

## **Mysticism, Religious Mobilization and Islamic Revivalism in British India: An Assessment of Mujahideen Movement after 1831**

\*Waqar Ahmad

\*\*Ejaz Khan

### **Abstract**

Mujahidin movement was a comprehensive endeavour turning mystic ideologies of social reformation to open fields of confrontation against the Sikhs and British invaders in India. Imprinted with the philosophy of Shah Waliullah and mysticism of Shah Abdul Aziz the movement worked intensively for religious revivalism in Muslim society in the early nineteenth century. The mujahidin fought several wars and were, in fact, in a constant war with the invader British forces. During this constant situation of war, they managed to recruit men and money from the British India and extended their channels to the settled areas. In the independence struggle of India this movement have a very significant role which is much extended and wide. This paper is an attempt to get an overview of the extended struggle of the movement after the war of 1831 in Balakot, their relationship with the Saadath of Sithana, their role in the war of independence in 1857, the war of Ambela in 1863 and their role in the independence struggle which culminated in the partition of India.

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\*Graduate Student at Department of Political Science University of Peshawar.

\*\*Lecturer Department of Political Science, Hazara University, Mansehra.

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**Introduction**

"As a fighting force the Mujahidin do not constitute a danger. As an enemy in the field they may safely be ignored. They remain however a source of constant annoyance as the colonies are hot-beds of intrigue, safe asylum for murderers, ghadrites and disaffected Indians, and centres from which emissaries are sent to incite the tribes whenever occasion offers"<sup>1</sup>.

A Government Report 1937.

Mujahidin is an Islamic term (sing, mujahid) and it signifies those who struggle for the cause of God. This struggle has various forms, including "*Qital*", the physical war with anyone who become a threat to the lives, property, religiosity and faith of Muslims. In Islam's modern history in South Asian context, the euphemism "*Mujahidin*" refers to the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Barailve (1786-1831). The struggle of Mujahidin, however continued after the martyrdom of Sayyid Ahmad Barailve and his successors carried on the tradition of fighting the invader Britishers and striving to establish an Islamic state in the north west region of the subcontinent. In addition, they also struggled for religious and social reforms in the society. Sayyid Ahmad Barailve got concepts of social development and reformation from mysticism as inspired from Shah Abdul Aziz, the grandson of Shah Waliullah. He however, was of the view that these concepts can be applied and practiced by any Muslim in his individual and collective life. They are dubbed as "Hindustani Fanatics." in the official British documents.

"The Mujahidin were the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1786-1831), a native of Rai Bareilly in Awadh and a spiritual disciple of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz of Delhi. Their aim was the establishment of a Muslim State as conceived by Shah WalliUllah (1703-62), a renowned Muslim scholar and reformist, and to deliver the Muslims from the bondage of the infidels"<sup>2</sup>. In Mujahidin movement this idea found a physical and armed struggle for the establishment of a Muslim society reflexive of orthodox divinity in the subcontinent. "They faced formidable opponents; the Marathas in the south, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the British who were to overthrow all"<sup>3</sup>. This armed struggle fought Sikhs and Marhattas to relieve Muslims of the time from their cruelty till 1831 when Sayyid Ahmad along with his companions become martyrs in the valley of Balakot on the bank of river Kunhar. It's a long story of brilliance, bravery, sacrifice and courage of this movement till Balakot incident but here in this

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essay our focus is on the struggle of followers and successors of sayyid ahmad shaheed for social reformation in the society and armed struggle against the British invaders.

