

The Turbulent Frontier, the Mighty Raj and the Reformatory Approach of Haji Sahib Turangzai

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Abstract: *The Indian Northwest Frontier Region, served as the main vein linked to the ‘Jewel in the Crown’-British Indian Government of the British Empire, and continuously remained centre of the diplomatic squabbling among the European powers. The British Indian Government, while safeguarding her interests, focused on her North-west Frontier region, endeavored manifestation of various policies, however, the Pukhtuns of this region responded with nationalist spirit and defended their motherland. Previously, during the nineteenth century, the British managed to keep the Pukhtuns away from getting education, and instead, utilised two important features of their Pukhtunwali-including bravery and loyalty-to achieve their hidden objectives. To serve their Masters, the Pukhtuns used their courage, strength and sword against their fellow Pukhtuns. The British, thus played their cards tactfully, facilitated the public through their chiefs (Malaks, Khans, Khasadars and Khan Bahadurs) by paying them allowances and Majib- only to win over their loyalty for their Masters and use their strength against other (anti-British) Pukhtun brothers. However, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the region witnessed emergence of many leaders who sensed the situation and envisaged future threats which could affect the Pukhtuns. One such leader was Fazal Wahid alias Haji Sahib Turangzai who initiated reformation of the Pukhtun Society and adopted multi-dimensional approach to achieve his objective. This research article, based on archival and other published primary sources, is an attempt to analyse the reformatory approach of the Haji Sahib Turangzai with respect to Pukhtun Society the during the British Raj in this region.*

Keywords: Frontier, British, Pukhtunwali, Pukhtuns, Haji Sahib Turangzai

Introduction

Background to Haji Sahib Turangzai’s Movement

Historically speaking, the entire history of the Pukhtuns, who belonged to the present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa area of the Indian subcontinent (erstwhile North West Frontier Province-NWFP), and Afghanistan, witnessed confrontations at various occasions, especially when the invaders and aggressors tried to occupy their motherland and subdue them. The British, with the defeat of Sikhs in the Second Anglo-Sikh war in 1848-49, for the first time interacted with the Pukhtuns directly, however, they received tough resistance, especially in Tribal Territory. On few occasions, the Pukhtuns remained successful, and inflicted losses on the British which slowed the pace of British movement to this region than other parts of India. Therefore, as Abdur Rauf states, the “Terrain of the region, warlike temperament and religiosity of the people all contributed to the resistance of the Pukhtuns to any alien rule in the area”.ⁱ Moreover, the British arrival in the Indian Northwest Frontier region was considered a curse, and every individual made it obligatory for himself and believed it a sacred duty to do away with the aforementioned curse, and to participate in the holy war-Jihad.ⁱⁱ

Likely, after the 1857 war, the trend of missionary schools increased in Indian subcontinent which became the cause of lack of interest of Indian Muslim in the field of education. After realizing this fact some of the prominent Muslims leaders started struggle for the improvement of education, which led to the foundation of different educational institutions. One of the important religious *Madrasah* of that time was Darul Uloom-i-Deoband in India whose international fame attracted Haji Sahib Turangzai.ⁱⁱⁱ He decided to visit the Madrasah and to observe the Islamic education system there. It was the time when Deoband was working under the supervision of Sheikh-ul-Hind [Maulana Mehmood-u-Hasan].^{iv} During his week stay at Deoband he developed a friendly relationship with students of Afghanistan and NWFP, also got close to Sheikh-ul-Hind. During his stay, he came to know of an expected *Hajj* [pilgrimage] delegation of Ulama that was leaving for Makkah. Supervised by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohvi and Maulana Muhammad Qasam Nanotvi, Haji Sahib joined the Hajj party. Fortunately, the journey and stay at Makkah, was an opportunity where scholastic discussions of the learned personalities provided him with knowledge about the educational and political situation of Indian Muslims. Luckily, the time favoured Haji Sahib as leaders of the delegation devised a scheme to get rid from the Britishers Might. Maulana Mehmood-ul-Hasan had to patronize the scheme which was consisted of two significant objectives,^v i.e. to motivate the Indian Muslims for Jihad against the British, and secondly, to establish Muslims educational institutions in different parts of the country and to motivate people for a boycott of the British judicial and educational systems.^{vi}

This was a “peaceful persuasion and educating the younger generation” coupled “with the armed struggle”, initiated by Turangzai after his return from Hajj. Accompanied and supported by his sincere and dedicated colleagues, including Haji Muhammad Amin,^{vii} Maulavi Taj Muhammad,^{viii} Maulavi Fazl-i-Mahmud Makhfi,^{ix} Maulavi ‘Abdul Aziz^x and Abdul Ghafar Khan (Bacha Khan).^{xi} The common point among the Pukhtun leaders was anti-British sentiment, however, Haji Sahib Turangzai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan adopted two opposite approaches^{xii} to achieve their uniform objective-independence for their motherland-those were the violent approach of holy war [Jihad] of Turangzai and the non-violent approach of Khan.^{xiii}

