangzai included the elimination of feuds among the Pukhtuns. Haji Sahib intended to utilize their potential for the welfare of the nation. This impacted Pukhtuns to a great extent. They accepted his advice and many people decided that they would not fight amongst themselves.<sup>42</sup> The colonial government had its own axe to grind so it formed a *jargah*, to serve its vested interests. Haji Sahib urged people to form their own *jargay*, parallel to that of the government and to settle their disputes locally. In this regard, he was successful to a large extent. In many areas people constituted their local *jargay* and were able to solve their disputes.<sup>43</sup> The most important aspect of Haji Sahib's movement was giving emphasis on educating the Pukhtuns. The main focus of Haji Sahib's movement was to prepare Pukhtuns for a change; therefore, he started it as a grassroots movement. He was aware of the importance of the participation of the common man, without which it was impossible to achieve the goal of enlightenment and liberation.<sup>44</sup> He established a network of about forty *madaris* in the Peshawar district. All the schools were under the supervision of Gadar Dar-ul-Ulum, Mardan.<sup>45</sup> The *madaris* were located in various parts of the district of Peshawar. After the migration of Haji Sahib, a number of them were closed and the teachers were arrested.<sup>46</sup>

The official sources assert that his educational reforms got little attention and the support of the people.<sup>47</sup> But the ground reality was otherwise. After the migration of the Haji Sahib and the closure of his *madaris*, people associated with Haji Sahib started their own educational institutions in

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42 *Ibid.*, p.42.

43 Muhammad Amir Shah Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh-i-Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 208. Hereafter Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*.

44 Mihr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, p. 531.

45 Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*, p. 208.

46 *AF-18, Vol. IV*, CID NWFP, 1922, File 79, Bundle 5, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, pp. 31-35. Henceforth *AF-18 Vol. IV*.

47 *AF-18, Vol. IV*, p. 71.

various parts of the province. They included Abdul Ghaffar Khan,<sup>48</sup> Fazal Mahmud Makhfi, Maulvi Abdul Aziz and Maulvi Fazal Rabbi,<sup>49</sup> who became prominent in following the footsteps of Haji Sahib in this connection.

Fazal Mahmud Makhfi was his disciple, a well-known personality of the Frontier. He was a popular figure in Pukhtu literature, who mostly discussed nationalism in his poetry. Makhfi migrated with Haji Sahib to the Mohmand area. In the Independent Territory, he opened a school at Babara, a village in Bajawar. Maulvi Fazal Rabbi was appointed teacher at the school.<sup>50</sup>

As stated, Haji Sahib's method of preaching was different from other traditional *pirs*. He knew Pukhtunwali, and the way adopted by him was part of the Pukhtun code of conduct. He used to go to certain villages or towns in the form of *nanawatey*.<sup>51</sup> He would be accompanied by the elders of the locality and would request the people to follow the *sharia*.<sup>52</sup> He wanted to unite the Pukhtuns in the name of Islam and after his flight to Mohmand area, many *malakan*, *ulama* and common people became his disciples.<sup>53</sup>

The movement of Haji Sahib brought an intellectual revolution among the Pukhtuns. The Islamia School Gadar, Madrassa Nusrat-ul-Islam, Ziarat Kaka Sahib, and Islamia

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48 Khan, *Bacha Khan*, p. 353; Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Idara Isha'at-i-Sarhad, 1974), p. 7.

49 Maulvi Fazal Rabbi belonged to Baffa, Mansehra. He was educated at the Deoband. After completion of education he came to Peshawar and joined Haji Sahib. He was appointed teacher at the Islamia School Gadar, Mardan in 1910 or 1911. He was a man of great importance. In the later days of his life, he played a vital role in the politics of Frontier and Afghanistan, Maulvi Fazal Rabbi migrated with Haji Sahib and did not leave his mission.

50 *AF-11*, CID NWFP, 1936, File 83, Bundle 6, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 57.

51 Traditional *nanawatay* means to go to an enemy house and seek forgiveness but at times it is used to request an individual or tribe either to do so or otherwise.

52 Personal interview with Sayyid Khushal Bacha at Pirsado, Mardan 24.04.2002.

53 Qadri, *Ulama wa Mashaikh*, pp. 211-12.

School Utmanzai were the most popular among his network and all of these continued to work in decades to come.<sup>54</sup>

Haji Sahib of Turangzai is surely one of the popular personalities of the North-West Frontier. He was the first reformer, who knew the root cause of the social evils in Pukhtun society. His educational and social reform movement positively affected the Pukhtun society to a larger extent.

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54 Javed, *Haji Sahib*, p. 520.

## ***Conclusion***

For centuries, due to its strategic importance, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP) remains a bone of contention amongst the major powers. With the exception of Europeans, all other invaders came from the North-West. After the British occupation of India, the colonial masters needed to defend their Empire from the North-West. To achieve this goal, they adopted forward policy, so that they would reach the natural boundary of India, i.e. Hindukush. Eventually, the social fabric of the Pukhtuns was disturbed due to the high handedness of the colonial masters for their vested interests. They were divided into several parts. Unlike other provinces of British India, NWFP was deprived of the modern state organization and consequently constitutional reforms and it remained backwards educationally and politically for the decades to come.

Looking at the sufferings of the people, many individuals struggled for the self-reliance of the Pukhtuns in their own way. Among them, Haji Sahib Turangzai occupies a unique place. He took the initiative to reform Pukhtun society, traditionally known for tribal feuds only. He emphasized the reformation of the society. He knew that the social fabric of the Pukhtuns was at the verge of destruction. There was no unity among them due to many reasons. The majority of the population had meagre economic resources. They were in the habit of spending lavishly on social events, such as marriage, circumcision and the like. They never hesitated to acquire loans on high interest rates. The people were also accustomed to using intoxicants.

Haji Sahib urged the people to stop lavish spending on marriages and other social events. He told them that Islam

has restricted such lavish spending. They were advised to follow the *sharia*, which was the only road to salvation in this world and the hereafter. He educated them and preached that Islam has forbidden usury. He was conscious of the fact that without the eradication of social evils, it was impossible to achieve self-reliance.

Pukhtuns lacked unity and they fought incessantly amongst themselves. *Tarboorwali* was a major problem. They took their cases to the British courts and this was a burden upon the local economy. Haji Sahib urged them to avoid faction feuds and solve their differences in their own *jargay*, according to Pukhtu and the tenets of Islam. By forming their own *jargay*, he wanted to serve two purposes: to save the finances of the Pukhtuns and cripple the British judicial system.