Much have been written over the struggle, ideology, political philosophy, diplomacy and journalistic efforts of mujahidin movement. Ghulam Rasul Mehr's study "*Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*" (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1965) is pioneering and encyclopaedic in conception and analysis; but he could not lay his hands on the original British record--the enemy version of the story. Mehr, however, over-magnified the negative character of pashtuns in this movement<sup>4</sup>. It is true that Nawab Yar muhammad khan Durrani and Sultan Muhammad Khan became enemy to sayyid Ahmad Shaheed but Arbab Behram Khan of Tehkal Peshawar died with him in the battle of 1831. Khadi Khan of Hund was against Sayyid but Fatah Khan Zaida and Fatah Khan Panjtar were with him along with their tribes and forces<sup>5</sup>. Dr. Lal Bacha (THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MUJĀHIDĪN 1900—1936) has utilized these untapped sources and has added to our knowledge of this period. His attempt at giving a penetrating account of the Mujahidin is fresh in outlook and critical in conception. The appendices are of great historical value. Abdul Rauf (THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE MUJĀHIDĪN MOVEMENT IN THE N.W.F.P. OF INDIA, 1914—1934) is an effort to study the activities of the Mujahidin not only on the battlefield but also their political, diplomatic and journalistic efforts for the freedom of India and the nature and ways of their encounter with the British Indian Government. The period on which this paper is focused is 1914-1934. Sayyid Mir Badsha Bukhari (Tehrik-E-Mujahidin Jang Balakot Kay Baad) is a comprehensive work on the struggle of successors of Sayyid Ahmad. This essay gives a view of how these mujahidin remain a source of constant threat to the British rulers and how they maintained centres from which emissaries are sent to incite the tribes whenever occasion offers. Abad Shah Puri (Sayyid Badsha Ka Qafila) work is an inspirational essay on the movement of mujahidin, role of elders of the society at that time and general condition of the society. Current essay will focus on the movement of mujahidin after the battle of 1831 and will highlight the important events in the discourse, taking into account all the above-mentioned sources.

### **The Movement After 1831: Mujahideen And Sa'daat Of Sithana**

In a fierce battle at Balakot with Sikhs, supported by some local men who spied for them, Sayyid Ahmad and some of his most eminent lieutenants such as Mawlana Shah Ismail, Arbab Bihram Khan of Peshawar, and Mawlana Khair al-Din lost their lives in Dhil-Hijjah 1246/May 1831. It is interesting that for quite some time it was believed by a group of the Mujahidin and their sympathisers that Sayyid Ahmad had not died and that he would reappear and lead jihad against the infidels<sup>6</sup>. After this setback in Balakot, the successors of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid who were about two and a half thousand reached Takhta Band in the area of Buner. they were leaded by two brothers Maulana Walayat Ali Khan and Maulana Inayat Ali Khan from Patna<sup>7</sup>. Latterly, on the invitation of Saadaath of Sithana they left Takhta Band and consolidated their position at Sathana [Sathanah] in the Buner area. Now they were about three hundred and this reduction in their number was due to grievous differences among them due to which most of the mujahidin left for central India. This parted faction was headed by Maulawi Kiramat Ali Junpuri, who along with his followers worked a lot for preaching of Islam and social reconstruction. The sadaath of sathana have strong links with the mujahidin movement since the establishment of consolidated state at Peshawar. Syed Akbar Shah, a prominent figure in saadath of sathana, worked as finance minister and latterly as Prime Minister in the state established by sayyad Ahmad shaheed in Peshawar. Syed Akbar Shah was a decendent of Pir Baba, Sayed Ali Termizi, of Buner and thus have a very strong position in the religious society of Buner. Syed Akbar Shah latterly become ruler of the state of Swat in 1849 and headed the state till his death in May 1857. The conflict with the Sikhs met with varying fortunes; but thenceforward the Mujahidin on the North-West Frontier had regularly kept the spirit of jihad alive against the non-Islamic rulers of India, and no period of political stress ... [had] passed without attempt on their part, attending with varying success, to engender religious excitement among the border tribes<sup>8</sup>. In the nineteenth century, they had several armed conflicts with the British troops. Maintaining secret communication with their supporters and

sympathisers in India, they had always been able to get men and money for their activities.

The Mujahidin established a state at sathana headed by sayed akbar Shah which was considered as a parallel one by the British rulers and was attacked many times by them. In 1847 Agnew and Lumsden headed the British army but was repelled by mujahidin with great losses. Another contingent was headed by Abbot but faced the same fate. This attack was followed by Aderson but he also did not succeeded in any achievement to be mentioned.

As mentioned earlier leaders of mujahidin at the time were Maulana Walayat Ali Khan and Maulana Inayat Ali Khan from Patna, Bengal they effectively managed to recruite men and money from Bengal and presented a serious threat to the British rule in the province. W.W. Hunter mentioned it as " The Bengal Muhammadans are again in a strange state. For years a Rebel Colony has threatened our frontier; from time to time sending forth fanatic swarms, who have attacked our camps, burned our villages, murdered our subjects, and involved our troops in three costly wars. Month by month, this hostile settlement across the border has been systematically recruited from the heart of Bengal. Successive State trails prove that a network of conspiracy has spread itself over our provinces and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Punjab are united by a chain of treason depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea. they disclose an organization which systematically levies money and men in the Delta and forwards them by regular stages along our high-roads to the Rebel Camp two miles off. men of keen intelligence and ample fortune have embarked in the plot, and a skilful system of remittances has reduced one of the most perilous enterprises of treason to a safe operation of banking. The Rebel camp on the Punjab frontier owes its origin to Sayyid Ahmad, one of those bold spirits whom our extermination of the Pindaric Power scattered over India half a century ago".<sup>9</sup>