After the in-depth analysis of the Pukhtuns’ deteriorating conditions and the prevalent British approach toward the Pukhtuns, Haji Sahib Turangzai focused to reform the Pukhtun society. He took practical steps as some of the Pukhtun customs were contrary to Islamic values.^{xiv} With a view to overcome the deteriorating moral, educational, economic and religious conditions of the Pukhtuns, Haji Sahib started preaching against all sorts of un-Islamic social customs and religious evils existed in Pukhtun society; they used to spend lavishly on different things likely on marriages, children’ circumcisions, holding of dance parties, use of intoxicants and the other evil that existed was the internal feuds among the individuals and among the factions-this had caused much damage to Pukhtuns in money and men. Due to the multi-faceted approach of social reformation initiated by Haji Sahib, it gained popularity in the surrounding areas which resulted in extension of such activities to nearby areas in the entire Peshawar district.^{xv} Apart from social upgradation, Haji Sahib found lack of education as another cause of Pukhtuns’ backwardness. With this view in mind, haji Sahib started establishment of school [*Madaris*, plural of *Madrasa*] in mosques and initiated from his own village. However, Haji Sahib’s activities proved intolerable for the British and this resulted in his arrest but was released on surety.^{xvi}

There is still an ambiguity as when was Turangzai’s reformation started, however, there are different opinions, one school of thoughts claims that his reform movement started in 1898 before performing his second hajj while the other tries to justify the initiation of the movement in 1908.^{xvii} Whatsoever the situation is, this is certain that he gave much importance to this task-reformation of the Pukhtun society.^{xviii} The movement, other than the settled area, was extended to tribal territory. Even before he migrated to the tribal area, his usual visits had been instrumental to preach proscription of evil.

Haji Sahib was one of the great Pukhtun leaders who gave much importance to reform the Pukhtun society. After that North-West Frontier was annexed,^{xix} the British tried to ensure permanent settlement

among the tribes. This resulted two-fold benefits, the revenue collection became easy and loyal serving individuals of the British Raj were rewarded. But parallel to this, “some families were deprived to own *real estate*”. As, and unfortunately, Pukhtuns disliked trade and commerce-this was left into hands of Hindu *Baniyas*-they were nearly 6% of the total population of NWFP.

The Pukhtuns were so much unfortunate that most of their *mullahs* lacked proper knowledge of *Sharia* [Knowledge of Quran and sunnah]. Public remained unaware of social and political features of Islam and used to learn and practice what was taught to them by less-learned guides-*mullahs*. This led Haji Sahib Turangzai to purify the Pukhtun society; he started to pay visits to all surrounding areas of the Peshawar district. While paying visits, Haji Sahib of Turangzai asked the people to adopt the *Sharia* in daily life in its true sense. It was not possible to reform them without “religious revivalism” as it proved in later years. Due to his provenance to *Sharia*, Turangzai’s call for reformation was welcomed everywhere across the NWFP. With this dominant people of the area entered this sphere; they were Khan Bahadar Ghulam Haider Khan of Sherpao, Abdullah Khan and Umara Khan of Umarzai along with few other Khans of Uthmanzai. As expected, the movement gained outstanding popularity and Haji Sahib was respected as pious man in the entire area.^{xx}

To ensure obligations of *Shariat*, he convinced and guided the masses; he fixed amount for *dower* [amount on money paid the bride at wedding]; advised people to observe Islamic inheritance values by allowing women to get their due share; to settle internal feuds in the light of Quran and Sunnah. He personally visited the feud-affected parties and decided accordingly. The settlement duration for any internal feud, if there occurred in future, was to be decided in three days. The main objective behind this reformation was to enable the Pukhtuns know their worth, aware themselves about education and serve their cause to their motherland free from the clutches of the British.^{xxi}

Political Reformation: Non-cooperation

Apart from the religious aspect, Haji guided the Pukhtuns in politics. It was sign of prestige and honour if someone had had a government job; the Khans and wealthy people had been appointed on high posts.^{xxii} With this view in mind that those government servicemen may be used by the government against their own Pukhtun brothers, and as Haji Sahib was well aware of this future intension of the British, he focused on this issue and decided to isolate the British and ensure active cooperation among the Pukhtuns. To coup up with the situation, Haji sahib structured his reformation and asked for complete boycott, i.e. to leave government educational institutions, boycott the sue of British courts, Struggle against the British allowance holders and struggle against the British Allies. As an alternate to educational system, Haji Sahib established self-styled schools in various parts of the Peshawar district, appealed the parents to enroll their children in those schools.^{xxiii}

