CHAPTER IV

THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

I

Initial Stages

The end of World War I precipitated a crisis among Indian Muslims, which took the shape of the 'Khilafat agitation'. This meant concern over the treatment to be given to Turkey. This agitation started in the form of Pan-Islamism in 1911 after the declaration of war on Turkey by Italy. There was a rumour that Christian powers had set themselves deliberately to encircle Turkey and ruin Islam, with which object Great Britain had entered into an alliance with Italy. This was strengthened by the Re-Partition of Bengal in 1911 which was seen as a breach of faith on the part of the British by Muhammadans. These events resulted in great unrest amongst Muhammadans in Northern India. Mr. Petrie, Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau, was appointed to make enquiries into the matter in the Punjab. In the course of his report he indicated that Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the 'Zamindar' of Lahore, and Muhammad Ali, editor of the 'Comrade' of Calcutta, were among the most probable leaders of any Muhammadan agitation which might occur in India.¹

Till then, Muslims all over the country and specially in the Punjab had been loyal to the British Government. The idea propagated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that Muslims could achieve progress only by cooperating with the British had got firm hold of Muslims. Punjabi Muslims had other reasons also to be loyal. There were: grants of lands which were being made, and the growth of the Arya Samaj.

"The ascendancy of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab reinforced the aggressive Hindu image and strengthened the Muslim suspicion because most of the active members of the Punjab Congress were supplied by the Arya Samaj. This was interpreted by the Muslim as foreshadowing the virtual establishment of a Hindu raj in India once the British relinquished their powers."\(^2\)

Secondly, the leaders of Muslims in Punjab belonged to the landed class - who had gained and had much to gain under the British rule.

The involvement of Turkey in Balkan Affairs in 1912 further increased the interest of the Mohammedans in Khilafat and early in 1913 Abul Kalam Azad advocated the boycott of European goods through his paper, 'Al-Hilal' (Calcutta) and through meetings in Calcutta in which even some extremist

Hindus took part. At the meeting of the League Council held at Lucknow on 31st December, 1912, under the presidency of the Aga Khan, the aim of the League was laid down as the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, a system of self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means.

The growth of interest in Turkey resulted in the sending of an All India Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari to Turkey in 1912. Zafar Ali Khan was also a member of this Mission. The 1913 session of the Muslim League at Agra announced its goal to be Self-Government. Efforts were also made to form voluntary organisations for they might be needed for propaganda work. The organisation was to be similar to Gokhale's 'Servants of India Society' founded in 1905.

A Pan-Islamic movement was started by the Press in different parts of the country. In 1913 the security of the 'Zamindar' (Zafar Ali Khan's paper) was enhanced but since it continued its objectionable campaign its security was forfeited in 1914. This enraged the people, and earned sympathy for Zafar Ali Khan. Another Lahore paper, the 'Paisa Akhbar', which had criticised the 'Zamindar', received an anonymous communication from Peshawar conveying a threat of vengeance on behalf of the 'Zamindar'. Three days afterwards - at the end of January - the premises of the 'Paisa Akhbar' in Lahore were burnt down.  

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During 1914, representatives of the Turkish Red Crescent Society Kamal Umar Beg and Adnan Beg visited Bombay, Delhi, Lahore, Patna and Calcutta to thank the Indian Muhammedans for their assistance during the Balkan Crisis. "While they were careful to avoid politics themselves their presence gave occasion for a number of inflammatory speeches."\(^4\)

When the World War broke out, due to the uncertainty of the stand of Turkey, Muhammedan sympathy was on the side of England. Endeavours were made to organize a 'Red Crescent Mission' composed of Mohammadan volunteers to help the British Government. Shaukat Ali, a Muslim leader of Aligarh and brother of Muhammad Ali, was also reported to be favourably inclined to send volunteers from Aligarh. The Muslims were fully on the side of the Government. The 'Zamindar' which had been popularising the Pan-Islamism earlier supported the war. The staff of the 'Zamindar' subscribed Rs. 205 to the 'Prince of Wales' Fund.

The intention of Turkey in September, 1914 to join the war on the side of Germany changed the attitude of these Muslim leaders. The tone of Mohammad Ali and Zafar Ali Khan's papers became hostile. Zafar Ali Khan was ordered in September 1914 to reside in his village and refrain from taking any part in journalism or politics on account of a

\(^4\)Ibid., p.116.
speech made by him in Lahore.

Till then, however, this agitation was confined to a few individuals, the majority of the Muhammadans were on the side of the British and regarded the Turkish question as a purely political question. Some effect of the propaganda of these leaders and the announcement made by Shakat Ali that India was a Dar-ul-Harb was seen in Lahore, where some students left their studies and crossed the frontier of India towards Afghanistan.