### **Mujahideen and the Black Mountain Expedition**

In November 1852 two British officers Mr. Carne and Mr. Tapp went for inspection of the borders with Hasan Zai Tribe. Both of these officers belong to

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Customs department and were prohibited by the administration department because in those days looting of any British personal on borders of any tribe was considered spying on part of the British. These two officers were considered spies and killed by the Hasan Zai tribesmen in the area of Jahandad Khan, Wali of Amb who was then issued a show cause notice by the British Authorities. Nawab of Amb gave some members of the Hasan Zai tribe to British in their custody. Hasan Zai's attacked the Nawab of Amb and get control of two forts; Chanbheri and Shinglai. Mujahidin have also occupied a fort named "Kotla" and British have previously issued warning to mujahidin for liberation of this fort. The British, therefore, decided to side with Jahandad Khan and sent an expedition against the joint force of Hasan Zai and Mujahidin. This British contingent was headed by Lt. Col. F. Mackson. The Hasan Zai tribe was headed by Sardar Hasan Ali Khan and mujahidin by Maulwi Inayat Ali Khan during this expedition. Both the Hasan Zai and mujahidin fought valiantly and Lt. Col. F. Mackson wrote in his report, " It was true, the enemy were but peasantry, but peasantry that were inured to war and masters in the hill warfare"<sup>10</sup>. The British forces due to their modern weaponry, disciplined army and scientific planning finally managed to win the expedition. In 1853 Hasan Zai and Mujahidin attacked the British again but in vain this time also, but Lt. Col. F. Mackson got serious injury in this war and finally died of it. His grave stone in company Bagh Peshawar holds the following writing, ...

HERE LIES THE BODY  
OF  
FREDERICK MACKSON

Lt: Col. of the Bombay Army, companion of the Bath, and commissioner of Peshawar who was born in September 2nd, 1807 and died September 14th, 1853 of a wound inflicted by a religious fanatic.

### **Mujahideen and The War of Independence 1857**

Mujahidin played a very important role in the whole movement which led to the war of independence. Many heroes of this war were members of this organization. General Bakht Khan, the hero of this war was a member mujahidin and he was named "Wahabi" in the case of Bahadur Shah Zafar and this title was used for followers of

Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed in those times. Similarly, Maulna Inayat Ali Khan, Maulana Abdul Jalil Aligari, Azeemullah Khan, Wazir Khan, Maulana Ahmadullah, Haji Imdad ul llah muhajir makki, maulana Faiz Ahmad Badauni, Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi, Maulana Qasim Nanutwi, Maulana Fazal Haq Khair Abadi etc were followers of Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed and members of mujahidin who played very important role in the war of independence. After the war of Ambela they were tried, and the trials were named "Wahabi Trials"<sup>11</sup>. Mujahidin were headed by Maulana Inayat Ali Khan in the days prior to the war of independence. He preached intensively to the Yousafzia Tribe and the 55th infantry in Nowshehra and wrote many letters to the army men for this purpose. some of these letters were intercepted by the British authorities. Punjab Government mutiny reports states such about these letters "The most rancorous and seditious letters had been intercepted from Mohammadan bigots in Patna, Thanisar to Naik Karimullah and other soldiers of 64 infantry. The Letters alluded to a long series of correspondence that had been going on through those men of 64 native infantry with the Hindustani fanatics in Swat and Sithana mentioned in para 8 of this letter"<sup>12</sup>. It is interesting to be mentioned here that information about mutiny of the 55th native infantry was given by Fatah Khan Khatak due to which many soldiers were relieved of their weapons but some managed to flee along with their weapons. Fatah Khan was given the title of Khan Bahadar by Lord Delhozi and he was awarded with land of Tehsil Jehangira Swabi.

