

N.-W.F.P. and the Khilafat & Hijrat Movements

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After the Balkan war another shock was unbearable for Turkey. She needed a long time to recover. Her administration was mostly in the hands of the Germans. It was difficult for her to make her entry in the 1st World War because with her linked the fortunes of the Muslim world.(1) But in November 1914, Turkey made her choice of assisting Germany in the war proclaiming the war as *Jihad*.(2)

It was now quite difficult for the Indian Muslims to analyse the situation arising from Turkey's entry into the war. The British were well aware of the situation. They immediately reassured the community in a public announcement, apparently dictated from London, which declared :

"In view of the outbreak of the war between Britain and Turkey...the Viceroy is authorized to make the following public pronouncement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia, including the holy shrines of Mesopotamia and the port of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects in the war These holy places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or molestation by the British naval or military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places, and shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given similar assurances".(3)

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Earlier and secretly, by a treaty in 1915, Britain had started "dividing the bear's skin before the bear was slain". She made different promises such as Constantinople would go to Russia but after the fall of Tsardom she promised it to Greece. Similar promises were made to Sherif Hussain(4) of Makkah. But the commitments with him were at variance with the Balfour(5) Declaration of 1917. When these transactions became public, the Muslims realised the seriousness of the situation in case of Turkey's defeat.(6)

In addition to fulfilling the British objectives, peace terms (division of Ottoman Empire) would have satisfied Russian interests in Armenia, French interests in Syria and Cilicia, Italian interests in the region of Adana and Greek interests on the sea board.(7) To get rid of the great Ottoman Empire, confining Turkish Government to a petty kingdom of Anatolia, they deemed it necessary to divide it among the tribal chiefs of Arabia as well as other Allied Powers.(8) The Muslims of India had a great sympathy with the Turks, so they started the Khilafat Movement in their help and support.(9) The Khilafat Movement emphasized the freedom of the universal *Khalifa*, from foreign control.(10) The Muslims of India had religious ties with the Khilafat. Naturally when they heard about the harsh treatment of Turkey by the British they felt uneasy. Many divines and Muslim scholars expressed their views on the question of Khilafat. According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, "the foundations of a Pan-Islamic Society rest on five pillars : adherence of the *Jam'a* to one *Khalifa*, or *Imam*; its rallying to the call of the *Khalifa*; its obedience to the *Khalifa*; *Hijrat* or migration to the *Dar-ul-Islam*, which can take many forms; and *Jihad* which can also take many forms".(11)

Political loyalty was due to the Ottoman *Khalifa* who, unlike the Pope, was not a spiritual but a temporal head, as, in *Islam*, spiritual leadership is the privilege of God and his Prophet alone. Obedience to the *Khalifa* was binding, therefore, on all Muslims though not to the degree as that of God and his Prophet. The *Khalifa* could be disobeyed when he acted contrary to the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah.(12)

In addition to this, with the Afghan encouragement some Indian Muslims started a campaign of recruiting an army which they termed "the Army of God", with a view to enabling themselves to wage a holy war against the British.(13) Some of them, like Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan, left India for Makkah in September 1915 in order to get support for the Turks from the King of Afghanistan as well as leading Arab notables.(14) But, according to Ch. Khaliquzzaman, "while we were engaged in defending the Muslim position in regard to the Khilafat and the preparation of the *fatwa*, our missions in Kabul and Makkah led by Maulana Obeidullah and Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan had failed to win over the King of Afghanistan."(15) Amir Habibullah Khan, the King of Afghanistan proclaimed his country's neutrality for "as long as the honour, existence, independence, and freedom of Afghanistan were in no way jeopardized or threatened".(16) Maulana Obeidullah had to leave Afghanistan, while, in Arabia, Sherif Hussain handed over Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan and his Comrades-in-arms, namely Maulana Uzer Gul, Hussain Ahmad Madani etc. to the British who sent them to Malta as internees.(17)

Despite the promises made by the British Government, about the fate of Turkey during the long course of the war, she was victimised after the war was over. The British Premier, Lloyd George, did his best to crush her and said that the "Khalifa should be Vaticanized". It was crystal clear that the victors had decided to reduce Turkey to the status of a fourth-rate power. Hindus as well as Muslims in India were agreed to save Turkey from its forthcoming treatment.(18) Hindus, who constituted a strong majority stood shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen on the question of Turkey. Soon Mohammad Ali Jauhar, the most influential Muslim leader was in a position to win over such prominent Hindu leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilak to their side in support of their claims on the question of Khilafat.(19) The question offered best opportunity and chance to both the major communities of India. For the first time in history different communities came to a joint platform to fight against their common enemy ——— the British.(20) On 17 October 1919, the Muslims observed the