During his social reformation, Haji Sahib faced several problems. Haji Sahib realized that social uplift was impossible without education. The institutions established by the British were neither sufficient nor compatible with the needs of the society. The Majority of the population was poor and they lacked economic resources to finance the education of their children. Moreover, these institutions did not impart the basics of Islam. Pukhtuns being illiterate were emotionally attached to Islam instead of awareness of its real teaching. He initiated an educational network in the Frontier.

Schools were opened in different parts of the province. The people were advised to admit their children to these 'national schools' instead of British institutions, thus British institutions were boycotted. He was aware that without the support of local population, administration of the country would be difficult.

The British did not tolerate his movement. The authorities arrested him in 1908. His arrest changed his outlook, but he still remained busy in his reform movement. Several restrictions were imposed upon him. These restrictions upon him damaged his movement and he defied

the colonial authorities. He migrated to the tribal areas and directed his activities against the *Raj*.

His activities against the *Raj* were supported by other anti-British elements in the tribal area. He realized that the self-reliance of the Pukhtuns could not be achieved in isolation. To achieve this end, he established relations with anti-British elements in tribal area, and also in India and Afghanistan. In India he had a connection with nationalist *ulama* and the Indian National Congress.

It is interesting to note that like other resistance movements against colonization, Haji Sahib had also diverted his attention to fight the local agents of colonial authorities. However, it is relevant to note that till last, Haji Sahib tried his level best to reform their character. Another interesting point of Haji Sahib's movement was its pluralism. He always protected Hindus who were abducted by the tribesmen. He welcomed all people who were fighting against Imperialism. There is a major difference between Haji Sahib Turangzai and present day militants, who claim that they are fighting the alien forces in the region. Haji Sahib never murdered anyone even if they were found guilty, rather he imposed a fine. While the present day militants usually slaughter on mere suspicion, it actually reveals a vital point. Haji Sahib's movement was indigenous and he really worked for his people.

The movement, initiated by Haji Sahib, could not attain full success due to British policies, lack of resources, central organization and proper planning. However, it is an open secret that his movement mobilized Pukhtun intelligentsia. Pukhtuns realized their social and moral backwardness. Foreign rule was a curse. However, they felt that without social reformation, it was too difficult to achieve their independence. Haji Sahib's associates and his disciples including Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Fazal Mahmud Makhfi and Maulvi Saif-ur-Rahman continued his reform movement, eventually culminated in providing a base for similar social reform movements i.e. Anjuman Islah-ul-Afaghina and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, which dominated Frontier

politics and society for the remaining decades till the partition of India in 1947.

Apart from the above-mentioned personalities, many other individuals also appeared on the scene, though not dimensional like Haji Sahib, positively contributed to the society. They worked against the social evils in one way or the other. The main focus, however, remained on the reformation of marriage related rituals.

Haji Sahib can rightly be called the 'father of the politics of boycott', who introduced the slogan in the North-West Frontier when Gandhi Ji was still in South Africa. The opening of 'national educational institutions' and *jargay*, insistence upon the people to boycott the British schools and courts was such a major step, which was never taken before in Colonial India.

There are few sources, which suggest that Haji Sahib was a person of bad character. However, we could not find reliable material to support such an argument. We suggest that Hajj Sahib was a peace loving person who spent his whole life in social and the educational reformation of the Pukhtuns. He took arms against the colonial authorities at the age of 59, when people usually take rest in our part of the world.

## Glossary

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Ahadith.</i>         | Saying/traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him).   |
| <i>Ahl-e-Hadith.</i>    | Those who claim that they follow none of the schools of <i>fiqah</i> but <i>ahadith</i> .                              |
| <i>Ahl-e-Rusum.</i>     | Those who follow those rituals of their forefathers, usually contrary to the teaching of <i>sharia</i> .               |
| <i>Akhun.</i>           | Preceptor; instructor; teacher.  |
| <i>Alim.</i>            | Religious scholar; scholar of religious education.   |
| <i>Amir.</i>            | Head; leader.  |
| <i>Amir-ul-Mominin.</i> | Head/ruler of the Muslims.   |
| <i>Azad Madaris.</i>    | Schools, independent of state control.   |
| <i>Azan.</i>            | Call for prayer.   |
| <i>Badal.</i>           | Revenge.   |
| <i>Bai'at.</i>          | Oath of allegiance.  |
| <i>Bait-ul-mal.</i>     | Public treasury.   |
| <i>Bida'at.</i>         | Innovations in religious affairs; the deeds considered Islamic but in fact not authorized by Islam.                    |
| <i>Brakhikhor.</i>      | Shareholder; a person who cultivates someone else land and shares the crop with owner of land while dividing expenses. |



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| <i>Dehqan/Faqir.</i>                   | A person who cultivates someone else land at the expenses of owner and gets 25% share in produces.  |
| <i>Dua.</i>                            | Prayer; invocation.   |
| <i>Fatwa</i> (plural: <i>fatawa</i> )  | Religious decree; a judicial decree; verdict.   |
| <i>Haj.</i>                            | Pilgrimage to Makkah. Haj is obligatory upon those Muslims who have enough financial resources to fulfill the needs of the performer of Haj and his family back at home during his absence.   |
| <i>Hamsaya.</i>                        | See <i>Dehqan/Faqir.</i>  |
| <i>Hindki</i> (plural: Hindkyan)       | A name given by the Pukhtuns to the people from the down country; Hindku speaking people  |
| <i>Hijrat.</i>                         | Migration for Islamic cause.  |
| <i>Hujrah.</i>                         | Jointly or communally owned house type building which not only serves as a guest house but also as a focal point for community actions and opinions, a place for sleeping for unmarried men and so forth. It serves as multipurpose community centre. |
| <i>Ijaradar.</i>                       | A person who rents land for a fixed amount and takes the crop.  |
| <i>Imam.</i>                           | Head of the Faithfuls; spiritual or religious leader of the Muslims; <i>Amir-ul-Mominin.</i>  |
| <i>Iman.</i>                           | Faith; belief.  |
| <i>Jargah</i> (plural: <i>jargay</i> ) | Council of elders; consultative forum; meeting.   |

