

THE RELIGO-POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN THE NORTH WESTERN INDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF PESHAWAR VALLEY (1914-1927)

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Abstract

The twentieth century witnessed political change in the Indian sub-continent. The British Imperialism had reached its highest level with unmatched power show. The Balkan War and the events of First World War had inspired the Muslim masses as well as Ulama in the entire Indian Sub-Continent. Ulama of Deoband struggled for and helped the Turks, morally, politically and economically. In this regard, Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan defied and resisted the British Raj, and launched a movement later on called “Tehreek-i-Raishmi Romaal” (Silk Handkerchief Movement) hatched in Kabul. Thus, it led to the rise of nationalist element and various religious movements including Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba, Khilafat and Hijrat movements, and were helped by the Pukthuns of this region at large. However, with the failure of those movements, the Ulama resorted to non-violent political struggle for freedom.

The study is based on locals’ narratives, official records of NWFP, British India Office Library Record; and personal collections of Ulama and Mashaikh to tracing the historical roots of the process of religious mobilization, shifting from Jihadist strategy (militant resistance) to political activism against British colonial rule in frontier.

Keywords; Ulama, Politics, Pukhtun, Resistance, Mobilization, British

PESHAWAR VALLEY-A HISTORICAL SKETCH

Peshawar valley appears first in history as emerging part of the kingdom of Ghandara. It was mentioned in Sanskrit literature from the earliest time and used by Chinese pilgrims in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era. The ancient capital of the district was Pushkulavati from which derived the Peukelas of Arrian, the historian of Alexander the Great. General Cunningham identified the site of Peukelas as near the modern twin towns of Charsadda and Parrang. The Muslim Historians Masudi and Abul Rihan in the 10th and 11th centuries named it as PARSHAWAR. The suitable name was given by Emperor Akbar who was not aware from the real derivation or meaning of PARSHAWAR, However, he replaced the new name as “The frontier

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town” which is the combination of the two Persian words “pesh” and “aawar” the root of the verb “aawardan” means to bring and this area was coming before the river Indus which is the natural boundary of Central and South Asia. Before the seventh century, Afghan or Pathan who were first living in the hills of Ghor and Suliman performed role in that campaign when Subuktageen defeated Jaypal. So, in the 10th century Peshawar came under the foreign oppression and Pathan sided with Subuktageen and the Pathan chiefs were treated with special favor and he encouraged the tribesmen to settle in the area west of Peshawar.

Peshawar valley lies between meridians 71.25 and 72.47 of east longitude and parallel 33.40 and 34.31 of North latitude. The total area of the Peshawar valley was 2637 square miles at the time under review. This area is surrounded by hills except to the east where the boundary is open to the Indus and the plains of Punjab.

MUSLIM POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR EFFORTS

The political support of Deobandi Ulama against the imperial rule was the vision of Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan in the period 1914–1919 in Frontier. He wanted to organize the independent tribal area secretly for the freedom movement. For this purpose, he gave directives to Sandaki Mulla, Babara Mulla and Haji Turangzai to establish seminaries in the frontier tribal areas. Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan’s students, belonged to N.W.F.P, played a vital role in the educational program of independent schools in the tribal areas. They were, Maulana Fazli Rabbi of Baffa, Maulana Fazl Mahmaud Makhfi, Maulana Uzair Gul, Maulana Abdur Rahim Popalzai and Maulana Nafe Gul.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan remarked about the Shaikh ul Hind struggle that:

On January 1913, Sheikh ul Hind called me and I went to Deoband along with Maulana Makhfi and Maulana Fazli Rabbi. At that time, Sheikh ul hind was in search of a safe centre in the tribal area and we had chosen some suitable places, meanwhile the First World War broke out. Maulana Saifur Rahman brought the message of Shaikh ul Hind that Haji Sahib should migrate to tribal area for jihad along with the other friends like Maulana Makhfi, Maulana Adul Aziz and Maulana Saiful Rahman. I (Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan) was left for their support and contact of the Mujahedeen’s network.

Khilafat Movement was the popular movement of the 20th century of Muslim’s history in the subcontinent, launched for the restoration of Khilafat in Turkey. On 22 November 1919, the first Khilafat conference was held at Delhi for the purpose to put forward the

promise of British government, which was done during the World War 1. At the end of the Delhi Khilafat conference 1919, Ulama convened a special meeting and established an organization called the Jami'at-ul-Ulama-i-Hind under the president ship of Abdul Bari Farang-i-Mahal on November 22, 1919.