Mutiny of the 55th native was a very planned activity and every step was specified. It was planned that 55th native infantry after mutiny will come to Swat and a collective re-attack of 55th infantry and the people and forces of Swat along with mujahidin of Swat and Sithana on the British forces will inflict severe consequences for them at this border. Swat state at that time was ruled by Sayed Akbar Shah, a member of mujahidin who remained Finance minister and Prime minister with Sayed Ahmad Shaheed in his Peshawar State. War of independence was to be started on 12th May 1857 but Sayyed Akbar Shah died one day before the war to be started, i.e. 11 May 1857. Swat state after Sayed Akbar have the second influential person called Swat Sahib or Akhund of Swat. Akhund of Swat deported Sayyed Mubarak Shah, elder son of Sayyed Akbar Shah and also manage to deport the 55th infantry from

Swat. It has been reported that "Had these two (i.e. Sayyid Akbar Shah and Akhund) been united in harbouring the 55th Native Infantry and at that moment proclaimed a jihad against us, there can be no doubt that it would have set fire to the valley of Peshawar and placed us in considerable difficulties. But Sayyid Akbar Shah died".<sup>13</sup>

### **Mujahideen And the Ambela War 1863**

Ambela war was fought in October and November 1863 at Ambela pass Buner. this was the most striking and most significant of the wars ever fought between mujahidin and the British after the battle of Balakot in 1831. After the battle of Mangal Thana mujahidin were determined to fight the British valiantly. It has been reported that " The Sayyids and Maulvi Abdullah were now acting with their Hindustani followers in the bitterest spirit against the British Government; the leaders of the colony expressly declared they were embarked in determined opposition to the infidels and join the martyrs of the faith. A letter to this effect was sent to the chief of Amb"<sup>14</sup>. At the time of this war Amir Abdullah was chief of mujahidin. Mujahidin inflicted serious attacks and the British forces were in their grip supported by the geography of the battle field, but finally the British succeeded in creating drifts between mujahidin and the people of Buner. This led to defeat of Mujahidin and they withdraw from their position.

### **Mujahidin Intrusion into the Settled Areas**

In 1920, the Mujahidin, especially seriously considered that the British should also be harassed in the settled areas of British India. In early 1920, Mawlana Muhammed Bashir planned to send bombs, ammunition and arms to the down side of the british india and store it in various places so that it could be utilised in times of need. a memeber of the mujahidin (a mujahid), Ahmad alias Khan Bahadar, exposed the plan to the british authorities due to a small mistake. The Mujahidin sent a truck of bombs, ammunition and arms to a village named Kot Kazi near District Gujranwala. This trunk was unloaded, and the bombs, ammunition and arms were stored in the house of a mujahid Qazi 'Abdul Rauf'<sup>15</sup>. One mujahid named Ahmad was looming or going to some target with some bombs and was arrested in Ferozpure as he fired with his pistol towards a policeman. In fact, Ahmad was frightened and ran



away instead of answering to the query of the policeman when the policeman only asked him about his identity. The policeman followed him to arrest him. Ahmed fired at the policeman, but he failed to hit the target. He was arrested by the policeman with the pistol he was having. The police investigated him and succeeded to reach the storage of the bombs and other ammunitions. The storage was found to be in the house of Qazi Abdul Rauf. The police found and recovered two rifles, eight bombs and a large amount of ammunition from the house. A case was filed of this serious incident and decided in the Sessions Court of District Gujranwala. Decision was given on 21 April 1921, and the court gave fourteen years imprisonment each to Ahmad alias Khan Bahadar and Qazi Abdul Rauf<sup>16</sup>. An appeal was filed by the accused in the Punjab High Court, but the honourable court dismissed the appeals of the accused and the decision was retained<sup>17</sup>. This incident instigated the British authorities and they felt intrusion of anti-government actors in settled areas of the British India. Police department started investigation in other areas of India and soon after the Gujranwala case, succeeded in recovery of five bombs from the house of Ghulam Qadir at Tarbella. These were significant similarities in these recovered bombs to the bombs found in the house of Qazi Abdul Rauf at Gujranwala. These bombs were also similar to those thrown at British officers in various places. One of these bombs was also thrown to target the Assistant Commissioner of Charsadda. Another one of the same patterns was also found in the Gurki Picket in district Peshawar. one bomb was thrown at the Rawalpindi railway station and another at Pabbi railway station. One bomb was thrown at the city church of Peshawar and two at Risalpure, one at the Dean's Hotel Peshawar and another one at the Namak Mandi market (Salt Market) in Peshawar<sup>18</sup>. This was an alarming situation for the British authorities as they felt serious assaults in the settled areas. The British authorities activated their agents and the government of N.W.F.P obtained descriptions of the Mujahidin through these agents and sent all these information to other provinces of the British India. The police department in N.W.F.P sent on of its agent as Mujahid to the colony of Chamarkand who remained there for several months<sup>19</sup>. Mujahidin never got it noticeable. in fact, the mujahidin don't care to establish a department of intelligence agency. This has also previously harmed the movement very much in