Khilafat day suspending all kinds of business. They offered prayers and observed fasts. The official Peace Celebrations were fixed for the week beginning from 13 December. The leaders advised the public to abstain from rejoicing.(21)

A deputation of the Khilafatists led by Maulana Mohammad Ali, including 34 great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, President of Khilafat Conference; Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of All India Muslim League; Dr. M.A. Ansari; Hasrat Mohani; Maulana Abdul Bari; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad; Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew and Swami Shardanand etc., met the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, on 19 January 1920 and showed their resentment to him. They decided further to send a delegation to London.

The Khilafat delegation led by Maulana Mohammad Ali left in an Austrian steamer "Trestino" which sailed from Bombay on 1 February 1920.(22) Other members of the delegation were : Mr. Chatani; Hasan Imam and Dr. Ansari. Though Llyod George met them, they realized that they were not treated in a proper way. Meanwhile the victors had continued preparation of a treaty known as the "Treaty of Sevres" in order to decide the fate of Turkey.(23) The interview with Llyod George on 17 March, was joined by several British orientalis. Maulana Mohammad Ali acted as the spokesman of the Indian delegation. After his speech, Llyod George read a prepared speech in reply which took no account of the demands made by the Indians. He said bluntly that all vanquished powers, Muslims or Christians, would be treated alike. No exceptions could be made in case of Turkey. The Turks had fought against the British and had been defeated in the war. They must therefore be prepared to bear the consequences of their defeat.(24) How to demarcate the frontiers of Turkey depended wholly on the sweet will of the victors.

The deputation came back without any success. They decided to hold *hartals* and boycott the foreign goods as a protest against Britain's treatment with Turkey. On the strength of his alliance with the Khilafat leaders, Gandhiji formally inaugurated his Non-Co-operation Movement on August 1, 1920.(25) After

adopting his new policy, Gandhi became the accepted leader of a United India and under his guidance the movement began to spread like wild fire.(26)

A clash between the masses and the government was inevitable in India. Leaders of All India fame like Gandhiji, Ali Brothers with a large number of other Khilafat leaders like Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni; Akhtar Ali and Mian Feroz-uddin (known as Naqceb-e-Khilafat) toured the country to infuse a new spirit among the masses against the government in favour of Khilafat. The resentment of the people reached its zenith when some of their leaders like Mr. Das; Rajendra Prasad; Mazhar-ul-Haq; Seth Yaqub Hasan and Lajpat Rai were restrained in certain areas.(27) A Khilafat Conference was held at Karachi on 8 July 1921. Ali Brothers made inflammatory speeches, defying the government orders. In their speeches they advised the Muslim soldiers not to serve the army of the British government as they were hostile to the Caliph of Islam. They were arrested, tried and given long sentences for inciting disaffection among the Indian troops.(28)

Mr. Gandhi used all his influence to persuade the Congress to join hands with the Muslims in their hour-of-trial. Though there were certain Congressites who were opposing it because they considered it simply a religious question, exclusively concerning the Muslims. But Gandhi did his best to convince his partymen to assist the Muslims in the Khilafat Movement. For him it was "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Mohamadans as would not arise in a hundred years".(29) But after sometime, the abolition of the Khilafat by Mustafa Kamal in 1924 affected Indian Muslims politically more than any other Muslim community of the world.(30) Maulana Mohammad Ali strongly condemned the action of the Turks in deposing the *Khalifa* and abolishing the *Khilafat*.(31) Apart from Maulana Mohammad Ali, other Muslims also showed a great resentment on the abolition of *Khilafat*. To Sayyid Amir Ali, "the *Khilafat* is not a national institution, the property of a single state, to be abolished at its free will. It is an integral part of the *Sunni* system. Any nation is free to abandon Islam, but no nation or state can arrogate to itself the power to alter or abolish its institutions

so as to affect other Muslim Communities.”(32) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad interpreted the abolition in a different way. To him the *Khilafat* was an institution which nobody, not even Ataturk could abolish. What had been abolished was the monopoly of the Ottomans. This monopoly was contrary to *Shariah*. The sooner it ended the better. People had the power to choose a *Khalifa*. After dethroning the Ottoman Caliph, the Turkish President had automatically become the *Khalifa*. Therefore “we cannot say that the *Khilafat* has been abolished. The most we can say is that the regime has been changed.”(33)