In the subsequent years, Jami'at launched massive movement for the political, social and economic uplift of the Indian Muslims. In this regard, the third session of Jami'at at Lahore had an important position. This session was held at Lahore on 17, 18 and 19 November 1921, under the president ship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The special feature of the session was that the prominent Ulama of NWFP like Maulana Shah Rasool of Baala Gharhy Mardan, Maulana Uzair Gul of Ziayrat Kaka Sahib (Nowshera), and Maulvi Abdul Aziz of Hazro were the participants who played a vital role in the political awareness of the religious circle in frontier. A squad of volunteers from Peshawar also participated in the procession. They were under the command of Hakeem Qutbi Alam Naib Sar Askar. They were in green uniform and took all the discipline of the gathering and in the end; Maulana Abul Kalam awarded medals. During the proceedings, leaders of Jami'at criticized the frontier administration for strict policies and terminating the political activities in a Muslim majority province, NWFP. The Ulama passed resolution against those Ulama who had given the counter fatwa about the non-cooperation (Tarki Mawalaat). Next year in the annual session of Jami'at at Gaya (India) on 24th to 26th December 1922, Maulana Habaib ul Rahaman Deobandi emphasized that to establish district wise branches in the country, there should be a proper schedule for their organization. Jami'at Ulama Hind always gave importance to NWFP a Muslim majority province where all the movements can easily be mobilized.

In NWFP, Muslims stressed for the freedom of prisoners who were arrested during agitations. On 29 December 1923, in the fifth Annual session held at Koknada India, Jami'at Ulama, under the president ship of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani strictly criticized the action of British government. The session appreciated the efforts of the arrested people of frontier and they gave congratulation to them on this bold step. With the foundation of Jami'at, the Ulama gave full attention to NWFP and sent printed circular letters to all subordinate Jami'at to establish regional committees for the achievement of Muslims rights from the British. Each committee should consist of a president, secretary, treasurer and six members. They were instructed to collect funds and establish schools for oriental studies. In the same year, the Khilafatist and Ulama who were struggling for the religio-political uplift of the Muslims

of this province made different organizations, tour the whole province, and collected subscriptions.

The Ulama's excited action of "Hijrat Movement" had forereaching impression on frontier Muslims that proved the province as a land of experiments for both the British and the Indian leaders. The plans prepared in the London and Delhi can be easily experimented on the frontier area because both men and materials were easily available. The British were happy on this development and some observed it as the so-called Hijirat,

Thousands upon thousands of tribesmen end their families poured through the Khyber Pass to make new homes in a country where Quran was law of the land. Most were promptly ordered back across the border of the Afghan government and many women and children perished in the scorching summer heat on the return journey, although Amanuallah would probably have preferred to let everyone stay, he could not afford the political and diplomatic risk involved.

At Sawabi tehsil Kalu Khan, Dagai and other villages' parallel courts and revenue collection was started by the Ulama and workers of Jami'at. On 23rd of March 1923, Maulvi Shah Rasul read out the fatwa issued by the Hazro Khilafat Committee, which supported the settlement of cases by Panchayat (local group of elders). They also advocated the establishment of a religious school in Kalu Khan. This meeting further decided to abolish the prostitution from Kalu Khan. A meeting on the same lines was held at Dagai on the same day. At Sawabi some fifty minor cases relating to debt and land were settled. Another fifty such cases were pending. The Hazro fatwa was distributed throughout the Swabi Tehsil. Mir Babu Khels (sawabi) were keeping a record of the judgment given by their self-made Courts. Civil cases were settled on a payment of Rs. 0-8-0 for every Rs. 20 in dispute. The Mir Babu Khel Committee also decided to charge a local tax of Re. 0-0-6 per Jarib of land, over and above the Government revenue. This money, at the disposal of the Committee was to be used for the best advantage of the tribe.

The movement was devotedly working but some unavoidable misunderstandings among the leaders rose and the Peshawar Khilafat committee was divided in to two groups, Haji Jan Muhammad, M. Sabir and Maulvi Abdul Ghafur led one while Sayed Maqbol Shah led the other. The central Khilafat committee called both the wings to

Rawalpindi, settled the dispute by removing both leaders, and selected Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as president of the committee. The British government realized the Muslim leaders' differences. They arrested the Muslims under article 40 of the F.C.R. and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Haji Jan Muhammad, Mirza Muhammad Salim, Sardar Milap Singh, Sayed Maqbol Shah, and Maulvi Abdul Ghafur were arrested and sent to jail for three years.

ULAMA AND JAZIRATUL ARAB DAY IN PESHAWAR DISTRICT

The period started with the khilafat movement was very scorching. In all the five districts of Frontier, Ulama stirred up the masses against the British. In Peshawar, Sawabi Tehsil, the central Khilafat committee made efforts to observe Jazirat-ul-Arab Day to prevent the Holy Arabia from the enemies. In Peshawar, after Juma prayers in the mosque of Qasim Ali Khan on 14th September 1923, Maulvi Abdul Rahim delivered a lecture saying that the Aryas were converting the ignorant Malkana Rajputs by promising to pay up their debts. However, the Jamit-ul-Ulama have promised to them a well, a school and a mosque in every village from being converted to Hinduism. He also appealed for funds to contest that situation. Another meeting on 28th September 1923, Maulvi Qutab Din Muhammad Abdul Wali pointed out that the Indian Muslims had no hand in the restoration of the Turkish territory and insisted them to exert all their strength in securing the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab from non-Muslim domination and in saving their Muslim brethren in the United Provinces from becoming apostates.