Educational Reformation

To reform the Pukhtuns in field of education, Haji Sahib established a network of schools. In 1908, he started teaching at his own mosque but was arrested.^{xxiv} However, the educational movement was initiated in 1910 at home town Turangzai, Gaddar (Mardan) and Utmanzai.^{xxv} In 1914, although he achieved a little success, but to enable his villagers to boycott government school in favor of the mosque.^{xxvi} Though instructed by Shiekh-ul-hind to impart reformation in many fields including education, however, it also due to the existence of missionary schools that Haji sahib turned towards educational reformation.^{xxvii} Various missionary schools were in practice. Edward Mission School was instrumental was already working and it attracted most of the well-off families to enroll their children. Two other missionary schools were busy, one in Bannu and other in Dera Ismail Khan. In 1907, tin Uthmanzai a missionary was established which created more disturbing situation for Haji Sahib. Thus, he took preventive measures and started his educational service.^{xxviii} As assisted by his close companions in reformation process, he discussed the matter with Maulana Mohammad Israel, Maulana Aziz and Maulana Shakirullah. Fortunately, three objectives were set for the schools, named as Islamia

schools.^{xxix}

The objectives were: (a) to educate the people of the NWFP, who suffered great hardships at the hands of Sikhs and 'British during their rule; (b) To compete with the growing missionaries; and (c) To give lessons of Jihad with formal education.^{xxx}

With start of his movement, the locals wholeheartedly contributed to generate resources for the effective running of Islamia schools. As stated in previous lines, in the initial phase of this movement, schools had already been established at *Gaddar* [Mardan] and *Utmanzai* [Charsadda]. The next school was established in Tehkal Payan [Peshawar]. The number of schools established by Haji Sahib of Turangzai was thirty-four, as mentioned in the archival record.^{xxxi} Its detail is as under:

Seven schools in Mardan, i.e. at Gaddar, Garhi Kapoora, Garhi Daulatzai, Garhi Jamalzai, Toru, Gujar Garhi and Shahbaz Garhi; ten schools at Charsadda, i.e. at Utmanzai, Mohammand Nari, Gul Abad, Umarzai, Agra Miyana, Agra Payan, Rajar, Prang, Kharakai and Tangi; eight schools at Swabi, i.e. at Tordher, Manerai Payan, Naudeh, Turlandi, Swabi, Kalu Khan, Adina and Kottha; one school at Dargai-Malakand, three schools at Nowshera, i.e. Akbarpura, Banda Mulahan and Jehangira and only five schools at Peshawar, i.e. Kafoor Deri, Gul Bela, Tehkal Payan, Urmar Miana and Peshawar city.^{xxxii}

Sohail Khan, in his PhD dissertation claims that according to the archival record, eleven schools had been established in Charsadda, one in Peshawar city, eight in Swabi, four in Nowshera and eight in Mardan. He has copied the list from the archive records, which shows 32 schools. However, in sharing details of the school he mentioned the schools of *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina*. The detail about the Azad school Kalu Khan, Yar Hussain, Turlandi and Sarha cheena is no way listed in the schools of Haji Sahib, rather these schools were established by a Khudai Khidmatgar Syed Nasrullah Jan, who was teased by the followers of Haji Sahib and engaged him in court cases about the ownership. The only school that was common with both Haji Sahib and Anjuman, was that of Azad 'School Nawi Killi, now renamed as Kernal Sher Khan killi. The case of the ownership was also won by Syed Nasrullah Jan in the court of civil judge Mardan.^{xxxiii}

Likely, Sidiqullah Rekhteen, while referring to the interview of Haji Sahib's son, Fazli Mabood, states that number of Islamia schools was 70. Similarly, Muhammad Mir Shah Qadri gives the number of the schools 50.^{xxxiv} Hakim Mohammad Aslam Sanjri, personal doctor [Hakeem] and assistant of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, in his unpublished document confirms that thirty-two schools of Haji Sahib of Turangzai were run by his followers across the province.^{xxxv} These schools were either constructed on the donated properties of Haji's followers or were run in mosques. But it lacked the modern subjects and covered religious aspects only.^{xxxvi}

After the British knew about the popularity of Haji Sahib Turangzai, they consulted Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan and asked him to mobilize Haji Sahib for participation in the opening ceremony of Islamia College Peshawar. The participation of scholars, religious and other influential persons of the region was the part of the plan. However, Haji Sahib laid the foundation stone of the mosque of Islamia College.^{xxxvii}

Lal Baha, while commenting on the political objective behind establishment of Islamia college, as she has referred^{xxxviii} to Ross Keppel, was to keep the people quiet of the province and the tribal belt. He expressed it:

If the college become a success, as there is little doubt that it will, I believe that the effect on the peace of the 'border will be very great eventually as I shall try to get in all sons of the tribal Malaks, the chiefs of the next generation, to attend the school and to learn that the *Ferangi* and his administration are not so black as they are painted.^{xxxix}

The objective of Haji Sahib regarding the reformation of the Pukthun society in field of education remained unbroken. Such activities of Haji Sahib were not liked by the British authorities, and decided to send him behind the bar. Meanwhile, with beginning of the World War 1st, Haji Turangzai supported the Turkish Khalifa which intensified the British stance against him.^{xi} A warrant was issued against him; however, he was informed by one of his followers prior to his arrest that gave him enough time to manage his escape to tribal territory in April 1915^{xli} and migrated to tribal area-Mohmand Agency.^{xlii} After his successful escape, the British authorities banned all Islamia schools of Haji Sahib, arrested the teachers which resulted in the end of the educational reformation of Haji Sahib Turangzai. However, this proved to be a stop-over in the educational reformation process in the NWFP because in 1920 Abdul Ghaffar Khan restarted the left-over educational movement with fresh and more enthusiastic spirit under the cover of Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina.^{xliii}

Social (Judicial) Reformation-Boycott of British Courts (No-cooperation)

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the initiative to observe non-cooperation was noted during the Haji Sahib Turangzai' took the initiative in this connection was Haji Sahib.^{xliv} After the British rule was established in India, the newly established courts replaced the *Qazi* courts^{xlv} which was complicated and pricey. The people had to hire a lawyer and pay his fee which was unbearable for them. Due to this reason, the people were asked to avoid deciding their cases in British courts, and to refer their cases to *Jargah*.^{xlvi} Again, such advice of the Haji sahib was not liked by the British authorities which resulted in his arrest in 1908. However, after payment of security by ten men from Charsadda was made, he got released.^{xlvii}

Amr Bil Ma'aroof Wa Nahi Aanil Munkar

With migration to Mohmand area,^{xlviii} Haji Sahib continued his reform movement for the social uplift of the Pukhtuns.^{xlix} Interestingly, to get themselves secure, the British adopted several techniques i.e. *Jargah* system-which matched their interest-was introduced, while the members appointed to the *Jargah* represented the handpicked people; titles such as Khan Bahadur, Khan Sahib and Malaks were conferred to the loyalist. These titleholders really safeguarded the interests of the government.ⁱ The British had introduced local militia known as the *Khasadar* to ensure maintenance of law and order in their respective areas. The tribal chieftains (Malaks) were paid *Majib* (allowances) to employ militia.^{li} Haji Sahib advised the *Malaks* to avoid accepting *Majibs* from the British. It was the period when First World War had just started in Europe and was moving fast towards the Colonies. In India, the main source of the British Might was the Indian forces. Only few Ulama were pursuing boycott against the desired agenda. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan and his companions advised Indians to boycott the British army. However, there were majority of the Indians particularly the loyal subjects of the Crown, who had extended their cooperation during the War years.^{lii}

The war years were very much crucial for the Raj. At the early stage, it was passing through the waves of defeat. Amir Habib Ullah Khan, the then Amir of Afghanistan was supporting the British cause, it was beyond his mental level to have exploited the situation. On August 4, 1915, a general consisting of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was held in the Islamia Club Hall, Peshawar which was preside over by *Arbab* Muhammad Azam Khan. After making speeches by the leading members of the different communities, prayers were offered for the quick termination of war and complete victory of the Allies.^{liii}

Under these circumstances, Haji sahib started using his anti-British sentiments in the tribal territory. In the first step, after settlement at Bagh, adjacent to Lakarai-Safi country- at the *Gud Mulla's* mosque a *langar*—kitchen was started to feed the poor.^{liv} Haji Sahib worked as a deputy of *Babra Mullah*, established cordial relations with *Sandakai Mullah* and *Chaknawar Mullah* and with the anti-British elements in the tribal area. All of them remained busy in preaching *Amr-bil-ma'aroof-wa-nahi-anil munkar* in areas of Mohmand and Bajaur, and in Swat areas. Their preaching aimed at isolation of the British from the local people. They had targeted boycott of the British by all the tribesmen at any cost. Strong actions were taken against those who were on friendly terms with the British government. The

difficult task before them was persuasion of those tribes who were pro-government and strong. To deal with it singlehandedly was a bit risky, it was decided after thorough deliberations that punitive measures be taken against them [the pro-government tribes]. For the achievement of this objective, they shifted to Halimzai area and preparation for Jihad was started.^{lv}