The Khilafat Movement and NWFP

The great Khilafat Movement from across the Indus spread far and wide in the whole province. The Indus could not be the barrier for the ideas coming from beyond it.(34) As the events progressed in India, the interest in the great agitation had also arisen in the villages and towns of N.W.F.P. Following the dictates from the down country, the citizens of Peshawar city did not participate in the official Peace Celebrations for the simple reason that “the fate of Turkey was still unsettled and it should be a time of mourning” rather than merry-making.(35)

On 19 March 1920, a Khilafat *hartal* was observed in Mansehra town and Peshawar city. After Friday prayers a large Khilafat meeting was organized in *Idgah* which was addressed by public leaders of all communities. A Hindu from the Punjab emphasized Hindu-Muslim unity at this critical juncture. Maulvi Abdul Ghafur of Peshawar city, who was the most influential leader organizing the Khilafat demonstrations, put up a few resolutions. Apart from other synonymous demands with the rest of India, he instructed all *Mullahs* to pray for the victory of the Turkish Sultan and emphasized the boycott of British goods. The resolutions were carried and two telegrams were despatched. The first one was from Abdul Qayum, a IV year student, on behalf of other students of Islamia College, Peshawar, and was addressed to the Secretary of State for India in London. It said :

“Students Islamia College Peshawar strongly protest against proposed dismantlement of Turkish Empire. Condemn agitation for expulsion of Sultan from Constantinople. Earnestly urge

Holy Places should continue under direct control of Khilafat.”(36)

A Sarhad Khilafat Committee was founded. The office-bearers were :

Agha Syed Maqbool Shah as President; Babu Zakariya Khan, Vice President; Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh as the General Secretary and Chacha Abdul Karim as the Joint Secretary.(37) Thus started the Khilafat movement in NWFP which soon reached its climax. There were demonstrations and protest meetings all over the Province. Boycott of British goods and *hartals* resulted in British atrocities over the inhabitants of N.W.F.P. The members of Khilafat Committee were tortured and put into prison. Some of the prominent Khilafatists, who were severely treated by the British authorities were :

Haji Jan Mohammad; Syed Maqbool Shah; Maulana Abdul Ghafur; Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadvi; Agha Syed Lal Badshah; Ali Gul Khan; Syed Qasim Jan; Allah Bukhsh Yusufi; Mirza Mohammad Salim Khan; Maulvi Mohammad Said; Mirza Abdul Karim; Maulana Abdul Hakim Popalzai; Mian Abdul Karim; Haji Abdur Rahim; Chacha Abdul Karim; Maulvi Mohammad Ishaq; Maulana Abdur Rahim; Mian Mohammad Nawaz; Ghulam Ghaus; Yousaf Ali Khan; Hakim Qutab Alam; Taj Mehar Shad; Ghulam Rabbani Sethi; Haji Karam Elahi; Khwaja Mohammad Usman; Khan Hafizullah Khan; Rahim Bakhsh Gora; Abdul Aziz Khushbash; Ghulam Mohammad; Buzurg Shah; Mullah Jan Mohammad; Agha Mohammad and Juma Khan.(38)

While the great Khilafat leaders like Mohammad Ali, Shauka: Ali and Mahatma Gandhi were busy in preparing ground for the All India Khilafat agitation, their “patriotic comrades such as Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Qazi Mohammad Wali Khan, Hakeem Mohammad Amin, Maulvi Abdullah Jan etc, who all were later on labelled fire-brands and fell prey to the British atrocities remained busy in organizing public opinion as Mohammad Ali was himself doing in other provinces of India”.(39)

The Khilafatists took an active part in the non-co-operation movement and provoked anti-government sentiments all over the Province. The inhabitants of Peshawar, Bannu and Hazara responded to their call. Quite a few persons renounced honours and titles conferred on them, as well as resigned government jobs. According to Dr. Lal Baha, there were sixty resignations in police, thirty-one in Mohmand Militia, seventy-one among other employees, sixty-eight among patwaris in the Charsadda *Tehsil* and many in the Peshawar *Tehsil*.(40) The arrest of the local leaders and volunteers proved to be a set-back to the Khilafat Movement in the N.W.F.P. In addition to this, many other factors too were responsible for the downfall of the movement in the Province; the collapse of non-co-operation movement in 1922, the revival of Turkey under Mustafa Kamal in 1922, deposition of the Sultan in 1923 and abolition of Khilafat itself in 1924. Though the Khilafat movement collapsed, certain Khilafat Committees remained in existence for a few years.(42)