On 16th of November 1923, all the frontier political agitators Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs celebrated Jazirat-ul-Arab Day, but they were unable to produce any great passion in the people. The central committee was worried to secure the freedom of the Jazirat ul Arab and to make the agitation an instrument for raising funds for the committee because the distrust about the misuse of the Khilafat funds was common and the assurance was not acceptable to the stanch Khilafatist. In this regard an appeal "Money is Badly Require to send a Deputation" displayed by Maulana Abdul Bari and Seth Uthman Subhani and published the full accounts of the committee.

FOUNDATION OF JAMI'AT-UL-ULAMA-I-SARHAD IN NWFP

Shaikh ul Hind Maulana Mahmud ul Hassan advised the workers of JUH in his written speech on 21 November 1920 "You should include

those who are not with you, with an easy and lucid way.” The Khilafat movement was supported by all political organizations of frontier province. All Khilafat workers of Congress, Muslim League, Jami’at Ulama-i-Hind participated in the annual session of JUH in India. A delegation of the distinguished political workers from frontier went for the second annual session of Jami’at held at Delhi in November 1920 which included Haji Jan Muhammd, Maulvi Abd-ul-Hakeem, Abd-ul-Rahim- wood merchant Peshawar city, Muhammad Jan- Bar-at-law, Maulana Abdul-Rahim Popalzai and Maulvi Abd-ul- Aziz of Gharhi Habibullah.

On 18 and 19th of November 1921, the third session of Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i- Hind took place at Lahore presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In this session, the frontier Ulama like Maulana Shah Rasul and Maulana Uzair Gul participated. The session was very important due to the political situation at that time and some important resolutions were passed. The suggestions proclaimed that, 1. All the services related to police and army is forbidden 2. Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i-Hind emphasized on freedom of the country, which is the religious duty of all Muslims.

In 1923, Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i-Hind sent letters to all subordinate Jami’ats as a structure for the political and religious need of the Indians. Maulvi Abdul Hakim and Maulvi Abdul Rab were struggling in order to meet the various challenges faced by frontier Ulama. The Ulama held meeting at various places called “Jami’at-i-Tabligh-o-Hifazat-i-Islam (propagation and preservation of Islam)” which worked under the instruction of the Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i-Hind. Abdul Rab announced the opening of Ishaat-i-Islam office at the Islamia School, Peshawar with Maulvi Abdul Hakim as President and requested the audience to uphold the cause and subscribe liberally towards the Malkana Fund. He further stated that a conference would be held to consider the question of Malkana Rajput in which Ulamas would be invited and Maulvi Sana ullah of Amritsar will participate in the conference.

Jami’at Ulama-i-Hind paid a special attention to the problems of this Muslim majority province in the subsequent years. In the fifth annual conference, at Koknad on 29 December 1923, JUH gave suggestions for the solution of Hindu Muslim problem occurred at Kohat. These suggestions and resolutions of a religious political organization developed relations among the frontier religious leaders and other political agitators of the area. Those Ulama who participated in various conferences decided to established local and regional JUH branches in the frontier province. After the start of Khilafat Committees in India, the provincial and district committees also started the movement for the

restoration of Khilafat. The main street power was around the Ulama. The Khilafat and other religious meetings were held together, they addressed the people in the Friday prayers and other meetings. In the third Annual conference of JUH held in 20 November 1921 at Lahore, Maulana Shah Rasul of Bala Ghari and Maulana Uzair Gul of Ziyarat Kaka Sahib participated from frontier.

JAMI'AT-UL-ULAMA'S REGIONAL BRANCHES IN PESHAWAR

In the manifesto of Jami'at, article No 8 categorically declared the following sub organizations at different levels as;

- a. Local level Jami'at
- b. Regional level Jami'at
- c. District level Jami'at
- d. Provincial level Jami'at

The religious leaders of frontier used to go to various meetings of the Jami'at Ulama-i-Hind due to educational and spiritual relations with the Deoband Ulama. The regional and local Jami'at were founded before the provincial branch of Jami'at Ulama-i-Hind. Ulama of NWFP were regularly participating in the Jami'at sessions held in other provinces of India. The prominent Ulama of NWFP felt the necessity of a political organization of Ulama especially those Ulama and religious leaders who participated in Jami'at annual sessions. In the subsequent years, first meeting was held in Mardan under the president ship of Maulana Shah Rasul Deobandi. He requested the learned people of Yusufzai to form a Jami'at under the patronage of Jami'at Ulama Hind. the first serious effort of the Ulama to form a political local office of the Jami'at-ul-Ulama appeared in Nowshera sub-division. Ahmad Khan, a well-known political agitator of Shaidu (Nowshera) organized a meeting on 3rd and 4th April 1924. It was further suggested that the committee would nominate the "Jami'at-ul-Ulama Peshawar district." After the decision of the Ulama and the elders, the following were elected as member of the committee;

1. Meera Jan as president.
2. Maulana Abd ul Hakeem as vice president.
3. Miyan Hamid Gul as Secretary.

It was the first district level meeting in this province, which was held only for the political goal of the regional and political demands of the majority of the people. They demanded for the first time to adopt Shariat instead of the Riway tribunal system and suggested to open

branches thereof in every district. The distinguished Muslims political workers who participated to attend this meeting were, Haji Jan Muhammad, Maulvi Abdul Hakim, Maulvi Abdul Rahim Popalzai, Abdul Karim, ex-Head Constable and Ghulam Rabbani.