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| <i>Jihad.</i>                              | Struggle or striving in the way of Allah; spending one's potential for a cause; war waged for the cause of Allah.                              |
| <i>Jizyah.</i>                             | Poll tax.  |
| <i>Jumat.</i>                              | Mosque.  |
| <i>Kalima.</i>                             | The Muslim confession of faith.  |
| <i>Kandao.</i>                             | Hill pass.   |
| <i>Kasabgars.</i>                          | The non land owing ethnic groups associated with different professions; professionals.   |
| <i>Khalifa</i> (plural: <i>khulafa</i> )   | Deputy.  |
| <i>Khan</i> (plural: <i>khanan</i> )       | A title for a Pukhtun chief.   |
| <i>Khilafat Nama.</i>                      | Insignia.  |
| <i>Khulasa.</i>                            | An elementary book of Hanafi <i>fiqah</i> ; summary; abridgement.  |
| <i>Khutba.</i>                             | Sermon; oration.   |
| <i>Lakhkar/Lashkar.</i>                    | A tribal force taking the field under the tribal banner at the time of need without any payment, at their owns' cost, arms and ammunition.     |
| <i>Lakhtai.</i>                            | Dancing boys.  |
| <i>Madrassah</i> (plural: <i>Madaris</i> ) | School for religious education; seminary.  |
| <i>Mahfil.</i>                             | Setting; congregation; assembly.   |
| <i>Majib.</i>                              | An allowance, paid to the tribesmen by the government, annually or bi-annually.  |
| <i>Malak</i> (plural: <i>malakan</i> )     | A title for a Pukhtun or/and Punjabi chief; also title of a person who is appointed by the government for revenue collection at local level on |

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|                                      | a percent of the collected amount instead of fixed salary.  |
| <i>Mazoon</i>                        | A person, authorized to preach.   |
| <i>Melmastya.</i>                    | Hospitality.  |
| <i>Mulla, Maulvi.</i>                | One who performs religious ceremonies as profession, e.g. leading the prayers in the mosques, teaching the Holy Qur'an, <i>ahadith</i> and <i>fiqah</i> , and so-forth. |
| <i>Munyatul Mussali.</i>             | An elementary book of Hanafi <i>fiqah</i> .   |
| <i>Murid.</i>                        | Disciple.   |
| <i>Nala.</i>                         | Ravine.   |
| <i>Nikah.</i>                        | Contract for marriage according to Islam.   |
| <i>Panah.</i>                        | Giving asylum, one of the major pillars of Pukhtu or Pukhtunwali.   |
| <i>Pandat/Pandit.</i>                | A learned Brahman; a learned or wise man.   |
| <i>Pesh imam.</i>                    | A Person who lead the congregational prayers.   |
| <i>Pir.</i>                          | Preceptor; a spiritual guide.   |
| <i>Pukhtu/Pukhtunwali.</i>           | The Pukhtun code of conduct; the norms, rules and traditions etc. that govern the lives of the Pukhtuns.  |
| <i>Qazi.</i> (plural: <i>Quza</i> )  | Judge.  |
| <i>Qazi-ul-Quza.</i>                 | Chief Justice.  |
| <i>Safi</i> (plural: <i>Safian</i> ) | A Pukhtun tribe; also a member of the said tribe.   |
| <i>Samah.</i>                        | Plain.  |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>Serai.</i>                          | The land allotted to religious figures, like Sayyids, Mians and <i>mullas</i> , and institutions like mosques.                           |
| <i>Sharia.</i>                         | Islamic law.   |
| <i>Sharha</i> (plural: <i>shuruh</i> ) | Commentary; explanation; annotation.   |
| <i>Shura.</i>                          | Consultative body; consultation.   |
| <i>Tahsildar.</i>                      | Administrative officer and tax collector.  |
| <i>Talib</i> (Plural: <i>Taliban</i> ) | A seeker of Islamic education.   |
| <i>Tarburwali.</i>                     | Rivalry between paternal cousins; cousinhood.  |
| <i>Ushar.</i>                          | Tithe of the agricultural production.  |
| <i>Walwar.</i>                         | The sum received by the family of the bride from the family of the bridegroom, which they generally expend on the marriage of the bride. |
| <i>Zikar.</i>                          | Remembrance of Allah; reading the Quran and recital of the praise and names of Allah.  |

## ***Appendices***

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **NAMES OF THE FOLLOWERS OF HAJI SAHIB (1916)**

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>   | <b>Remarks</b>                                    |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1           | Abdul Ahad s/o Abdullah of Utmanzai   | In jail   |
| 2           | Abdul Ahad of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan   | No action taken, and not traced                   |
| 3           | Abdul Ahad, Mulla of Khaista Kurum Banda, Illaqa Umarzai  | Not present in Illaqa, no action taken            |
| 4           | Abdul Akbar, s/o Hamid Mian, caste Mian of Dheri, a nephew of Haji  | Present in British Territory, but no action taken |
| 5           | Abdul Aziz, Maulvi, s/o Fazal-Ullah of Utmanzai   | Absconded and still in Independent Territory      |
| 6           | Abdul Ghafur, s/o Faiz-Ullah, of Utmanzai,  | In jail   |
| 7           | Abdul Ghafur s/o Bahram Khan Agha of Utmanzai   | Not present in Illaqa, no action taken            |
| 8           | Abdul Ghafur, Kazi, Mulla of Umarzai, Kandai Muhammad Sharif  | Do  |
| 9           | Abdul Ghafur Khan s/o Umra Khan, Afghan of Umarzai, son of Muhabat Khan's daughter, who was uncle of Haji | Present in British Territory no action taken      |
| 10          | Abdul Ghani s/o Allasmir, Afghan of Umarzai,  | Released on security at home                      |

| S.N. | Name  | Remarks                                       |
|------|---|---|
| 11   | Abdul Haq, Mulla of Umarzai   | Not present in Illaqa and no action taken     |
| 12   | Abdul Haq, Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq Numberdar  | Do  |
| 13   | Abdul Jabbar of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan   | Do  |
| 14   | Abdul Karim, shepherd of Umarzai, Kandai Sma-at Khan  | Do  |
| 15   | Abdul Karim, of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan Lumberdar   | Do  |
| 16   | Abdul Khaliq s/o Nur Jamal of Gumbat  | Neither on bail nor arrested                  |
| 17   | Abdullah s/o Mansur Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan Lumberdar   | Neither in Illaqa nor action taken            |
| 18   | Abdullah shopkeeper of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan  | Do  |
| 19   | Abdullah, a teacher at Kalu Khan School   | Arrested and in jail                          |
| 20   | Abdullah s/o Arbab Abdur Rab, Metha Khel of Prang   | Neither in Illaqa nor action taken            |
| 21   | Abdul Majid s/o Mulla Rashid, Afghan of Swat Independent Territory Illaqa Katlang   | Arrested and in jail                          |
| 22   | Abdul Majid s/o Hamid Mian, of Dheri, a nephew of Haji Sahib  | Present in British Territory, no action taken |
| 23   | Abdul Majid s/o Ghulam Muhayyuddin, of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq, Lambardar   | Out of British Territory                      |
| 24   | Abdul Malal of Independent Territory  | In jail                                       |
| 25   | Abdul Malik s/o Muhammad Gul, Afghan of Gadar, Illaqa Mardan. His real village is Koi (Katlang)                           | On bail                                       |
| 26   | Abdul Kadir s/o Arsalla Khan of Umarzai, a leading Khan of Umarzai, Arsalla Khan was the nephew of Haji's father. He used | Do  |