The Hijrat Movement and NWFP

An offshoot of the Khilafat agitation was the *Hijrat* movement. Many Indian Muslims decided to leave their country as a protest against the British policy meted out to the Ottoman Caliph. India was dubbed as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and it was now a religious obligation to give up every thing and seek refuge in *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of Islam).(43) Such great scholars as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdul Bari of Firinghi Mahal, Lucknow, issued *fatwas* in this regard.(44) According to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, "After examining all the reasons contained in the *Sharia*, as well as contemporary events, interests of the Muslims, and pros and cons of political issues, I feel definitely satisfied that from the view-point of the *Sharia*, the Muslims of India have no choice but to migrate from India. All Muslims who would like to fulfil Islamic obligations must quit India. Those who cannot migrate immediately should help the migrants as if they were themselves migrating from the country. The *Sharia* gives us no alternative course, except migration".(45) Mohammad Ali explained the same to the Viceroy as "when a land is not safe for Islam, a Muslim has only two

alternatives *Jehad* or *Hijrat*. That is to say, he must either make use of every force God has given him for the liberation of the land and the ensurement of perfect freedom for the practice and preaching of Islam, or he must migrate to some other and freer land with a view to return to it when it is once more safe for Islam. In view of our present weak condition, migration is the only alternative for us".(46) About the same time, after hearing the disgraceful conditions of the Indian Muslims, Amir Aman Ullah Khan of Afghanistan encouraged the *Hijrat* movement by "offering an asylum" to intending *Muhajirin*.(47) The *Mullahs* in NWFP issued a forceful *fatwa* by saying "Any man who does not go on *Hijrat* will have to divorce his wife".(48) Finally the people decided to leave "the land of war" and seek sanctuary in the neighbouring Afghanistan, "the land of Islam".

In April 1920, *Khuddam-ul-Muhajirin* (Society for the assistance of Emigrants) had been formed at Delhi. A member of the society sent a telegram on 26 April 1920 to the Viceroy informing him of their decision of *Hijrat* to Afghanistan. They put up their case in the following words :

Islamic injunctions make it impossible for the faithful any longer to remain under British peacefully. We have decided, therefore, regretfully, to quit this country in peace. We hope your government shall not be adverse to our determination and will allow us to quietly migrate to Afghanistan, thus carrying out the sacred commandments of Allah the Mighty.(49) Writing under the caption, "Hijrat and Its Meaning" in *Young India* on 21 July 1920, Gandhi said :

"India is a continent. Its articulate thousands know what its inarticulate millions are doing or thinking. The government and the educated Indians may think that the Khilafat movement is merely a passing phase. The millions of Mussulmans think otherwise. The flight of the Mussulmans is growing apace. The newspapers contain paragraphs in out-of-the-way corners informing the readers that a special train containing a barrister with sixty women, forty children including twenty sucklings, all told 765, has left for Afghanistan. They are cheered enroute. They were presented with cash, edibles and other things, and

were joined by some *muhajirin* on the way. No fanatical preaching by a Shaukat Ali can make people break up and leave their homes for an unknown land. There must be an abiding faith in them. That it is better for them to leave a state which has no regard for their religious sentiment and face a beggars life, than to remain in it even though it may be in a princely manner. Nothing but pride of power can blind the Government of India to the scene that is being enacted before it.”(50) The destination of the *Muhajirin* was Afghanistan, with which they had culturally, politically, religiously and ethnically common bonds for centuries. For Afghanistan, they had decided to follow the main route through Lahore, Peshawar, Khyber Pass and then into Afghanistan. As Peshawar was the main city on the way to Afghanistan, near the boundary, it became “the hub of the movement because it was the tail-end where *qafilas* were received, entertained and after final preparations sent off to Afghanistan”. In early May, signs of development appeared in Peshawar for the *Hijrat* to Afghanistan. Abdul Karim, a fruit-seller from Lahore was found distributing *Hijrat* handbills in Peshawar city. He was expelled from the province under Section 3(a) of the Defence of India Rules. On 14 May after Friday prayers, in the Qasim Ali Mosque, a meeting was held, addressed by Ghulam Mohammad Aziz (Aziz Hindi) of Amritsar. He came to Peshawar in order to give a definite shape to the *Hijrat* movement by setting up *Hijrat* committees in a systematic way.(51) Haji Jan Mohammad, a wealthy contractor was made President of the *Hijrat* Committee. His Comrades-in-arms were Agha Syed Maqbool Shah; Maulana Abdul Karim; Maulvi Abdul Ghafur; Ali Gul Khan; Mirza Tila Mohammad; Agha Lal Badshah and many others. The *Muhajirin* had started their long journey to Afghanistan. The first batch of the *Muhajirin* arrived in Peshawar on 7 May 1920. Gradually their number increased and, according to Dr. Naeem Qureshi, their number reached some sixty thousand.(52) Mostly they were drawn from the Central Punjab Districts, Delhi and Peshawar city.(53)