On the 28th August 1924, a meeting of the Frontier Jami'at-ul-Ulama was held at Ziarat Kaka Sahib Nowshera, presided by Shah Rasul of Bala Ghari. Among the other Ulama, Maulvi Shah Rasul, Maulvi Gujar, Maulvi Rahman-ud-Din, Marwat Maulana of Nowshera Kalan, Muhammad Akbar Khan of Utmanzai and Khan Mir were also present. The Ulama addressed the people and discussed Sharia and the unity of the nation, Muhammad Akbar Khan proposed the necessity of leadership of an able person. They threw light on the role of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Lenin as two men who successfully won freedom. Qazi Abdul Rab spoke on the introduction of "Shariat" and the propagation of Islam. He declared the important organizational activities of the Jami'at and suggested a tour of the whole province. He further recommended appointing sub-committees of Ulama, preachers and decent men. Those persons eligible as member of the committee who give Rs. 3 monthly subscription.

The resolutions unanimously passed were;

- The Khilafat Committee, Bombay, requests to expedite the dispatch of the Khilafat Deputation to Angora.
- The Frontier Jami'at-ul-Ulama condemns the oppression practiced on pilgrims.
- The honorable Chief Commissioner requests to convey to the Government of India the displeasure of the Frontier Muslims with the Sharif of Mecca who should get no assistance from the British Government. Mian Masrur Gul of Ziarat Kaka Sahib read out an address of welcome to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Uthmanzay.

A local body of Jami'at-ul-Ulama-i-Sarhad was established and the following were announced as the office bearers;

- Sayed Mira Jan of Ziarat Kaka Sahib, President.
- Miyan Hamid Gul, Secretary.
- Qazi Abd ul Rab as Treasurer.

The other prominent political workers of NWFP in this meeting were; Haji Jan Muhammad, Muhammad Abbas Khan of Utmanzai, Sayed Lal Badshah and Ahmad Khan of Shaidu. Ulama of frontier collectively launched Khilafat movement in those days. According to the instruction of central Jami'at, they established only local and regional Jami'at. The frontier Ulama took part in every occasion of the Muslim political and social development. When the student wing of the Jami'at

Ulama-i-Hind established with the name of Jami'at ul Tulaba in 1919, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani became the president and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus, who was from NWFP became its first General Secretary.

JUH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT PESHAWAR 1927

JUH held its annual session in Peshawar in December 2-5, 1927, which turned out to be a great and distinct event. Although Muslim League was established in 1912 in the province and other political organizations were also working but none of them could hold all India national level conference in this Muslim majority province before partition. It was the most important time in the political history of India especially for the people of Frontier.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CONFERENCE

The socio-political condition of Frontier Province was very critical and British government was trying to keep the people of Frontier away from the frequent visits of the Indian leaders. At this critical time, the successful visit of Maulana Muhammad Ali along with other Muslim leaders encouraged the Jam'iat to hold its annual conference in Peshawar. The Simon Commission was also soon to come to India for the survey of the functioning of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as provided in the Act of 1919.

In September 1927, Hindus and Sikhs propagated some false news into other parts of India that Pakhtuns were killing the minority community members of the Frontier province. Hindus and Sikhs wanted to see the province as a part of the Punjab because in this way their numerical inferiority would be balanced. On the other side, JUH annual session of Peshawar 1927 was the result of that propaganda which was spread by Hindus and Sikhs of this province before the Simon Commission's arrival. The conference was organized by JUH, even though the reforms of Frontier Province made it an all-party convention in which all Muslim political leaders contributed. It was an important event in the religio-political history of the province. The agenda was included in the following items for discussion;

- Reforms in the North West Frontier Province,
 - Trade among Muhammadans,
 - Bequeathing of inheritance to women,
 - The unity of all Muslim sects,
 - Religious endowments,
 - The security of religion and the propagation of Islam.
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It was the eighth national level conference of JUH held for the first time in Peshawar. It was the will of the provincial workers of the Jam'iat. Maulana Ahmad Said came to Peshawar and inquired about the views of the people. Some people gave the suggestion to invite some of the pro-British elements. In this regard, Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan and Sardar Abdu Rab Nishtar were given importance. Sahibzada Abdul Qayum was chosen because he could make a bridge between Jam'iat and British Government but soon he realized that this conference was purely held for reforms and the elite would not come forward. For solution, Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan was elected as president of the reception committee. Due to these two prominent figures, government presented the Shahi Mahaman Khana for the guests and the session was held from 2-5th December 1927 near to the Bajawrhi Gate, in the ground of Shahi Mehman Khana (now Lady Griffith Gils High School Peshawar). The guests were served in the guesthouse of the Shahi Mehman Khana and the session was held in the open ground near to it. Two committees were made for the supervision of the conference, managing committee and reception committee. The former was headed by Maulana Abdul Hakim and the later by Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan.