In December, 1915, the annual session of the Muslim League was held at Bombay, in the face of severe opposition on the part of local Sunnis — who were not in favour of worrying the British Government till the end of the war. Mohammad Shafi, the Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, also opposed the meeting of the Muslim League at Bombay. The effects of this were visible in the Provincial Branch where internal friction started as the younger and more extremist elements were not satisfied with the policy of their Secretary. They were supported by men like Wazir Hussain and Nazhar-ul-Haq who were displeased with Mohammad Shafi on account of his attitude. These men were in favour of a joint Muslim League and Congress endeavour for

*The Progressive Muslims in the Punjab were: Pir Taj-ud-din, Malik Barkat Ali, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Khalifa Shuja-ud-din, Sahab-ud-din, Ghulam Biharang led by Fazl-i-Hussain.
political development and they found Shafi an obstacle to it. It was argued that, as the term of the office under the Constitution was limited to three years, the fact that there had been no election of office bearers for four years, automatically terminated the existence of the League. Therefore a meeting to reconstitute the provincial League was held in Lahore shortly after the Bombay meeting under Fazl-i-Hussain, while Mr. Shafi also summoned a meeting of the Old League at which he was re-appointed Secretary and Sir Behram Khan Mozari was elected President. This resulted in two provincial branches of the Muslim League in the Punjab. However, for the time being, the weight of public opinion appeared to be on the side of the old League and Mr. Shafi.

The years 1915 and 1916 saw the dominance of young and liberal Muslims over the League - both at the All-India and Punjab Branch level, and a start was made towards Congress-League rapprochement. L.F. Rushbrook commented as follows: "In the course of the year 1915, a definite rapprochement had taken place between some of the leaders of advanced Hindus and of advanced Muhammadan opinion. The Muslim League which had recently stood mainly for the protection interests against anticipated Hindu ascendancy had gradually become dominated by those members of the 'Young Muslim Party'
who upheld the new ideal of self-Government for India."  

This was strengthened by a young and zealous Punjabi poet Muhammad Iqbal. "Iqbal's poetry expressed his conviction that the spirit of nationalism would triumph over differences of caste, creed and religion to forge India into a political nation."  

In the December, 1916 session of the All India Muslim League held at Lucknow the old Punjab Provincial Branch of the League of Muhammad Shafi was disaffiliated. Muhammad Shafi slowly lost his influence—especially after the Rowlatt Satyagraha in April, 1919.  

In December 1916 a combined meeting of the Congress and the Muslim League was held at Lucknow. In this meeting was signed the famous 'Congress-League Scheme' or the 'Lucknow Pact' which brought the Congress and the League closer. An understanding was reached with regard to the position of the two communities under the new reforms scheme.  

The Congress-League scheme created further divisions within the League. Under the scheme Muslims got over representation in the provincial legislatures in 


Bihar, Bombay and Central provinces. Being aware of the dominant position of the Muslims in U.P., they were given 30% of the seats there. The price the Muslims had to pay for these concessions was that the principle of weightage for the minority community was also applied to Bengal and Punjab, reducing Muslim representation in the provincial legislative Councils from 55% to 50% in the Punjab and 40% in the Bengal.

The Punjab expressed dissatisfaction with the Pact. The Hindus of U.P. and Punjab felt that their interests had been jeopardised to win Muslim cooperation. On the Muslim side, the Punjab and Bengal were the most vociferous in their condemnation of the pact. Muhammad Shafi and Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhary became the chief spokesmen of their respective provinces.

Mahatama Gandhi, who had by now studied the Indian political scene deeply, found the Khilafat agitation as a remarkable means to promote Hindu-Muslim unity which was his main concern. He made contacts with Muhammad Ali.

On 27th April, 1918 Gandhi wrote to the viceroy—
"Lastly I would like to request His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurances about Muhammadan States. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested
By the December, 1918 meeting of the Muslim League Gandhi had become the champion and hero of Muslims who entertained Pan-Islamic ideas. Abdul Bari of Lucknow, after having talked to Gandhi in March, 1919 not only assured Muslim help for Rowlatt Satyagraha but said that Muslims would also use the weapon of satyagraha if their demands were not conceded. 8

**Effects of the War**

The war ended in November, 1918. Germany along with its allies including Turkey, surrendered completely to the Allies. With the surrender of Turkey, the fate of the Caliph passed into non-Muslim hands. Since the Caliph was the spiritual head of the entire Muslim world, Muslims started feeling agitated over their fate. This gave rise to a movement amongst Muslims called the 'Khilafat' movement.

The Khilafat question was taken up at the annual sessions of the Muslim League and the Congress held in Delhi in December, 1918 where resolutions regarding the Khilafat were passed. Dr. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Muslim League in a speech drew the attention

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7 P.C. Bamford: op. cit. p. 123.
8 Judith M. Brown: op. cit. p.
of the people to the question of Khilafat and said that the whole of Arabia, Palestine and Mesopotamia were included in the Jazirat-ul-Arab from which all non-Muslim influence must be removed. Two important resolutions were passed—the one requesting the British representatives at the Peace Conference to see that the fullest consideration is paid to the requirements of Islamic law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the prophet, over the Holy places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delimited in Muslim book, and the other authorising the Council of the League to send a deputation to England at an early date. In the Muslim League, as in the Congress the moderates had lost all control, and this was evidenced by the resignation of the Raja of Mahmudabad and Wazir Hussain, President and Secretary, respectively of the League.  