The caravan from Sind started under Barrister Jan Mohammad Junejo. They had reserved a special train for that purpose. They had even garlanded the engine. The participants

were mostly common masses of Sind. Commonly, they were not in the habit of cutting hair and shaving their beards. A common misconception started about them that the Sikhs also had decided to abandon the land of India in order to migrate to Afghanistan. Many interpreted this in the way that their spiritual leader Baba Guru Nanak had offered prayers in Kaaba, which was in danger by the British activities there; so they considered it a sin to live in the British territories furthermore. After narrating such stories the speakers usually appealed to the people to assist them in *Hijrat*.(54)

Salt market, a big business centre in Peshawar city, provided room for the incoming people to Peshawar. A large number of *Hijrat* volunteers were everready to perform their duties to assist the strangers; to accommodate them in a proper way and to provide them with food and other stuff without any hindrance. They considered it their religious duty and they performed it with great zeal and fervour. Haji Jan Mohammad opened his office in one of the *serais* of the Salt Market and employed more than a dozen office assistants who were given the duty to manage the *Hijrat* funds, registering the names of the intending emigrants, sending the lists and applying to the Afghan Agent for passports.(55)

The Pakhtuns, known for their hospitality, had sacrificed everything for those *Muhajirin*. The wealthy persons had donated large amounts while the poor had their own duty of serving the *Muhajirins*. This is interesting to be noted that even *tonga-walas* who carried them from the station to the *serais*, did not take a penny from them. The *Hijrat* volunteers toured in and around Peshawar and collected funds for them in cash and kind, jewellery, clothes as well as cattle for eating purposes.

In the beginning, the authorities discouraged the people from going out on *Hijrat* to Afghanistan but later on they encouraged people to migrate to Afghanistan in large numbers thinking about the limited resources of Afghanistan and the burden of the *Muhajirin*; in that way they got two benefits : on the one hand, they got rid of the active political workers in India

and, on the other hand, by allowing and encouraging a vast majority of the Muslim populace to migrate to Afghanistan they had over-burdened Afghanistan. The British Government sent their agents as spies with the *Muhajirin* who preached against the Afghan government.(56) Zafar Hasan informs us of such spies, namely, Abdul Haq and Abdur Rahman etc., who on behalf of the British Government were sent with the *Muhajirin* in order to create disorder and panic in their rank and file.(57) There was a group in Kabul too, who were against the *Hijrat* and who secretly did their level best to turn it into a failure.(58)

All of the districts of NWFP were affected by the movement. In Swabi and Charsadda tehsils of Mardan and Peshawar there was a much greater move towards Afghanistan in order to fulfil the 'order of God'. Most of the inhabitants of Bannu also had left their belongings in that "great service to Islam".(59) The people left all their belongings. They started for Kabul in a very desperate condition.(60) The property, which was (and still is) considered by the Pashtuns, the most precious thing, to them was now the most valueless thing. They sold it at nominal prices and started for Afghanistan. The feelings of the *Muhajirin* were enhanced by emotional poetry. The following verses were recited by *Muhajirin* in chorus :

برباد ہوں پرواہ نہیں
 ناشاد ہوں پرواہ نہیں
 61 اے دوستو جو کچھ بھی ہو کابل چلو کابل چلو -

For destruction, we don't care
 For unhappiness, we don't care
 O Friends, come what may
 Proceed to Kabul, Proceed to Kabul.

برادران ہنود ! تم کو رہے مبارک وطن کی راحت
 غریب مسلم ، شکستہ خاطر وطن کی الفت لٹا رہے ہیں
 62 امیر صاحب بلا رہے ہیں - امیر صاحب بلا رہے ہیں -

Hindu Brothers ! Be happy with the joys of the Motherland-
 Poor Muslims, broken hearted, are squandering their love of the
 Motherland.

The Amir (of Afghanistan) is summoning us. . . .

The Amir (of Afghanistan) is summoning us. . . .