Halimzai tribe was pro-government and denied *Mullahs* or the Haji Sahib to attack the British forces stationed in their area. It was the duty of allowance holders to inform government regarding any development, otherwise their *Majib*—allowance would stop. Haji Sahib condemned the entire allowance-holders as they served as 'tools' of the British Imperialism. He also titled them [allowance holders] as traitors. Haji Turanzai tried to reform their character through *Amr-i-bil-Ma'aroof-wa-nahi-anil-munkar*, however, he managed to get explanation from those allowance-holders. He wanted from tribesmen to observe social boycott of the allowance-holders with aim to isolate them till their repentance. An allowance holder, Jar Khan from Bajaur, accepted Haji Sahib's request and refused *Majib* although he had initially denied.^{lvi} Haji Sahib was a steadfast enemy of the British Imperialism. He disliked the official visits of the British administrators at the borders. On March 10, 1917, the Viceroy of India visited Mohmand blockade line. Haji Sahib came to *Gandab* personally to create law and order situation against the proposed visit of the Viceroy.^{lvii}

He used to advise the *Malaks* to avoid provision of any assistance the government in any way. He also opposed the recruitment of the tribesmen in the local militias. However, the British authorities also countered Haji Sahib's moves and directed his proponents to fight against Haji Sahib. Some of the Mohmand tribes were directed not to take Haji Sahib's pressure, thus at such times he was compelled to waste his energies and power against his Muslim brethren.^{lviii} The matter of concern for Haji Sahib was that tribes had been divided by the British authorities into two categories; the 'assured tribes' and the 'non-assured tribes.' The former was continuously creating problems for Haji Sahib. Therefore, Haji Sahib paid regular visits toward the assured tribes and asked them to not accept the British-allowances.^{lix} Haji Sahib's son, Badshah Gul, once was informed that Malak Payodin Dawezai had received British allowance, and that he had not paid attention to advice, his house was burnt immediately.^{lx} Badshah Gul then went to Pipal Dawezai, with an armed *Lashkar* of 600 men where the elders of the tribe were at Shabqadar to receive their allowances. He burnt ten houses including the houses of Malak Payodin, Malak Zorawar, Malak Musafir Khan and Malak Mian Lal.^{lxi}

In the Mohmand area, the main ally of British was Malak Anmir, a Halimzai. Moreover, the Gandab Halimzais, some Kamali Halimzais and Utmanzai were also pro-government. However, some of the Halimzai extended support to Haji Sahib. The supporting tribes of Haji Sahib included Qandaharis, Safis and Mitai Musa Khel. In 1927, Mitai Musa Khel turned against Haji Sahib. Kamali Halimzai contacted Malak Anmir, British supporter, and Gandab Halimzais Malaks to assist them against Haji Sahib. Malak Anmir and other Malaks put the condition that they would help if Mitai Musa Khel would stop any dealing with Haji and ceased to go with him to Jalalabad.^{lxii} The British allays in the tribal area worked hard to stop the activities of Haji Sahib but in vain. As per the advice of Haji Sahib to the tribesmen to boycott British allowance holders, once in a funeral service being conducted in Kamali Halimzai country when number of *Mullahs* of Yakhdhand protested against the presence at the service of Abdullah Jan, son of Malak Umar Utmanzai, a receiver of the British-allowance. Consequently, Abdullah Jan knocked down a *mullah*. The *Mullahs* immediately went to Haji Sahib and laid their grievances before the Haji, who acted at once and burnt number of houses in Utmanzai and Kamali Halimzai country.^{lxiii} In retaliation, the British held a combined *Jargah* of Utmanzais, Kamali Halimzais and Dawezai tribes, and the tribes assured the Deputy Commissioner of making their joint alliance against Haji's visit in future.^{lxiv} Malak Umar Khan Utmanzai, another supporter of the British, also took actions against the *Mullahs*.^{lxv}

Haji Sahib wanted to settle the matter once for all. He planned to turn out the British allowance-holders and reconcile with those tribes. In this regard, the Faqir of Alingar, who had settled and possessed a