1863 in Ambella. The mujahidin used to send someone or other from among themselves for shopping of commodities for themselves. This time Muhammad Hussain Alias Muhammad Omar was assigned with the duty. He was accompanied by this agent and when they completed their shopping the agent said to Hussain to wait for him while he was going to meet someone for just ten to fifteen minutes. Hussain waited for him, but he didn't come even in an hour. After some time, Hussain found himself surrounded by policemen. Resultantly, Muhammad Hussain Alias Muhammad Omar was arrested<sup>20</sup>. An arrest order was issued by the British government to arrest any one of the Mujahidin found anywhere in the country. "The government succeeded in arresting the following persons: 1. 'Umar; 2. 'Abd al-Qadir; 3. Siraj Din; 4. Saadat Allah; 5. 'Abd al-Sattar; 6. 'Abd al-Rahim; 7. Salih; 8. Bilal; 9. 'Abd al-Rauf; 10. 'Abd al-Qadir (alias Jalal al-Din); 11. Muhammad Hussain; 12. Ilahi Bakhsh; 13. Mawlvi Ahmad; 14. Abd Allah; 15. Haji Ataullah; 16. Abd al-Razziq; and 17. Gul Rahman"<sup>21</sup>. All the above were litigated in the British courts and eight of them were sentenced to two to seven years of rigorous imprisonment by the additional session judge of Peshawar division<sup>22</sup>. While giving decision of imprisonment of all the accused the judicial commissioner ruled that ... "the very existence of the Chamarkand Colony depended upon a 'conspiracy' to wage war against the King to overawe the Government of India, and that every member of the colony was, by reason of his membership, a party to that 'conspiracy'"<sup>23</sup>. It is further stated that ordinary communities derive their origin from natural ethnological or economic causes. In such communities it is perfectly open for any member to say that he has no part in an illegal conspiracy, though it may be one for which community as a whole is notorious, and in which the great majority of its members play a part. But the Chamarkand Colony is not an ordinary community of this nature. It has been created artificially by a number of persons who have no other bond except the conspiracy itself. Its continuance and existence depend solely upon that 'conspiracy'. No person could voluntarily become a member of that community unless he definitely intended to be a member of that 'conspiracy,' and to play such part in it as might be required of him. The only defence open to a person who is a member and kept a member against his will, and that he had categorically repudiated the objects for which the colony

exists<sup>24</sup>. This ruling of the court was never reversed and was relied on for the arrest of members of the Chamarkand Colony found anywhere in British India.

### **The Mujahidin and the Independence Struggle**

The Mujahidin movement, in such a situation, continued its struggle for the independence of India against the British. After the death of Sayyid Ahmad, the Mujahidin were led by Shaykh Wall Muhammad Phulti. When he left for Sind in 1253/1837, Mawlavi Nasir al-Din Manglawri headed the movement but he was soon killed in an encounter with a local chieftain, Fateh [Fath] Khan of Panjtar in 1254/1838. Mawlavi Sayyid Nasir al-Din Dihlvi (d. 1256/1840) organized the activities of the movement first in Sind and then in Baluchistan. He had many encounters with the Sikhs and their local collaborators in Sind. Unfavourable conditions, however, forced him to shift his contingent to Baluchistan and thereafter he entered into Afghanistan. He fought alongside Amir Dost Muhammad Khan against the British in the first Anglo-Afghan War in 1255/1839. Sayyid Nasir al-Din Delhavi finally reached the centre of the Mujahidin at Sathana and was chosen the amir of Mujahidin. He, however, breathed his last soon after that in 1256/1840<sup>25</sup>.