The *Muhajirin* were entertained on the way to Kabul by the local populace. They were offered meals and were given hospitality by the Afridis and Shinwaris of Landi Kotal. On reaching Afghanistan, they were welcomed by Amir Amanullah Khan. Amir Sahib wanted to give them cultivable lands, employment in different branches of the government and a share in the trade but, being misled by the British Agents, who were a part and parcel of those *Muhajirin*, they refused those things and insisted to wage a holy war against the British but Amir Amanullah replied, "I have no strength to wage a war against the British, but I shall allot a colony to you. You generate strength in you to wage a war with the British. I shall extend all help to you because the British are like a black cobra that does not allow me to rest in peace." (63) To quote Mian Akbar Shah of Badrashi, who left Peshawar for Kabul in May 1919, (64) the *Muhajirin* were quarrelling among themselves on minor things. Many of them were rude and un-educated. The necessity of forming a Committee was felt and after discussion a *Jirga* was formed of which Mohammad Akbar Qureshi was made the President. (65) When the number of *Muhajirin* increased in Kabul, they were shifted to other parts of Afghanistan. In Jabal-us-Siraj a colony for their settlement was allotted. The Indian Emigration Committee composed of the following members :

Dr. Abdul Ghani; Mohammad Akbar; Hakim Mohammad Aslam; Dr. Nur Mohammad; Arbab Mohammad Fida; Ghulam Mohammad Aziz; Preya-Waran; Mohammad Iqbal Shedai; Mohammad Zakirya; Pir Uthman Shah; Obeidullah; Jan Mohammad Junejo; Abdul Ghafur; Sheikh Abdul Haqq; Mohammad Abbas; Mohammad Afdal Qasuri; Faqir Abdul Rahim Bashir; Maulvi Shams-ul-Qamar; Maulvi Ahmad Ali; Abdul Karim; Sher Mohammad Khan; Mohammad Khan; Sayyid Qamash and Mir Rahmatullah. (66)

A Central fund was formed by the Committee. Rich *Muhajirin* contributed large sums of money for the help and support of needy ones. Another great task was about the military

training of the *Muhajirin*. Abdur Rahim, who had got the essential military education in Punjab University, was made the Commander. All of the *Muhajirin* were in a mood of fighting, so they participated in the training with great enthusiasm. There was lack of guns, so dummy guns made by sticks were used instead. Only sick and old people were exempted from compulsory military training and daily drill.(67)

Abdul Ghafar Khan, who later on, became the most influential leader of the Pashtuns, also migrated to Afghanistan during the movement.(68) While in Kabul he had an interview with Amir Amanullah Khan, who knew several languages but not Pashto. Abdul Ghaffar Khan referred to the King's ignorance of Pashto—the mother tongue of the king as well as the national language of Afghanistan; he seemed very ashamed of it and soon he learnt Pashto. Similarly Abdul Ghaffar tried to convince the King's ministers as well as university students to give special attention to Pashto.(69)

With the increase in number of the *Muhajirin* and the limited resources of Afghanistan, the Amir of Afghanistan was compelled to announce a halt to *Hijrat*. The *Muhajirin* already in Afghanistan submitted the following representation to the Amir.

“As our brethren, the Indian emigrants, are coming to Afghanistan in great numbers through different routes without informing us of their number and without paying any attention to the notices given, and as it is necessary to arrange for accommodation and comforts before the setting in of the winter for about forty thousand men, it is therefore notified that hereafter until completion of arrangements for the emigrants who have already arrived in Afghanistan, other *Muhajirin* should be stopped from entering the Afghan territory, till further orders about the emigration are issued.

“Because it is necessary to make proper arrangements for those who have already come in, and when arrangements have been completed for those who have already reached, information will be given that so many *Muhajirin* should come. Nobody

will be allowed admittance into Afghanistan if he comes against provisions of these rules".(70)

Amanullah Khan issued a *firman* on 13 August announcing absolute stoppage of *Muhajirin's* entry into Afghanistan. The Afghan Agent at Peshawar went in person to Jamrud in order to dissuade the people from entering Afghanistan. He was stoned and even abused by the people waiting there for their entry into Afghanistan. The Secretary of Khilafat Committee, Peshawar and others proceeded there but they also were dubbed as British Agents.(71) When asked by Sheikh Ghulam Sarwar, a prominent Khilafatist of Bannu about the ban on *Hijrat*, Amanullah Khan replied that he had not banned the *Hijrat*, rather he had for a certain period postponed, it. Whenever the Afghan government would be in a position to deal with the *Muhajirin* in a proper way, they would be allowed into Afghanistan again.(72)