The three days conference achieved fruitful benefits for the frontier people. Ulama came from different areas proposed the following resolutions, which were unanimously carried:

1. A Jam'iat-ul-Ulama of Frontier Province (Jam'iat-ul-ulama-i-Sarhad JUS) had been formed with the following as its office bearers and members.

Maulana Abdul Hakim (President) and five Vice Presidents, Maulana Shakirullah of Nowshera, Maulana Shah Rasul, Maulana Sayyad Hussain Shah, Maulana Abdul Qahhar (Marwato Mullah), Maulana Shahab ud Din, Maulana Bismillah, Sayyad Fazal Samdani, Abdul Rahman and the other local Ulama were nominated as members.

2. Muslims should find a cure for the existing failure and other evils prevalent among them that include disunity, feuds, disputes, false evidence in court and practice on shrines such as gambling etc., should be abolished. A committee of the Ulama should be formed to take up this work and the people should carry out its commands.

3. Unhappiness was expressed on the Shia Sunni clashes in Tirah and it was requested that the differences should be settled amicably, the Muslims could not tolerate British intervention in this matter and the people themselves should decide.

4. The grief and sorrow was expressed at the negligence of the government to higher education. There was Muslim majority in Frontier

province but Islamia College was facing financial difficulties like Islamia School Peshawar city. Jam'iat stressed on the government to provide facilities for higher education. The speakers also remarked that Islamia College deserved help in every way and that the existing grant of the government was insufficient.

The conference ended with a prayer by the president and Maulvi Abdul Halim thanked all those leaders by name who participated in the successful management of the conference. In this conference, the following prominent Ulama of Frontier also participated Maulana Fazal Mahmud Makhfi, Maulana Abdul Rahim Popalzai, Maulana Fazli Rabbi, Maulana Muhammad Ishaq, Maulana Muhammad Irfan, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor and Haji Jan Muhammad.

THE IMPORTANT FEATURES OF JUH CONFERENCE (1927)

- JUH Sarhad provincial branch was established;

Although Ulama had made various branches (regional and district) in different parts of Frontier but this conference organized their political struggle under the leadership of JUH. At the last meeting, Jam'iat-ul-Ulama Sarhad was formed with Maulvi Abdul Hakim of Peshawar as president including the visiting maulvis from other districts of the province as office bearers.

- b. Constitutional Reforms were demanded;

The session strongly demanded the constitutional reforms from British government of the same position as other provinces enjoyed. The JUH also stressed the Ulama to make awareness among the people of this province to use those products, which are made in the province to develop trade and encourage the native culture and handicrafts. Ulama expressed views with sorrow on the accident of Tirah between the Sunni and Shia. JUH requested both to resolve differences with mutual understanding.

There were also suggestions given to the government, Ulama and for the guidance of common people of this province. These suggestions were appreciated by political organizations in the coming days in the province.

- c. Suggestions for the educational uplift;

The JUH session demanded from the British government to develop higher education in this province particularly Islamia College and Islamia High School Peshawar. They proposed to the Ulama of this province and administrators of Islamic madaris to uplift the socio-religious condition of the people by education. They selected a

committee for the proposals of new educational curricula for the Islamic madaris. Members of the committee were; Syed Muhammad Anwar Shah, Mufti Kefayatullah, Syed Suleman Nadvi, Maulana Habib ul Rehman, Maulana Muhammad Sajjad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Fazli Haq Rampuri. The session emphasized on physical education in Arabic Madaris. They advised to practice physical exercise and co-curricular activities for the students. The session also proposed to establish provincial level Darr ul Ulum and other Madaris affiliated with that.

Proposals related to social and moral condition of the province were also given.

d. Social reforms were suggested;

The session proposed the Ulama to advice people of the province that; to eliminate un-Islamic customs at the events of death and marriage ceremonies. They should not borrow money from other with interest. The theaters, which show un-Islamic shows and dramas, also be prohibited to obey the commands of Sharia. About the inheritance, the women would not be deprived of their due shares which Sharia had given to them. This session demanded from the masses of the province particularly from Pakhtuns not to accept money on their daughter's marriage except dower, which should be according to the law of Sharia.

CONCLUSION

The religious mobilization started from "Tehreek-i-Raishmi Romaal" (Silk Handkerchief Movement) that generated the various religious movements including Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba, Khilafat and Hijrat movements. These were helped by the Pukhtuns of this region at large. Hindus and Sikhs propagated some false news into other parts of India that Pakhtuns were killing the minority community people of the Frontier province. The Simon Commission was also soon to come to India for the survey of the functioning of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. British government was trying to keep the people of Frontier away from the frequent visits of the Indian leaders. At this critical time, the successful visit of Maulana Muhammad Ali along with other Muslim leaders encouraged the Jam'iat to hold its annual conference in Peshawar. Ulama held the conference and demanded for the constitutional reforms of the province that mobilized the pukhtun society towards socio-political development by political process rather than by confrontation.