strong hold in Bajaur, cooperated and extended support toward Haji Sahib. The Bajaur and Baezai tribes, who avoided encroachment from the government side over their area, forwarded support to Haji Sahib in the matter.^{lxxvi} Haji Sahib set out for Kundo Koi and these two sections turned on their leading allowance-holders, drew them out of their houses and destroyed their property. Malak Umar Khan Payodin, Jaffar Utmanzai and Abdullah Jan, a Kamali Halimzai fled to Matta Mughal Khel.^{lxxvii} The tribe who remained unchanged and did not extend cooperation was Kamali Halimzais, although their houses had also been burnt. Haji Sahib directed the Mullahs of Yakhdhand to expel and exclude all allowance holders and their adherents from public prayers. They were compelled to arrange a Mullah from the boundaries of other tribe to conduct their funerals with proper ceremony.^{lxxviii} Haji Sahib was much concerned regarding 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.^{lxxix} In retaliation the government took actions against Safi and Musa Khel sections of Baezai tribe, who had supported the Haji's move. Haji Sahib urged allowance-holders to reform themselves, otherwise he would once again visit their villages. His energies were directed against Kamali Halimzai and Utmanzai Malaks. He was able to canvass Mohmand country and Bajaur for his support. He also corresponded with the sons of Babra Mullah and Faqir of Alinigar. Two Baezai Malaks, Malak Muhasil and Abdul Rasool expressed their intentions to support the endeavor of Haji Sahib in future.^{lxxx} To counter Haji Sahib's efforts in this connection, the government summoned a *Jargah* of Halimzai, Tarakzai, Essa Khel and Burhan Khel sections at Shabqadar on March 28, 1927. The District Officer, Frontier Constabulary, Shabqadar, Mr. Kuli Khan briefed the *Jargah* members that government intended to oppose the design of Haji. It was also pointed out that this was the right occasion to free them from the influence of Haji Sahib. The only way they could do was to unite and aid the Utmanzai, Dawezai and Kamali Halimzai sections.^{lxxxi} These circumstances brought difficulties for Haji Sahib, however, factional rivalries provided Haji Sahib with an opportunity to punish Abdullah Jan, leader of the opposing faction-his house was burnt although he resisted but not succeeded.^{lxxxii} Both Haji Sahib and the British government tried to ensure tribal support and cause isolation for the other, and both faced difficulties in this respect. British had an advantage of money by winning over allies to their side Mohmand area, however, Haji Sahib tried to win the tribals with the help of his character and spiritual mentorship-which was understood by very a smaller number of people. No doubt, many of them agreed to support Haji Sahib.

Conclusion

The reformation initiated by Haji Sahib Turangzai was instrumental to uplift the Pukhtuns' socio-educational and political conditions, and it proved helpful in removing the evil practices existed in the Pukhtun society. The British Government through various means tried her best to win over Haji Sahib and his supporters, however, it remained unsuccessful. The teachings, preaching and active reformatory aooriach of haji Sahib empowered the Pukhtuns and enabled them to understand the true spirit of freedom, liberty and Islamic principles. The educational reformation brought the Pukhtuns at par with other communities inhabiting in the Indian Sub-continent. Likely, the social and political reformation motivated the youth to know their worth and aware themselves about their due rights and duties, and also to utilise them accordingly. Looking at the Haji Sahib's contribution, the British Government made many attempts to break his willpower but failed every time. To sum up, the legacy developed by Haji Sahib Turangzai provided a platform for the already continued struggle regarding educational reformation. It also left lasting effects on the freedom struggle initiated in the Indian Northwest Frontier region against the British Raj.