The British spies there started propoganda against the Afghan monarch. Most of the *Muhajirin* started back to India. On their return journey from Afghanistan, the *Muhajirin* were in a very desparate condition. Many died on their way to Peshawar. They had lost all their property, honour, dignity and wealth. According to Malik Shad Mohammad, he himself witnessed many honourable families begging for a piece of bread. "I still remember the days when on their proceeding to Afghanistan, the *Muhajirin* were honoured but on their return journey to India, not only were they dishonoured but faced every type of shame and disgrace".(73) The road from Kabul to Peshawar was full of graves of old men, women and children, who died as the result of the difficulties and hardships of the return journey.(74)

To ease the poor conditions of the destitute and impoverished *Muhajirin* the NWFP administration gave them utmost attention.(75) It was Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum (may God rest his soul in peace) who tried his best to restore the property of those *Muhajirin* who were at that time deprived of it. The resignations of the government servants were withdrawn.

To quote Dr. Lal Baha "The *Hijrat* movement ended in fiasco; a strange case of depression and disillusionment. The Muslim religio-political leadership, being unaware of the practical realities, exploited the religious feelings of the Muslims to such an extent that they awakened forces which they could not control, a sad commentary on their leadership. Consequently, the *Muhajirin* had set out on an adventure which proved too costly for them".(77)

The Khilafat and Hijrat Movements were the very first organized movements of Frontier Muslims, though they failed to achieve their goal, they gave political consciousness to the Frontier Muslims as well.(78)

Strange it was that those people who preached *Hijrat* did not practically participate in it. But the Pashtuns, who were (and still are) more staunch supporters of Islam, than any other communities of the world, were victims of destruction and destitution.

After return from Afghanistan, the Khilafatists like the rest of India split into two camps; one supporting the Muslim League and the other joining hands with the Indian National Congress; slowly and gradually both the groups merged in the above mentioned parties.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* Lahore, 1971, p. 108.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.
4. Instigated by a host of British Agents like Clayton and Lawrence alias Lawrence of Arabia (who also played an important role in dethroning Amir Amanullah Khan in 1929), who continuously encouraged Arab nationalism, Sharif Hussain, Governor of Makkah successfully revolted against the Turks in June 1916. Sharif Hussain was the

chief of the Arabs in the Hejaz, and belonged to the Qu-raish tribe to which the prophet himself belonged. For a considerable period in the past, the Governor of Makkah had acknowledged the Khilafat of Sultans of Turkey in return for general protection and heavy subsidies. The relations between the two had so far been harmonious, so the Muslims of India were shocked at the rebellion, particularly because the rebels were supported by British warships. Immediately after the destruction of Turkish authority, Hussain assumed the title of 'King' with British concurrence. The Sultans of Turkey had never assumed the 'Kingship' of Arab lands. They had been content merely to call themselves the 'servants of the holy places'. Sharif Hussain lost no time in releasing a long charge-sheet against the Turks, blaming them for irreligion and departure from the principles of the Holy Book. The statement was plainly inspired by Hussain's new masters. It was also clear that he was totally incapable of maintaining an independent state. Muslim opinion condemned the Arab rebels headed by Sharif Hussain of Makkah and their sympathisers as enemies of Islam.

5. The British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry Mac-Mohan in his letters to Sharif Hussain of Makkah between August 1915 and January 1916, promised to treat Palestine as falling within the area of Arab independence. In Spring 1916, Britain, France and Russia entered into a secret agreement for the division of the Ottoman empire. The Sykes-Picot Agreement was a stab in the back of the Arab leaders including Britain's chief Arab ally, Sharif Hussain of Makkah. According to the agreement, Palestine was reserved for a special international regime of its own. (*Morning News, Karachi 26-3-1962*). When the second coalition government was formed with Lloyd George as Prime Minister and Balfour as Foreign Secretary, at the end of 1916, Sykes was authorized to negotiate with Zionist leaders, and after some preliminary talks between Weizmann and Sykes, a meeting was arranged at the home of Dr. Moses Gaster in London. This meeting, to which the leading British Zionists were invited, may be regarded

- as the first official discussion between the British government and the Jews which led to His Majesty's government undertaking the responsibility for Palestine. The Balfour Declaration which was issued by the British War Cabinet on 2 November 1917, and which stated that "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" was no sudden decision. It resulted from the conference of British and Jewish streams of interests centring around Palestine. (*Palestine : A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies Vol. I, New Havens, 1949. p. 90*).
6. Hamid, *op.cit.*, p. 120.
 7. Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Times of Mohammad Ali*, Lahore, 1974, p. 163.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. Abdur Rab Nishtar, *Azadi ki Kahani, Meri Zubani* (Urdu) Karachi, nd. p. 15.
 10. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Lahore, 1970, p. 65.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 67
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 173.
 14. Choudhry Khaliqz Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Pakistan, 1961, p. 33.
 15. *Ibid.* p. 42.
 16. Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan*, California, 1969, pp. 216-17.
 17. Khaliqz Zaman, *op.cit.* p. 42.
 18. Allah Buksh Yusufi, *Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar*, Karachi, 1984, pp. 73-74.
 19. Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Bombay, 1964, p. 8.
 20. Mohammad Yunus, *Frontier Speaks*, Lahore, nd. p. 141.