- 1: Strabo pointed out Ghandara lying along the river kopas (Kabul) between the Choaspes and Indus. E. H. Cobb, Captain, N. W. F. Province Gazetteers. Peshawar District, volume-A 1931. (Lahore: Civil and Military gazette Ltd.1934), 40.
 - 2: Peshawar first time mentioned by Chinese Buddhist Fa-Hian (400 A.D) and. Hiun-Tsang (540 A.D) under the name of Fo-LE-SHA and PU-LUSHA-PU-LO, who travelled in India. (E. H. Cobb, 1)
 - 3: Ibid,43.
 - 4: Ibid, 1.
 - 5: Maulana Muhammad Miyan, Jamiat Ulama Kiya Hay (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Mahmudia, Shuba Nashr-o-Ishaat Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam, 2004), 71.
 - 6: Maulana Mahmud ul Hassan established an association in Deoband during his teaching in 1880 with the name of “Thamarat tu Tarbiah” (The fruit of the look after) for the purpose of social and political services of Indian Muslims. The organization was renamed in 1909 as “Jami’at-ul-Ansaar” and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi was appointed as administrator (Nazim) of this new organization. (Miyani, Muhammad, Jamiat ulama kiya hy,(Lahore: Aljamiat publications 2010, 70).
 - 7: Haji Sahib Turangzai had established independent schools in frontier. In 1907, a school was started at Gaddar in tehsil Mardan by Mirza Gul, a Kaka Khel of Gaddar who used to teach students himself. In 1910-11, this school was placed in charge of Haji Sahib Turangzai and Maulavi Fazli Rabbi was appointed as teacher in it. (BL, IOR, /P&J/11/217/3096).
 - 8: Maulavi Fazli Rabbi Alias Abul Fatah s/o Mahmud of Baffa Shinkairi, District Hazara completed his study in 1909 at Deoband. Most of his Activities were not noticed by the British authorities, when Haji Sahib shift to tribal area where Fazli Rabbi was helping him he was noticed. After visiting his home in Baffa, Maulavi Fazli Rabbi got the attention of the intelligence agencies and few of his relatives were arrested. He was supporting all the activities of Haji Sahib and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi across the border area of Bajawar to the black
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Mountains. He therefore, was listed in the Hizbullah Army as Colonel.

His prominence was realized, when he tried to raise the local tribes of Malakand, Buner and Black Mountains in support of the Tehrik-i-Raishmi

Rumaal. He was also associated with Muhammad Akbar, working for Bolshevik in Kabul in 1921. He also went to Jalal Abad and met with Fakhri Pasha, the Angora Minister at Kabul for propagation and help for Pan-Islamism in India. (BL, IOR, /P&J/ 11/ 217/ 3096).

9: Fazli Mahmud Makhfi was also a disciple of Shaikh ul Hind. He started his revolutionary school (Azad

Madrassa) on these lines in independent territories. He established a school in 1922 and appointed Maulavi Fazli

Rabbi as instructor along with resaldar Rukn ul Din of 17 th cavalry in the village of Bara mola. (BL, IOR, /P&J/11/217/ 3096).

10: He was the son of Maulana Abdul Hakim, the first president of provincial Jami'at Ulama-i-Sarhad in 1927.

11: He was the elder brother of Maulana Uzair Gul. He guided all the new comers to Deoband from frontier

(interview with Maulana Mujahid Khan, Ex MPA of K.P and graduate of Deoband. On August 2012 at his residence at Nowshera.

12: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan commonly known as Bacha Khan was the son of Bahram Khan, a landlord of

Charsadda Uthmanzai. He was born in 1890 in the village Utmanzai Charsadda. He joined the socio-religious

reform movement of Haji Sahib Turanzai and took an active part in 1919 in the Anti-Rowlett Bill agitation. He

established Anjuman-i-Islahul-Afaghina (organization for the guidance of Pakhtuns). During the later years,

Ghaffar Khan devoted all his time and energies to the establishment and organization of the Khudai

Khidmatgars. According to him, partition was a British design and its purpose was to divide Muslims. In

1964, he finally went to Afghanistan where, he lived up to 1973 in self-exile. He died on January 21, 1988, and

was buried in Jalalabad, Afghanistan. (Abdul Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in NWFP: A Case

Study of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina" Pakistan history and culture, vol xxvii/2 (2006), 33.