| S.N. | Name  | Remarks                                       |
|------|---|---|
|      | to give every possible help to Haji.  |   |
| 27   | Abdul Qudus s/o Ahmad Khan of Turangzai   | Absconded and still in Independent Territory  |
| 28   | Abdul Rahman s/o Allahmir, Afghan of Umarzai  | Released on security and not at home          |
| 29   | Abdul Rahman s/o Baz Badshah of Turangzai   | In jail                                       |
| 30   | Abdul Rahman s/o Ramzan Awan of Prang   | Released on security and at home              |
| 31   | Abdul Razaq s/o Nur Jamal of Gumbat   | Neither on bail nor arrested                  |
| 32   | Abdul Razak of Takal  | In jail                                       |
| 33   | Abdul Wadud s/o Muhammad Shakirullah of Rajor (sic.)  | Neither in Illaqa nor action taken            |
| 34   | Abdul Wahab s/o Baz Badshah of Turangzai  | In jail                                       |
| 35   | Abdur Rahim s/o Saduddin, Mulla of Tordher Illaqa Lahore  | Do  |
| 36   | Abdur Rahim, Sheikh, s/o Faqir, Paracha   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 37   | Adil Shah, Lumberdar, of Turangzai, is a uncle of Muhammad Azam who is in Independent Territory with Haji | In Independent Territory with Haji            |
| 38   | Aftab Din, Maulvi of Prang  | In jail                                       |
| 39   | Ahmad of Umarzai, Mera Pan  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 40   | Ahmad Din of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan Lumberdar  | Do  |
| 41   | Ahmad Gul s/o Gul Nur, Potmaker of Turangzai  | Do  |
| 42   | Ahmad Gul of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan  | Do  |
| 43   | Ain-ud-Din, shepherd of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan  | Do  |
| 44   | Ajab Khan s/o Amir Muhammad   | In jail                                       |

| S.N. | Name  | Remarks                                       |
|------|---|---|
|      | of Turangzai  |   |
| 45   | Ajun, of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 46   | Akhtar Biland s/o Ghazan of Kandar Illaqa Mardan  | Released on security and at home              |
| 47   | Akram Badshah s/o Muhabat of Turangzai  |   |
| 48   | Allah Din...  |   |
| 49   | Amir Din gardener of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 50   | Amir Muhammad s/o Gul Muhammad, Awan, teacher at Umarzai  | Released on bail, at home                     |
| 51   | Aslam s/o Sharbat of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 52   | Aya-ud-Din of Koladand Banda Illaqa Umarzai   | Do  |
| 53   | Ayub Khan s/o Afzal Khan of Tom Illaqa Mardan   | In jail                                       |
| 54   | Azim Gul s/o Habib Gul Mian, of Dheri relative of Haji  | In British Territory but no action taken      |
| 55   | Azimullah gardener of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken |
| 56   | Azizullah of Gadar, Illaqa Mardan   | Untraced                                      |
| 57   | Abdullah s/o Amin Khan, Afghan of Jalalai, Distt: Campbelpure   | Arrested                                      |
| 58   | Asir-ud-din s/o Zia-ul-Ahad-din, Mulla, Arbab, Mochipura  | Do  |
| 59   | Abdul Malik s/o Khanai  | Do  |
| 60   | Bahadur Khan s/o Nur Muhamad Khan of Ragar (sic.), a special follower of Haji. In the last month of Ramzan he had gone to Independent Territory to see Haji Sahib |   |
| 61   | Bahram Khan, Lumberdar, of Utmanzai. Farid Khan, who after  |   |



| S.N. | Name  | Remarks   |
|------|---|---|
|      | Haji took his place, is a nephew of this Lumberdar. This Lumberdar took active part in the school affairs. His son Abdul Ghafur ( <i>sic.</i> ) was the Financial Secretary of that School. |   |
| 62   | Barkat Shah s/o Burhan Shah of Gadar  | Released on bail                                      |
| 63   | Bilal s/o Jalal of Umarzai Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken         |
| 64   | Chandan of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan   | Do  |
| 65   | Din Muhamad s/o Muhamad Nasir of Agra   | Released on bail                                      |
| 66   | Din Muhamad, Sheikh of Shakarpura   | .....   |
| 67   | Dostai s/o Faqir, Shakhel of Salim Khan   | Released on security and at home                      |
| 68   | Faiza Din s/o Lal Din of Kot Daulatzai  | On bail   |
| 69   | Faqir s/o Kaloo, of Gumbat Illaqa Mardan  | On bail   |
| 70   | Faqir of Khaista Kurunai Banda, Umarzai   | Neither present in British Territory nor action taken |
| 71   | Farid Khan, Sheikh s/o Haider Khan Afghan of Muhamad Nari   | In jail   |
| 72   | Farid-ud-Din, Sheikh of Umarzai Kandai Sadullah   | Neither present in British Territory nor action taken |
| 73   | Fazal Akbar s/o Fazal Wahid of Turangzai, now in Umarzai  | Absconded to Independent Territory                    |
| 74   | Fazal Haq s/o Abdul Rauf, Afghan of Umarzai   | Do  |
| 75   | Fazal Muhamad s/o Fazal Wahid of Turangzai, now in Umarzai  | Absconded to Independent Territory                    |
| 76   | Fazal Muhamad s/o Nur Muhamad, Mulla Charsadda, lately a teacher at Gadar school  | Untraced  |
| 77   | Fazal Qadir of Marghuzar, Illaqa  | At home in Swat                                       |