21. Hamid, *op.cit.*, p. 135.
22. Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 191.
23. Aga Khan, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan : World Enough and Time*, London, 1954. p. 156.
24. Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
25. S.K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi : Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*, Lahore, 1976, p. 59.
26. Yusufi, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
27. Khaliquz Zaman, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
28. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
29. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1978, p. 24.
30. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
31. K.K. Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement, 1915-1933 A Documentary Record*, Karachi, 1972, p. 289.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
33. Mushir-ul-Haq, *Muslim Politics in Modern India 1857-1947*, Lahore, nd. pp. 102-103.
34. Abdul Qayum, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, Bombay, 1945, p. 28.
35. Lal Baha, "Khilafat Movement and the North West Frontier Province," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan Vol. XVI July 1979*, p. 5.
36. *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.
37. Farigh Bukhari, *Bacha Khan Peshawar*, nd. pp. 57-58.
38. Malik Shad Mohammad, *Deed-wa-Shuneed*, unpublished autobiography, p. 32.
39. Yusufi, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
40. Baha, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
41. During the whole period of Non-co-operation with the government, Gandhi, the undisputed master of Khilafat

Movement preached non-violence and peace. But the tragedy of Chauri Chaura, in which an angry mob attacked a police station and set it on fire resulting in the death of more than twenty persons made Gandhi announce the postponement of the movement which according to him, had turned to violence.

42. Baha, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
43. D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*, Bombay, 1967, p. 32.
44. Lal Baha, "The Hijrat Movement and the North West Frontier Province, *Islamic Studies Journal Islamabad* 1979, p. 231.
45. Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* Washington, 1963, p. 343.
46. Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
47. Baha, *Hijrat Movement and the NWFP, op. cit.*, p. 231.
48. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle*. Delhi, nd. 6. 50.
49. Baha, "*Hijrat Movement*," *op. cit.*, p. 231.
50. Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
51. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, p. 232.
52. Dr. Naeem Qureshi, to Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan 6-11-1985.
53. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, p. 233.
54. Abdul Khaliq Khaleeq, *Da Azadai Jang* (Pashto). Peshawar, 1972, p. 19.
55. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, p. 233.
56. Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
57. Zafar Hasan Aibak, *Aap Beti Vol. I* (Urdu) Lahore, nd. pp. 216-17.
58. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
59. Gul Ayub Saifi, *Bannu au Da Waziristan Tarikh* (Pashto) Bannu, 1969, p. 235.

60. Abdul Akbar Khan, one of the participants of *Hijrat* caravans narrated that on the way to Afghanistan, near the Anba Dher they met a person, who was busy in cutting the grass. He asked about their caravan. Some one told him that for the sake of Islam and God, they were migrating to Afghanistan and the caravan included Bacha Khan (Abdul Ghaffar Khan) and his comrades. On hearing this the man at once stopped the work, raised the sickle in his hand saying "O my poverty! today you are my aid. I have nothing to leave behind" and started for Afghanistan with the caravan. Abdul Akbar Khan, *Karavan-i-Azadi Manzal-i-Awwal, Safarnama-i-Russi Turkestan (Urdu)* Charsadda, 1972, pp. 36-37.
61. Bukhari, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
62. Khaleeq, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
63. Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
64. Interview Mian Akbar Shah. 8-9-1984.
65. Akbar Shah Mian, *Da Azadai Pa Talash* (Pashto) np. nd. pp. 77-78.
66. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.
67. Akbar Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.
68. Fazal-ur-Rahim Khan, *The Basmachi Movement in Soviet Central Asia (A Study in Political Development)* Peshawar, 1985, p. 130.
69. Tendulkar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
70. Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
71. *Ibid.* pp. 244-245.
72. Saifi, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-238.
73. Shad, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
74. Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
75. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, p. 240.
76. Shad, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
77. Baha, *Hijrat Movement, op. cit.*, p. 240.
78. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in the North West Frontier Province 1936-1947*, Peshawar University, Unpublished M.Phil thesis, 1986, p. 6.