- 13: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Zama Jwand Aw Jaddo Juhd (My Life and Struggle), (Germany: Da Afghanistan Da Kultur Wadi Tolina Danish Khaprandoya, 2013), 86.
- 14: The initial idea came from Maulana Kifayatullah in 1918 in a pamphlet on the life and struggle of Shaikh ul Hind. He desired that there should be a political organization of Ulama in India. (Abu Salman Shahjahan Puri, Mufti Kifayatullah Aik Mutalia (Lahore: Al-Jami'at Publications, 2004), 33.
- 15: Yusfi, 261.
- 16: Tark-i-Mawalaat was a Fatwa given by Ulama of Deoband for the purpose to abolish relations with the British and to render no service for the government. (Rozina, Dastawezat, 133).
- 17: Bombay Abstract of police, No. 22 of 2-6-1923, Paragraph No. 1015. Sind C. I. D, N.W.F.P.19-5-23, Para. No. 211. Dated. 1923. S. No., 30/7257.
- 18: Charles Miller, 347.
- 19: (C. I. D. N W F P, Police Abstract D. O. A, Peshawar, 29/7256, 1923)
- 20: Yousfi , Sarhad Awr Jaddo Juhdi Azadi, 258. 259.
- 21: (NWFP. I. P. B, S. No., 30/7257-/1923 dated 14-09-1923, D. A. O. Peshawar, KP)
- 22: BL, L/PS/12/111, Extract from the director intelligence bureau of the home department government of India, Dated Delhi, 14 th November 1923, p,20.
- 23: Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan (in his absence) was selected the first President of Jami'at-ul-Ulama-i- Hind. However, after ten days, he died on 30 th November 1920. (Miyani, Ulama-i-Haq ovr Unky Mujahedana Karnamy, 351.
- 24: Rozina, Khutbat Jami'at ulama-i-Hind, 74.
- 25: D. O. A. Peshawar. Bundle No. 54-55 file no. 1772. Dated 26-10-1920.
- 26: Miyani, Jami'at Ulama Kiya Hay, 131.
- 27: NWFP, I. B., Dated, 19-06-1923, Serial. No. 30/7257-/1923 D. A. O. Peshawar.
- 28: Rozina, Khutbati Jami'at Ulama-i-Hind, 233.
- 29: Hindu Muslim tension arose in Kohat in 1924. There was disturbance due to the blasphemous poems in the annual Sanatham Dharam meeting of Hindus, which resulted riots. Many people from both the sides were killed, injured and their properties were damaged. (Sabbir, 839).
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30: The meeting was held at the Azad Islamia High School Shahbaz Garhi in Mardan.

31 D. O. A. File. No. A 25/1/15, Vol. 1, S. No. 1562 Bundle No. 85, NWFP Peshawar. Cited by Abdul Rauf, "Jami'at-ul-Ulama-i-Sarhad and the Annual Conference 1927", Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, and University of Punjab Lahore (2005), 207.

32 He was known as 'Spin Miyan' and his granddaughter was the wife of Qazi Husain Ahmad ex Ameer JI, Pakistan.

33 He was the resident of Zyarat Kaka Sahib and was working as a superintendent in the British railway. He was the first person who give up all the tiles and honours given to him by the British government. By returning the British title of Victoria Cross after the fatwa of Ulama who ordered the Indian to give up all the titles of British.

He left everything during the Khilafat movement. British government sent him to jail. The Ulama and masses gave him the title of 'Fakhr-i Qaum (The pride of Nation).

34 A village in District Nowshera, seven kilometres away to the southern side where the well-known saint Kaka Sahib's Shrine is situated.

35 He was the son of Maulana Hafiz Jamal Din and born in the village of Miyan Kili Parhangh Charsaddah in 1897. He completed his education from Darul Ulom Ghanj Peshawar in 1340 Hijira. He was the author of many books. He was the uncle of Maulana Hassan Jan Ex MNA and Shaikh ul Hadith of Darul Ulom Imdad ul Uloom, Peshawar.

36 He was one of the distinguished Khateeb of Nowshera Kalan. Maulana Abdul Haq, the founder of Darul-uloom Haqania Akorha Khattak was his disciple.

37 Rozina, History of Jami'at al Ulama-i-Hind, An unpublished MPhil thesis submitted to Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, 29.

38 He was the father of Qazi Husain Ahmad the ex-Ameer Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan. He was born in 1886 at Zyarat Kaka Sahib Nowshera. He got his early education from Maulana Muhammad Israil Mardan and then got admission in the 'Madrassa Abdul Rab' Delhi. He was graduated from there in 1915 and started khitabat at

Peshawar. He died in 1972. He was the author of several books among those were, Qisas ul Quran (stories of the Quran) and Peghambar-i-Islam (Prophet of Islam) are famous. (Dr. Fayuz-ur-Rahman, 101)

39 N.W.F.P. I.B., D. O. A. Peshawar, S. No. 31/ 7258 Dated. 8. 04. 1924.

40 Suhail Ahmad Awan, Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi: Mazhabi-o-Syasi Khidmaat (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Jami'at, 2009), 42.

41 The Government of India Act 1919, prescribed that after 10 years from the passing of the Act, a commission will be constituted on the working of the set up to report on the constitutional changes. Obhrai, 123.

42 When the Khilafatists in the Central Assembly moved the resolution on 16 th February 1926, for the reforms in NWFP the whole Hindus and Sikhs along with Moti Lal and Madan Mohiya opposed the resolution on the basis of Kohat riots and tribal insurgencies. (Javed, 105).