References

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- ⁱⁱAsfandiyar, *The British Raj in India and the Pakhtun Struggle for Independence: A Comparative Analysis of Violent and Non-Violent Approaches (1901-1947)*, PhD thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Peshawar, 2018), p.106.
- ⁱⁱⁱHe was born in 1859. His original name was Fazl-i-Wahid. He was considered to be the first great Pukhtun freedom fighter who offered the most determined and implacable opposition to the British in the North West Frontier. He engaged the British for the first time in 1915 at Rustam. The rest of the encounters took place in Mohmand area till he died on December 14, 1937. He was buried in Ghaziabad in Mohmand Agency; for further detail read: Asfandiyar, *The British Raj in India and the Pakhtun Struggle for Independence: A Comparative Analysis of Violent and Non-Violent Approaches (1901-1947)*, (PhD Thesis submitted to the Department of History, University of Peshawar, 2018), p.107.
- ^{iv}Maulana Mahmood Hasan, born at Bareilly in 1851, was the very first student in the Deoband madrasah which late on known as “Darul Uloom”. He dominated the Indian national freedom struggle movement for at least one and a half decades, from 1905 to 1920, so much so that he was named by the Khilafat Committee in 1920 as “Shaikhul Hind,” i.e., elder or master of India, a title which became part of his name. During his life-time, Maulana Mahmood Hasan was the tallest personality in the freedom movement. Stalwarts of the freedom struggle like Gandhiji, Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari Firangimahl, Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Dr Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and many others rallied round him and worked in consultation with him. All credit goes to Maulana Mahmood Hasan for bringing Muslims and Hindus together to fight together against the colonial rule which had by then perfected the age-old art of divide-and-rule. Maulana Mahmood Hasan’s personality was a marvelous amalgamation of a teacher, reformer and political activist par excellence. He led a movement to liberate India during the First World War which is almost identical to the one led by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose during the Second World War. Maulana Mahmood Hasan was chosen to lay the foundation of Jamia Milli Islamia, just a month before his death in 1920.
- ^vAziz Javeed, *Bar-i-Saghir ki Tehreek-e-Azadi ka aik Azeem Mujahid, Haji Sahib Turangzai*, pp. 45-46.
- ^{vi}Asfandiyar, *The British Raj in India and the Pakhtun Struggle for Independence: A Comparative Analysis of Violent and Non-violent Approaches (1901-1947)*, (PhD Thesis submitted to the Department of History University of Peshawar, 2018), p.108.
- ^{vii}A dynamic spiritual leader, scholar, social and political reformer, poet and mujahid who belonged to Umarzai, Charsadda; read: Mohammad Ishaq, *Haji Mohammad Amin Life and Services*, (M.A Thesis Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 1997-99), p. 5.
- ^{viii}Son of Mir Ahmad Khan, he was born at Mardan in 1870. He graduated from Lahore. In 1904, he returned and joined the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam High School, Peshawar, as a teacher. He had contacts with the ulema headed by Maulana Mahmudul Hasan who start struggle against the British. When Abul Kalam Azad launched his Hizbullah, he became one of its active members. When Turangzai started his movement of establishing independent schools he left his job and established the first independent school in Mardan. (Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri, ed., *Tahrik-i-Nazm-i-Jam’at Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, Lahore: Nazir Publishers, 1977, p.266). Maulvi Taj Muhammad then migrated to Mohmand where he continued his activities of preaching and religious teaching; for further detail read: Siddiqullah Rikhtin, *Da Muhtamim Jwand*, Pashto, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1988), pp.1-10.
- ^{ix}Son of Mir Ahmad Khan, he was born at Mardan in 1870. He graduated from Lahore. In 1904, he returned and joined the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam High School, Peshawar, as a teacher. He had contacts with the ulema headed by Maulana Mahmudul Hasan who start struggle against the British. When Abul Kalam Azad launched his Hizbullah, he became one of its active members. When Turangzai started his movement of establishing independent schools he left his job and established the first independent school in Mardan.[Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri, ed., *Tahrik-i-Nazm-i-Jam’at Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* (Lahore: Nazir Publishers, 1977), p.266. Maulavi Taj Muhammad then migrated to Mohmand where he continued his activities of preaching and religious teaching. [Siddiqullah Rikhtin, *Da Muhtamim Jwand*, Pashto, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1988), pp.1-10], quoted by Abdur Rauf, “Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P—A Case Study of Anjumani-Islah-ul-Afaghina”, *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, Vol. XXVII/ No.2 (2006), p.32.
- ^xA religious scholar belonging to Utmanzai village in Charsadda.
- ^{xi}Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 in the village Utmanzai. After receiving his education at the Mission High School Peshawar, he joined Turangzai. He took an active part in 1919 in the Anti-Rowlatt Bill agitation and was one of the leaders of Khilafat and Hijrat movements in N.W.F.P. He had to his name *Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina*, established in 1920 and *Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek* [Red Shirt Movement] which was established in 1929. The political developments around 1930 in India and N.W.F.P. brought a great change in his political perceptions. During the later years, Ghaffar Khan devoted all his time and energies to the establishment and organization of the *Khuda’i Khidmatgar Tehreek*. He was frequently arrested by the British authorities. After the creation of Pakistan also, he was

arrested several times for his political and 'unlawful' activities. In 1964, he finally went to Afghanistan where he lived up to 1973 in self-exile. This man of one word, at last died on January 21, 1988, and was buried at Jalalabad in Afghanistan, which he himself had chosen for his last resting place.