| S.N. | Name   | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Swat   |  |
| 78   | Fazal Qadir s/o Mahbub of Gumbat   | At home, released on security                        |
| 79   | Fazal Rahim s/o Abdul Rahim of Babuzai, Illaqa Katlang                                     | Left his village, fled, expected to be with the Haji |
| 80   | Fazal Rahman s/o Ahmadji, Afghan of Kalu Khan  | Released on security                                 |
| 81   | Fazal Shah s/o Fazal Wahid of Turangzai, now in Umarzai                                    | Absconded to Independent Territory                   |
| 82   | Fazal Wahid, Haji of Turangzai, at present at Umarzai                                      | Do   |
| 83   | Fazal Wahid, blacksmith of Umarzai, Kandai Smat Khan                                       | Neither in British Territory, no action taken        |
| 84   | Fajun s/o Abdullah, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan                                    | Do   |
| 85   | Ghani Mullah s/o Azizullah, Afghan of Gadar  | In jail  |
| 86   | Ghulam Haider Khan, Lumberdar, s/o Sikandar Khan, Afghan of Sherpao is the Khan of Sherpao | In British Territory, no action taken                |
| 87   | Ghulam Muhammad of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan                                       | Neither in British Territory, nor action taken.      |
| 88   | Ghulam Muhayyaddin, Sheikh, alias Ghani Muhammad   | Absconded and still in Independent Territory         |
| 89   | Ghulam Qadir, s/o Abdul Majid, Akhunzada of Akbarpura, teacher at Agra                     | At home on security                                  |
| 90   | Ghulam Rasul, Sheikh, of Umarzai, Kandai Smat Khan   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken        |
| 91   | Ghulam Rasul, of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan   | Do   |
| 92   | Gulab s/o Baz Badshah, Haji's son-in-law of Turangzai                                      | Absconded on security of Rs. 2,000/-                 |
| 93   | Ghulam Ahmad of Tahkal   | In jail  |
| 94   | Gul Ahmad, Maulvi s/o Burhanuddin, of Danduka  | On security, at home                                 |
| 95   | Gulai s/o Ghulam Tali, of Prang  | Untraced   |

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>  | <b>Remarks</b>                                  |
|-------------|--|---|
| 96          | Gul Din s/o Wahab Din, Awan of Gadar   | In jail   |
| 97          | Gule of Umarzai  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken   |
| 98          | Gule s/o Jalal of Umarzai  | Do  |
| 99          | Gul Hasan s/o Madat, silversmith of Salim Khan, Illaqa Swabi                 | At home, released on security                   |
| 100         | Gul Mir s/o Ilyas, Gujar of Adina  | With Haji Sahib                                 |
| 101         | Gul Par s/o Ghafur, Teli of Salim Khan, Illaqa Swabi                         | In jail   |
| 102         | Gul Ahmad, Mulla, s/o Sheikh Anwar, Awan of Tehkal Payan                     | Arrested  |
| 103         | Ghulam Murtaza s/o Hussain, Mulla, Ironsmith of Kalu Khan                    | Do  |
| 104         | Ghulam Rehman s/o Ahmad of Lund Khwar  | Do  |
| 105         | Habib Gul s/o Ismail of Kot Ismailzai, Illaqa Mardan                         | Once released on bail and now again in jail     |
| 106         | Habib Nur s/o Hazrat Nur, of Utmanzai  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken   |
| 107         | Habib Shah of Ismaila  | Died  |
| 108         | Hafiz Ahmad s/o Abdul Rahim, Mulla, Muhalla Sarbanan, Illaqa, D. D. Peshawar | Has acquaintance with the Haji; no action taken |
| 109         | Haji Gul s/o Bayuddin, Potmaker of Tordher, Illaqa Lahore                    | In jail   |
| 110         | Hamesh Gul of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan                              | Neither in British Territory no action taken    |
| 111         | Hamid s/o Amir, Gujar of Adina, Illaqa Kalu Khan                             | At home, released on security                   |
| 112         | Hamid of Kota, Illaqa Swabi  | At home   |
| 113         | Hamidullah s/o Afzal of Garhi Ismailzai, Illaqa Mardan                       | Once released on bail and now again in jail     |
| 114         | Hanif s/o Shah Mir of Kula Dand Banda, Umarzai                               | In jail   |
| 115         | Hanif s/o Amir Muhammad of Turangzai   | Do  |

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>  | <b>Remarks</b>                                    |
|-------------|--|---|
| 116         | Hassan s/o Wazir of Tangi  | At home, released on security                     |
| 117         | Hastam s/o Nasir Awan of Prang   | Do  |
| 118         | Haya Gul s/o Shah Gul, Awan of Prang   | Do  |
| 119         | Hazrat Gul s/o Muhammad Hafiz of Utmanzai  | Do  |
| 120         | Hazrat Gul s/o Ali Jan of Umarzai, at present Utmanzai   | In jail   |
| 121         | Hurmat s/o Mir Zaman Afghan of Swabi   | At home, released on security                     |
| 122         | Habib Shah s/o S. Zaman Shah of Shamazai   | Arrested  |
| 123         | Itbar Shah of Umarzai, Merapass  | Neither in British Territory nor any action taken |
| 124         | Jaun Dad s/o Rasul of Kot Ismailzai  | Once released on bail now again in jail           |
| 125         | Jaun Dad s/o Satara Khan Afghan of Salim Khan, Illaqa Swabi  | At home, released on security                     |
| 125         | Jan Muhammad s/o Umra Khan, Afghan of Umarzai. Muhabat Khan was the uncle of Haji and Muhabat Khan's daughter was the mother of Jan Muhammad | In British Territory no action taken              |
| 126         | Jumma Khan of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan  | Neither in British Territory nor any action taken |
| 127         | Kabil of Banda, Umarzai  | Do  |
| 128         | Kabir s/o Said Beg of Utmanzai   | Do  |
| 129         | Kabul Shah of Umarzai, Kandai Zarin Khan Lumberdar   | Do  |
| 130         | Kake s/o Hidayatullah of Umarzai   | Do  |
| 131         | Kamal Mulla of Sheikh Banda, Illaqa Umarzai  | Do  |
| 132         | Karim s/o Baz Muhammad of Kot Daulatzai, Illaqa Mardan   | At home on security                               |
| 133         | Khadam Khan of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken     |