In the coming years the 'ulama' of Sadiqpur [Sadiqpur] played a very important role in keeping the torch of jihad ablaze. At this stage Mawlana Walayat Ali (d. 1269/1853) became the amir of the Mujahidin, followed by his brother Mawlana Inayat Ali (d. 1275/1858), Mawlana Nur Allah (d. 1277/1860) and Mawlana Maqsud 'Ali (d. 1279/1862), Mawlana 'Abdu Allah (d. 1320/1902), Mawlana 'Abd al-Karim (d. 1333/1915), Mawlana Ni'mat Allah (d. 1339/1921) and Mawlana Rahmat Allah (d. ca. 1375/1956) became amirs one after the other. The Sadiqpur group espoused what is popularly known as the Wahhabi doctrine which does not identify itself exclusively with any of the four Sunni Muslim schools of thought. They were not committed to an unquestioning adherence to the teachings of any of the four juristic schools. The so-called Wahhabis were also present in the ranks of the Mujahidin during Sayyid Ahmad's period, one of the most prominent among them being Mawlana Shah Isma'il (d. 1246/1831), on the other hand, Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy (d. 1243/1828) was a Hanafi. Sayyid Ahmad took a middle of the road position

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and was thus successful in keeping the ranks of the Mujahidin united. The dominance of the Mujahidin movement by Wahhabis during the leadership of the Sadiqpur 'ulama' and the resultant schism in their ranks adversely affected their support in India. However, the Sadiqpur group emerged as the centre of the Mujahidin movement, gradually eliminating Delhi where the idea of the movement had originated and where it had matured. The migration of Shah Muhammad Ishaq (d. 1262/1846) and his family to Hijaz nearly ended the role of Delhi in the movement. However, the school of Shah Waliu Allah and later on the Deoband School extended all possible support to the Mujahidin camp especially during and after the First World War. Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan (d. 1339/1920) made efforts to reactivate the Mujahidin and their sympathisers. He sent his emissaries to the area for bringing about unity among the tribes and to remove their misunderstandings about these Mujahidin. For this purpose, his pupils in Deoband from N.W.F.P. and other students from the same madrasah played an important role as they enjoyed the trust of the local population. In fact, the persistent struggle of the Mujahidin earned them a good reputation even among the non-Muslim lovers of India's freedom. The British forces launched several expeditions against the Mujahidin in every corner of the region including Buner, Black Mountain, Hazara, Mohmand and Waziristan. These Mujahidin sided with the local people in their incursions. The British government adopted a policy of creating mistrust between the Mujahidin and the locals particularly on religious questions, on the pretext that the Mujahidin were Wahhabis and were fanatical in their beliefs which sometimes created problems for them among the local people who were predominantly Hanafis. On the other hand, the British also tried to alienate these Mujahidin from their bastions in Bengal, Bihar, and Punjab by spreading false and negative stories about them. Towards the end of the 19th century, the number of Mujahidin diminished and their supplies considerably divided. It was also reported that the British worked on the idea of alienating the supporters of the Mujahidin movement from among the 'ulama' who were considered a potential political force in India. Allan Octavian Hume, founder of the Indian National Congress, appears to have thought that the 'Wahhabis' would support Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's (d. 1315/1898) stand against the Congress on the grounds that a

constitutional movement with Hindu participation would shatter all hopes of overthrowing the British rule by force. On the other hand, in October 1305/1888 a fatwa by Rashid Ahmad Gangahwi (d. 1323/1905) had already been delivered in favour of Muslim participation in politics under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Theodore Beck (1859-99) letter to Badrudin Tayabji considered it as digging a mine under the so-called Wahhabis, the supporters of the Mujahidin 'traitors'.<sup>26</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Mawlana Shaukat paid his tributes to these Mujahidin in the following words:

When India was asleep, this party only was awake. When all leaders and gentlemen of the new light were surpassing one another in proving themselves more faithful and loyal to the government, the object of their life was to render services to the British government, only this party was busy in uprooting the Englishmen. By God, these are the people who reminded us of our duty to human beings. By God this party awakened us from lethargic sleep<sup>27</sup>.

The battle of 1831 at Balakot, which resulted into the death of Sayyed Ahmad Shaheed and his top leadership seems to be the end of the movement to many scholars, but later events have proved that this movement continued till the independence of India and even later till the 1848 war of Kashmir. In 1848 war mujahidin were headed and leaded by Shehzada Barkatullah. Even the present days religious fanatics link themselves to these Mujahidins of nineteen and twentieth century. In short, these mujahidin worked a lot for social reformation and religious reconstruction in the Muslim Society of that time. They also gave a very tough time to the Sikhs and British forces in many expeditions like the black mountain expedition, the war of independence, the battle of Narangi and the battle of Ambela. The present study unveils avenues for theoretical study of social discourses and concludes that social discourses when created on solid grounds cannot be killed through physical forces/wars but continues through the societal fabric till a significant transformation

of the society in social milieu takes place, which again will only burry, but not kill, such discourses.

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