- xii Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in North West Frontier Province 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.118-119.
- xiii Census of India 1911, vol. XIII, North West Frontier Province (Peshawar: 1912), p. 11.
- xiv The approach of Haji Sahib Turangzai, was propagation of *Amr bil ma'aroof wan ahi aanil munkar*; for further detail read: Asfandiyar, *The British Raj in India and the Pakhtun Struggle for Independence*, p.110.
- xv At that time Peshawar was district while Nowshera, Charsadda, Mardan and Swabi had the status of Tehsils.
- xvi Altaf Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of the Haji Sahib Turangzai's Movement* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015), p.2.
- xvii Ibid. 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 which justifies that he had already started his activities.
- xviii S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1997), p. 233
- xix Lal Baha, *N-W.F.P. Administration under the British Rule, 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), pp.192,133.
- xx Altaf Qadir, *Reforming the Pukhtuns and Resisting the British: An Appraisal of The Haji sahib Turangzai Movement*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Culture Research, 2015), pp.24-25.
- xxi Ibid. p.29-31.
- xxii Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Safarnama Rosi Turkistan*, (Pashto), (Charsadda: n.p, 1973), p. 5.
- xxiii The Tribune, December 12, 1937, Delhi.
- xxiv Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, B.No.45, Acc.No.744.
- xxv NWFP Gazetteer, 1911, p.309.
- xxvi Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, B.No.45, Acc.No.744.
- xxvii Abdur Rauf, p.39.
- xxviii NWFP Gazetteer, 1911, p.309.
- xxix Javed, Haji Sahib Turangzai (1st ed.) (Lahore: Idara Tahqeeq o Tasneef Pakistan, 1981), p. 66.
- xxx Asfandiyar, p.115.
- xxxi Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, B.No.44, Acc. No. 711-719.
- xxxii Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, B.No. 70, Acc. No. 58.
- xxxiii (Mohammad Sohail Khan, *The Educational Movements in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Special Reference to Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina: 1901-1947*, (PhD Thesis, Institute of Education and Research, 2015), p.55
- xxxiv Sadiqullah Rekhteen, *Da Mohtamim Jwand*, (Pashto), (1st ed.), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1987), p. 86.
- xxxv Hakeem Muhammad Aslam Sanjri also served as partner of Haji Sahib Turangzai in organization of Hizbullah. The above-mentioned diary has been edited by Muhammad Sohail Khan titled "Jang e Azadi Ka Aik Gum Naam Hero: Hakeem Muhammad Aslam Sanjri", (Urdu), published (2017) by Bacha Khan Chair, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan.
- xxxvi Khan, *The Educational Movements in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Special Reference to Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina: 1901-1947*, p.56.
- xxxvii Asfandiyar, p.117.
- xxxviii Khan, *The Educational Movements in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Special Reference to Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina: 1901-1947*, p.57.
- xxxix "Rose Keppel to Harding", October 27, 1911, Harding Papers, Vol.82, quoted by Khan, *The Educational Movements in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Special Reference to Anjuman-i-Islahul Afaghina: 1901-1947*, p.57.
- xl Abdur Rauf, "Socio-Educational Reform Movements in N.W.F.P—A Case Study of Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afaghina", *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, p.33.
- xli Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Bacha Khan*, (Urdu), (Peshawar: Bacha Khan Research Centre, 2007), p. 4.
- xlii His main objective was to fight the British Imperialism in that part of South Asia. After wandering for some time in Rustam, Buner, Swat and Dir, he settled permanently in Sur Kamar, near Lakarai, an area of Qandahari Mohmand and named it as Ghazi Abad.
- xliii Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Bacha Khan*, (Urdu), p. 4.
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- ^{xliv} S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (Lahore, Institute of Cultural Research, 1997), p. 480.
- ^{xlv} In 1862, Qazi courts were replaced with English courts.
- ^{xlvi} Abdul Qayyum, *Mashaheer-i-Sarhad* (Urdu), (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), p. 118
- ^{xlvii} AF-18 vol. VI, CID record 1916, NWFP Archive Peshawar, p. 71.
- ^{xlviii} *Ibid.*
- ^{lix} Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Naqsh-i-Hayat*, (Urdu), (reprint), (Karachi: Dar-ul-Isha'at, n.d.), p. 299.
- ^l Abdul Wall Khan, *Bach Khan aw Khudai Khidmatgari vol. I* (Pashto), (Peshawar: Chapzai, 1992, p.334
- ^{li} *Ibid.*, p.333
- ^{lii} Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, *Safarnama Rusi Turkistan*, p. 11.
- ^{liii} North West Frontier Provincial Diaries 1915. F. 50, B. 4, p. 199
- ^{liv} NWFP Diaries 1916, F. No. 51, B. 4, p. 35.
- ^{lv} NWFP Diaries 1916, p. 189.
- ^{lvi} Mian Akbar Shah, *Azadi Ki Talash*, Urdu, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1989), p. 58.
- ^{lvii} Peshawar Political Diaries 1917.F. 119, B. 7, p. 32.
- ^{lviii} NWFP Diaries 1918, F. 52, B. 4, p. 178 also Political Border Administration Report 191819, F. 123, B.No. 7, p. 49.
- ^{lix} Mohmand Border Administration Report 1923-24, F. 155 B.9, p.33.
- ^{lx} Political Diary Mohmand 1926, F. 96, B. No. 6, p. 6.
- ^{lxi} *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- ^{lxii} *Ibid.*, p.91.
- ^{lxiii} *Ibid.*, p.92
- ^{lxiv} Peshawar Political Diaries 1927.F. 129, B. No. 7, p. 13.
- ^{lxv} *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ^{lxvi} *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- ^{lxvii} *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
- ^{lxviii} Report on Mohmand Situation 1927, F. 188, B. No.10, NWFP Provincial Archives, Peshawar, p. 5.
- ^{lix} *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- ^{lxx} PDM 1927, pp. 30-31.
- ^{lxxi} PDM., pp. 31-33.
- ^{lxxii} Peshawar Political Diaries 1928, F. 130, B.No. 7, p. 53-55.