43 In the managing committee, except Maulavi Abdul Hakim, the other like Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan, Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan, Mir Rehman, Allah Bakhsh Yusfi, Maian Jafar Shah, Hafizullah, Said ur Rahman, Khan Muhammad Khan and Abdul Rahman Nadvi were not related to JUS. Among the Speakers Ali brothers, Abdul Ghafar Khan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Abdullah Yousaf Ali were not the members of JUH.

In the Reception Committee again except the Vice President Maulavi Abdul Hakim all the other were non

Jam'iat workers. Like, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan (President), Nawab Arbab Dost Muhammad

Khan (Vice President), Nawabzada Arbab Muhammad Akram Khan (Vice President), Haji Sethi Karim Bakhsh

of Peshawar (Vice President), Haji Jan Muhammad (vice president), Sayed Lal Badsha (General Secretary), Ali

Gul Khan Secretary), Hakim Abdul Jalil (secretary), Sayed Qasim Jan (Assistant Secretary) and Haji Abdul

Rahim (Accountant). (P.A.I, NWFP, D. O. A., Peshawar, Diary no, 851. Serial No. 33/7260/1927)

44 NWFP, P. I. A, D. O. A., Peshawar, Diary no, 851. Serial No. 33/7260/1927.

45 Khleeq, Da Azady Jang, Trans, Azadi ki Jang (The war of Independence), 23.

46 Sabir, Tarikh Soba Sarhad, 432.

47 It was scheduled for April 1927, but later on held in December 1927.

(Abdul Rauf, "Jam'iat Ulama Sarhad and 8 th Annual Conference of Jam'iat-ul-ulama-i-Hind at Peshawar 1927", Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, Vol. xxxiii, No. 1. 2006), 210.

48 Sabir, 847.

49 The other members of that committee were, Mir Rahman, Allah Bakhsh Yusfi, Miyan Jafar Shah, Hafizullah, Said ur Rahman, Khan Muhammad Khan and Abdul Rahman Nadvi.

50 Among the other members, Nawab Arbab Dost Muhammad Khan, Nawabzada Arbab Muhammad Akram Khan, Haji Sethi Karim Bakhsh of Peshawar, Maulavi Abdul Hakim, Haji Jan Muhammad, Sayed Lal Badsha, Ali Gul Khan, Hakim Abdul Jalil, Sayed Qasim Jan, and Haji Abd ul Rahim.

51 He was the khateeb of Masjid Qasim Ali Khan the Eid and fasts all decision were followed according to his announcement. He died in 1348/1933. His two sons Maulana Abd ur Rahim Popalzai and Maulana Abdul Qayum Popalzai have strictly followed their father mission and several times sent to jail by British government.

(Fayuz-u -Rahman, 201)

52 Maulana Shakirullah was the khateeb of a mosque and disciple of Mullah Marwat later on organized Muslim League in frontier province in 1937 at Abbottabad.

53 The disciples of Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi belong to Balagharhy district Mardan.

54 He was the descendant of Shah Abdul Qadir of Baghdad and disciple of Rashed Ahmad Gangohi. He got education from the Abdul Haq Lalaje of Bam Khel of Sawabi. He also participated in jihad movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed against the Sikh. Maulana Sayed Husain Shah had a vast circle of pupil who got religious education from him. (Fayuz-u -Rahman, 191).

55 He was one of the distinguished khateeb of Nowshera Kalan. Maulanaa Abdul Haq, founder of the Darul-Ulum Haqania Akorra Khattak was his disciple. (Muhammad Afazl Raza, Karwan da Azadaye 1826-1947 (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1996), 115.

56 He was the founder of the Darul Ulum Rafiul Islam in Peshawar Banamarhi and the disciple of Maulana Shah Rasol and Maulana Ghaziudin. He was also related to Hadda Mullah (Line) silsila tareqat. He died on 18 th September 1969.

57 The people who were declared as members of the provincial Jam'iat-ul-ulama-i-Sarhad were, Maulana Muhammad Shah, Maulana Abdur Rauf, Maulana Shamsul Haq of Turnangzai, Qazi Asmatullah of Ziyarat Kaka Sahib, Maulana Habib Ur Rahman, Maulana Latifullah of Bannu, Qazi Miraj Din of Kohat, Hafiz Ahmad of D. I. Khan, Sayyad Lal Badshah of Peshawar, Maulana Muhammad Ishaq of Abbottabad, M. Abdul Fahim and Miyan Yusaf Shah. (Abdul Rauf, 231)

58 Intelligence Branch, NWFP, D. A. O. Peshawar, Bundle No. 54. S. No. 920. File No. 1772 Dated. 1927.

59 Serial no 33/7260/1927. Diary No. 914.

60 Till this time the constitutional rights of the Minto Morley of 1909 and Chelmsford reforms of 1919 were not given to NWFP.

61 Miyan, Jam'iat Ulama Kiya Hay, 234