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>  | <b>Remarks</b>                                      |
|-------------|--|---|
| 134         | Khaista Gul s/o Haya Gul, Awan of Prang                              | At home, released on security                       |
| 135         | Khaista Khan, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan                    | Neither in British Territory nor action taken       |
| 136         | Khaista Khan s/o Ghulam Muhayuddin of Umarzai                        | Do  |
| 137         | Khalil-ur-Rahman s/o Ghulam Durani of Mathra                         | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there  |
| 138         | Khalil-ur-Rahman s/o Mir Hamza, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan | Neither in British Territory nor action taken       |
| 139         | Khan Sahib s/o Khuidad, Afghan of Swabi                              | At home, released on security                       |
| 140         | Kheiruddin s/o Bayuddin, Potmaker of Toru (sic.), Lahore             | In jail   |
| 141         | Kohistan, the Mulla of   | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there. |
| 142         | Koka s/o Nur Ahmad, Mulla of Maneri Payan, Illaqa Swabi              | In jail   |
| 143         | Koke s/o Haider, Shoe maker of Turangzai                             | Neither in British Territory nor action taken       |
| 144         | Lal Badshah s/o Nur Muhammad of Turangzai                            | In jail   |
| 145         | Lal Khan s/o Fazal Gul of Kot Daulatzai, Illaqa Mardan               | With the Haji                                       |
| 146         | Madat Khan s/o Gul Badshah of Turangzai                              | In jail   |
| 147         | Mahbub s/o Amir Muhammad of Turangzai                                | Do  |
| 148         | Mahir s/o Jamal Din, Gujar of Turangzai                              | At home on security                                 |
| 149         | Mashal s/o Latif, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq                | Neither in British Territory nor action taken       |
| 150         | Mashal s/o Baz Badshah of Turangzai                                  | In jail   |
| 151         | Masifat Shah s/o Muzaffar of Ghari Ismailzai, Illaqa Mardan          | Do  |

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>   | <b>Remarks</b>                                     |
|-------------|---|--|
| 152         | Mastan s/o Nur Ahmad, Mulla of Maneri Payan, Illaqa Swabi                             | At home on security                                |
| 153         | Masud, Mulla in mosque at Mohamad Nari  | In jail  |
| 154         | Maza Khan s/o Ghazi Shah of Shahbaz Garha, Illaqa Mardan                              | On bail  |
| 155         | Mir Abdullah s/o Hamidullah of Toru, Illaqa Mardan                                    | In jail  |
| 156         | Mir Abdullah s/o Attaullah of Toru, Illaqa Mardan                                     | In jail  |
| 157         | Mir Ahmad s/o Gul Ahmad, Dhobi of Utmanzai  | Do   |
| 158         | Mir Aslam, Haji of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 159         | Mir Hasham of Umarzai, Kandai Mohammad Akbar Khan                                     | Do   |
| 160         | Muhammad Afzal s/o Jalal, Baghban of Umarzai  | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 161         | Muhammad Akbar s/o Muhammad Hussain, Afghan of Kalu Khan                              | At home, on security                               |
| 162         | Muhammad Alam s/o Sharod Khan of Turangzai  | In jail  |
| 163         | Muhammad Amir s/o Shah Mir, Awan of Bakhshali, at present Kola Dhand Banda, Turangzai | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 164         | Muhammad Ayaz s/o Hayat Khan, Afghan of Swabi   | At home, on security                               |
| 165         | Muhammad Azim s/o Muhammad Salam of Turangzai   | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 166         | Muhammad Baz, caste Mohmand, of Sheikh Banda of Utmanzai                              | Neither at home nor action taken                   |
| 167         | Muhammad Din s/o Taza Din of Kot Daulatzai  | At home on bail                                    |
| 168         | Muhammad Fayaz s/o Mahmud, Sahibzada of Kazi Abad, Mardan                             | In jail  |

| S.N. | Name   | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
| 169  | Muhammad Halim s/o Rahim of Turangzai  | Do   |
| 170  | Muhammad Jan, an influential man of Kafur Dheri, P.S. Mathra, was a follower of Haji, though he now denies | Still in his village                                       |
| 171  | Muhammad Rafiq, Maulvi of Mathra, P.S. Shankergarh   | In jail  |
| 172  | Muhammad Rahim s/o Muhammad Khan of Turangzai  | Do   |
| 173  | Muhammad Shah s/o Amir Shah, Sayed of Golyara, Illaqa Mardan   | Suspected to be <i>murid</i> of the Haji                   |
| 174  | Muhammad Sharif s/o Habib Nur,   |  |
| 175  | Muhammad Yunas s/o Haji Atta Muhammad, Caste Kakar of Rampura, D.D. Peshawar                               | Has acquaintance with Haji Sahib                           |
| 176  | Muhammad Yusaf s/o Usman, Afghan of Kalu Khan  | At home, on security                                       |
| 177  | Muhammad Yusaf, Caste Sahibzada, of Kazi Abad, Mardan  | In jail  |
| 178  | Muhammad Zaman Shah s/o Muzaffar Shah, Sayed of Lahore   | At home, on security                                       |
| 179  | Muhayuddin s/o Sardaruddin of Gumbat, Illaqa Mardan  | Neither on bail nor arrested, but he is a new <i>murid</i> |
| 180  | Muhayuddin s/o Karam Din of Prang  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken              |
| 181  | Mujahidin s/o Abdullah of Chamgaran Killi  | In jail  |
| 182  | Mujahidin of Chamgaran Killi, he left his village for Umarzai  | Do   |
| 183  | Mukarram s/o Hussain of Utmanzai   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken              |
| 184  | Munir, Sheikh of Munaf Killi, Illaqa Umarzai   | Do   |
| 185  | Muqadar s/o Nawaz, Afghan of Salim Khan, Illaqa Swabi  | In jail  |
| 186  | Mursalain, Carpenter of Umarzai,   | Neither in British Territory nor                           |

| S.N. | Name   | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Kandai Samat Khan  | action taken                                       |
| 187  | Murtaza s/o Hussain, Afghan of Kalu Khan                               | At home, released on security                      |
| 188  | Mustan s/o Mustaqim of Ghari Daulatzai, Illaqa Mardan                  | On bail  |
| 189  | Muhammad Bashir s/o Said Gul, Mulla Khel of Jamal Ghari                | Arrested   |
| 190  | Naim of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq                                      | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 191  | Niaz Muhammad, Mulla of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan                  | Do   |
| 192  | Nur Muhammad s/o Ghulam Nabi, Potmaker of Prang                        | Do   |
| 193  | Nur Ahmad of Umarzai, Kandai Zarin Khan                                | Do   |
| 194  | Painda Khan s/o Arsala Khan, Afghan of Umarzai, a relative of the Haji | Do   |
| 195  | Pasham Gul of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq                                | Do   |
| 196  | Qalandar s/o Janu of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq                         | Do   |
| 197  | Radi Gul s/o Haya Gul, Awan of Prang                                   | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 198  | Rahim Gul, Mulla of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan Lumberdar        | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 199  | Rahim Gul s/o Puddin, Potmaker of Turdher Illaqa Mardan                | May be with the Haji                               |
| 200  | Rahmatullah s/o Abdullah, of Kandar, Illaqa Mardan                     | On bail  |
| 201  | Rajab Beg s/o Khushal of Utmanzai                                      | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 202  | Sabit Shah s/o Habib Shah of Ismaila, Illaqa Kalu Khan                 | At home, released on security                      |
| 203  | Sadullah s/o Ghazan of Kandar,   | With the Haji in Independent                       |



| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Name</b>  | <b>Remarks</b>                                     |
|-------------|--|--|
|             | Illaqa Mardan  | Territory  |
| 204         | Sadullah s/o Afzal of Ghari Ismailzai, Illaqa Mardan       | Do   |
| 205         | Safi-ullah s/o Abdul Ghani of Umarzai                      | In jail  |
| 206         | Safi-ullah s/o Abdul Ghani of Mena                         | Do   |
| 207         | Sahib Din, Girdawar of Umarzai                             | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 208         | Sahib Gul s/o Said Amir, Akhunzada of Ghari Daulatzai      | In jail  |
| 209         | Sahib Shah s/o Fateh Muhammad of Ismaila, Illaqa Kalu Khan | At home, released on security                      |
| 210         | Said Alimad s/o Burhanuddin of Danduka Illaqa Kalu Khan    | Do   |
| 211         | Said Akbar s/o Mazud of Ghari Ismailzai                    | Released on bail                                   |
| 212         | Said Badshah, Sayed of Umarzai, Kandai Samat Khan          | Neither in Illaqa nor action taken                 |
| 213         | Said Badshah s/o Muhammad Khan of Turangzai,               | In jail  |
| 214         | Said Muhammad of Gar Illaqa Swabi                          | At his home  |
| 215         | Said Nazif s/o Shamir of Kulla Dand Banda Illaqa Umarzai   | In jail  |
| 216         | Said Umar s/o Muhammad Umar, Afghan of Swabi               | At home, released on security                      |
| 217         | Saifullah s/o Abdullah, Afghan of Swabi                    | At his home  |
| 218         | Saif-ur-Rahman s/o Ghualm Durani of Mathra                 | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 219         | Sajeed Gul s/o Hamid of Gumbat, Mardan                     | With Haji in Independent Territory                 |
| 220         | Salafuddin, Baker of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan         | Neither in British Territory nor action taken      |
| 221         | Sami-ullah s/o Habibullah of                               | In jail  |

| S.N. | Name   | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Umarzai  |  |
| 222  | Sarwar, Hafiz, Mulla of Umarzai, Kandai Zarin Khan                         | Neither in British Territory nor action taken                |
| 223  | Serif, Lumerdar  |  |
| 224  | Shwdi s/o Taj Muhammad of Batara Kuruna Illaqa Umarzai                     | Neither in British Territory nor action taken                |
| 225  | Shahabuddin of Banda Khaunhi, Mardan                                       | In jail  |
| 226  | Shah Baz s/o Nur Muhammad, Mulla of Maneri Payan, Swabi                    | In jail under sec: 302 I.P.C                                 |
| 227  | Shahristan, Mulla of Maneri  | Was arrested at Shewa and sent up for trial in a murder case |
| 228  | Shah Sawar s/o Gul Badshah, Mian Khel of Umarzai, Kandai Abdul Ghafur Khan | Neither in British Territory nor action taken                |
| 229  | Shah Zad Gul s/o Pasham Gul, Potmaker of Umarzai                           | Do   |
| 230  | Sharif s/o Shahmir of Kula Dhand   | In jail  |
| 231  | Sharif, Lumberdar of Turangzai, a relative of Haji Sahib                   | In British Territory   |
| 232  | Sharif s/o Amir Muhammad of Turangzai                                      | In jail  |
| 233  | Sharif-ullah s/o Kherullah, Afghan of Jalbail Illaqa Lahore                | Do   |
| 234  | Sharif-Ullah s/o Abdullah of Kandar Illaqa Mardan                          | On bail  |
| 235  | Sharif-ullah s/o Gul, of Qasam, Illaqa Mardan                              | In jail  |
| 236  | Sharif-ullah s/o Faizullah of Utmanzai                                     | Do   |
| 237  | Sher Afzal s/o Mosam, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq                  | Neither in British Territory nor action taken                |
| 238  | Sher Ali s/o Sharif of Utmanzai  | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there           |
| 239  | Sher Ali s/o Khalid Badshah of Turangzai                                   | In jail  |
| 240  | Sher Dil s/o Por Dil of Umarzai,   | Neither in British Territory nor                             |

| S.N. | Name   | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Kandai Sadullah Khan                                     | action taken                                   |
| 241  | Sher Dil s/o Fojun, Afghan of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan, | Do   |
| 242  | SiRaj-ud-Din s/o Ghulam Muhammad of Kot Ismailzai        | On bail  |
| 243  | Suhbat s/o Amir Muhammad of Turangzai                    | In jail  |
| 244  | Sultan Jan, Sahibzada of Umarzai, Kandai Sadullah Khan   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken  |
| 245  | Taj Muhammad of Turangzai,                               | In jail  |
| 246  | Taj Muhammad, Mulla of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq         | Neither in British Territory nor action taken. |
| 247  | Turab of Umarzai, Kandai Amin Khan                       | Do   |
| 248  | Tuti s/o Sadiq, Blacksmith of Umarzai, Kandai Fazal Haq  | Do   |
| 249  | Ujam Khan of Tangi, Kandai Ghulam Kadir Khan             | Neither in British Territory nor action taken  |
| 250  | Umar Din s/o Sherin, Barbar of Prang                     | Do   |
| 251  | Usaf Shah s/o Mian Nur Shah                              | Arrested                                       |
| 252  | Usman-uddin s/o Nasir-uddin of Rajar                     | Untraced                                       |
| 253  | Wasi-ullah, Mulla in mosque at Dargai Illaqa Khamai      | In jail  |
| 254  | Wasi-ullah s/o Yasin of Rajar                            | Do   |
| 255  | Zaid Gul of Umarzai, Kandai Zarin Khan                   | Neither in British Territory nor action taken  |
| 256  | Zakki of Independent Territory                           | In jail  |
| 257  | Zarin s/o Haya Gul, Awan of Prang                        | At home, on security                           |

Source: Index of names of Haji Sahib of Turangzai AF-18 Vol. IV, CID 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar

## ***Appendix B***

### **Names of the Followers of Haji Sahib of Turangzai (1916)**

| <b>S.N.</b> | <b>Names and Designation</b>                           | <b>Remarks</b>                        |
|-------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1           | Abdul Aziz s/o Ghulam Nabi of Nowshera                 | At home, on security                  |
| 2           | Abdul Ghaffar Khan s/o Bahram Khan, Afghan of Utmanzai | ...                                   |
| 3           | Abdul Hakim of <i>Rajar</i>                            | ...                                   |
| 4           | Abdul Jalal s/o Gulpat, Paracha of Parang              | ...                                   |
| 5           | Abdullah s/o Ayub of Zakki                             | In British Territory, no action taken |
| 6           | Abdul Rahman s/o Rahman of Akbarpura                   | Do                                    |
| 7           | Abdul Rahman s/o Madat Tilli, of Parang                | ...                                   |
| 8           | Abdul Rauf s/o Abdul Wahid of Khudarzai                | In Jail                               |
| 9           | Abid of <i>Rajar</i> (Charsadda)                       | ...                                   |
| 10          | Adam Khan s/o Jang Baz Khan of Tangi                   | ...                                   |
| 11          | Ali Ahmad s/o Nur Ali, Afghan of Turangzai             | ...                                   |
| 12          | Aminullah s/o Narullah, Gardner of Turangzai           | ...                                   |
| 13          | Asal Din s/o Nur Din of <i>Rajar</i>                   | ...                                   |
| 14          | Ayub, Mulla s/o Latifullah of Zakki                    | In British Territory, no action taken |
| 15          | Fazal Muhammad s/o Abdul Wahid of Kandar               | Do                                    |
| 16          | Fazal Rahman s/o Abdul Rahman of Akbarpura             | In Jail                               |
| 17          | Ghulam Qadir s/o Majid of                              | Do                                    |

| S.N. | Names and Designation                              | Remarks  |
|------|--|--|
|      | Akbarpura  |  |
| 18   | Gul Baz s/o Lal Baz, Paracha of Parang             | ...  |
| 19   | Gul Muhammad s/o Abdul Rahim of Rajar              | ...  |
| 20   | Gul, Tailor of Turangzai                           | ...  |
| 21   | Habibullah s/o Jang Baz, Afghan of Turangzai       | ...  |
| 22   | Kach Kole s/o Zaman of Rajar                       | ...  |
| 23   | Lal Baz s/o Khan Baz, Gardener of Parang           | ...  |
| 24   | Mahmud Mian s/o Karam Din of Parang                | ...  |
| 25   | Majid s/o Nasir, Afghan of Turangzai               | ...  |
| 26   | Majid s/o Sahib ji of Akbarpura                    | Present in British Territory, no action taken      |
| 27   | Mastan s/o Kundal of Akbarpura                     | Absconded to Independent Territory and still there |
| 28   | Minhajuddin s/o Sharfuddin, Mulla of Parang        | ...  |
| 29   | Mir Baz s/o Kamaldin, afghan of Turangzai          | ...  |
| 30   | Moosa s/o Najibullah of Zakki                      | Present in Independent Territory, no action taken  |
| 31   | Muhabat Khan s/o Umar Ali of Tangi                 | ...  |
| 32   | Muhammad s/o Kundal of Akbarpura                   | In Jail  |
| 33   | Muhammad Matin s/o Mansur, Awan of Turangzai       | ...  |
| 34   | Najibullah s/o Hamidullah, Blacksmith of Turangzai | ...  |
| 35   | Nasrullah s/o Mir Ajaq (sic-), of Rajar            | ...  |
| 36   | Paur Dil s/o Shah Wali, Awan of Turangzai          | ...  |
| 37   | Pazir s/o Lal Mast, Paracha of Parang              | ...  |

| S.N. | Names and Designation                    | Remarks                                       |
|------|--|---|
| 38   | Sadullah, Caste Kashmiri, of Parang      | ...   |
| 39   | Saidan Shah s/o Behram Shah of Akbarpura | Present in British Territory, no action taken |
| 40   | Said Jani, Caste Daum of Turangzai       | ...   |
| 41   | Saifuddin s/o Kamaluddin of Utmanzai     | ...   |
| 42   | Syid Ahmad s/o Mir Ahmad, Awan of Parang | ...   |
| 43   | Sikandar, Maulvi, s/o Samdi of Turangzai | ...   |
| 44   | Subhan s/o Usman of Zakki                | Present in British Territory, no action taken |
| 45   | Tur Shah, Awan of Parang                 |   |
| 46   | Umar Khitab s/o Rahimullah of Zakki      | Present in British Territory, no action taken |
| 47   | Yakub Khan s/o Umra Khan of Nowshera     | At home on security                           |

Source: *Index of the names of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, AF-18, Vol. IV, CID 1916, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives, Peshawar.*

Appendix C

A Letter of Obaidullah Sindhi to Indians



عاشقہ حکومت ہند کی خبر رولٹ اسٹیشن کیسی کی رپورٹ میں پڑھ چکی ہو۔ یہ حکومت  
اس کی بنائی گئی۔ کہ ہند میں موجودہ غدار نظام حکومت کی بعض بدترین حکومت قائم ہو  
تمہاری عارضی حکومت چار سال سے مسلسل جدوجہد کر رہی ہے۔ اس وقت جب تم نے ظالمانہ  
قانون کو نہ ماننے کا اعلان کیا۔ اس زمانہ میں تمہاری حکومت موقتہ بھی امداد حاصل  
کرنے میں کامیاب ہو گئی۔

جملہ آؤ فریج سے حکومت موقتہ نے معاہدہ کر لیا ہے۔ اس نے اس سے مقابلہ کر کے اپنی  
حقیقی خواہش ظاہر کر لیں۔ بلکہ انگریزوں کو ہر ممکن طریقہ سے قتل کریں۔ انہیں آدمی  
اور روسیہ کی مدد نہ دیں۔ یہاں تاہم خراب کرتے رہو۔  
جملہ آؤ فریج سے امن حاصل کر لیں۔ انکو رسوا اور سزا سے مدد دیکر اعزاز  
سندیں حاصل کریں۔

جملہ آؤ فریج ہر ایک ہندوستانی کو بلا تفریق نسل و مذہب امن دیتی ہے۔ ہر ایک  
ہندوستانی کو جان مال عزت محفوظ ہے۔ فقط وہی مارا جائیگا یا بے عزت  
ہوگا جو اسکا مذہب میں کھوٹا ہو۔ خدا ہماری نگاہوں کو وسیع ہے۔ راستہ پر چلنے  
کی توفیق دے۔  
عبید اللہ  
وزیر حکومت موقتہ ہند





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