In February, 1919, the Amir of Afghanistan who had been on friendly terms with the British Government died. His successor, Amir Amanullah did not continue his predecessor's policy and soon there was a war between British Government and Afghanistan at the end of April which ended on May 9, 1919. Since then the Amir became the leader of the dissatisfied Muslims. Fear of the dismemberment of Turkey and the attitude of Great Britain at the Peace Conference agitated

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the mind of the Muslims all over India in the year 1919.

Ali Brothers wrote to the Viceroy in April, 1919 that they kept quiet for four years but now the attitude of the powers at the Peace Conference forces them to speak and make the Government realise the gravity of the issue.

Similar was the condition of the Punjab. The 'Siyasat' in its issue of 5th April, 1919 commented as follows:

"The attitude which the British Government has hitherto adopted in connection with the future of Turkey is very discouraging. We admit that conquerors have the right to decide the fate of the conquered ... Why should Turkey, when only utter helplessness compelled her to join the Allies' enemies should be partitioned? Tell us by the eyes of Great Britain, France and America are fixed on Turkey, instead of on Germany?"

This fact and the anxiety to win Hindu cooperation for their cause led many Muhammadans to join the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha in April, 1919. "It seems to be generally anticipated that Turkey will be largely dismembered and it is this that has led many of the extreme Pan-Islamists to join extremist Hindus in the late agitation and disturbances."

The harsh attitude of the Punjab Government towards the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and the introduction of Martial

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10 Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
Law crushed all political life in the province, and it apparently presented picture of the "most loyal province."

Thus M.O'Dwyer wrote to the Viceroy:

"Your Excellency will be glad to hear that responsible Mohammedan opinion in the Punjab is displaying itself very markedly on the side of the Government in condemning the two forces of disorder - Gandhi and the Amir and in maintaining a correct and restrained attitude in regard to Turkey." 12

At that time the Khilafat agitation was localised - being confined to some cities like Lucknow, Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna, Aligarh, etc.

The attitude of the Punjab Press also became conciliatory and expressed confidence in the British sense of justice. Thus the 'Siyasat' (Lahore) of 25th June, 1919, hoped that the British representatives would lay Muhammadens under a deep debt of obligation by securing concessions for Turkey in connection with the peace terms. The 'Yakil' of 16th July, 1919, while discussing the future of Turkey, expressed the hope that the British Government would fulfil its promises. The 'Paigham-i-Sulah' of 18th and 22nd June expressed thanks at the treatment given to the Turkish delegates and hoped for a fair treatment. 13

The Muslim League held an All-India Muslim League

12Chemesford Papers No.483 M.O'Dwyer to Chelmesiord 23rd May, 1919.

13Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
Conference at Lucknow in September, 1919 to discuss the Turkish question.

Describing the Lucknow Conference the 'Inqilab' (Lahore) of 30th September, wrote - "The day will ever remain memorable in the history of Muslim India and no power will be able ever to efface it from the memory of the Muhammadans." The 'Paisa Akhbar' of 10th October, 1919 said that the resolutions passed at the Lucknow conference mirrored the feelings of the Islamic world."

In accordance with the decision of the Conference, Gandhi issued an appeal to observe 17th October as Khilafat Day, a day of fasting and prayers. He advised a hartal but without processions or meetings. He also asked the mill hands or those working in the interest of public health, not to stop work.

However, the enthusiasm shown by the press for the Lucknow conference failed to produce any enthusiasm among the people. The Khilafat Day passed off quietly. In Lahore, on Thursday, a day before the Khilafat Day, about 10% of the Hindu shopkeepers decided to keep their doors closed and there was a certain amount of tall talk in the city, but this was all. On Friday a few Hindu shopkeepers did not open their shops, but when they discovered that Mussalman

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14 Inqilab, 30 September, 1919, quoted in Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
brethren did not follow suit, they also opened. Shops remained open in other places also. Though Punjab had a Muslim majority, but the whole province lacked political experience and organisation and the Khilafat movement had not produced any change in this situation. The province virtually ignored the Khilafat Day.  

The failure of the Khilafat Day can be attributed to the fear that loomed on the public mind since the Martial Law days and the absence of provincial leaders who could organise the hartal. People in the Punjab know full well the evil consequences of a hartal and they were, therefore, not in a mood to try it again. Besides, most of the agitators who got up all anti-Government demonstrations in the Punjab, are in jail, and the Pan-Islamists and Hindu extremists and nationalists, who would have taken their places, are thoroughly cowed down. Pan-Islamic influences are largely restricted to urban areas, but in this instance the agitation was a failure even in cities and towns. In rural areas it was altogether unknown.

The only sign of the Khilafat Day was that small meetings were held in some mosques. One such meeting was held in Badshahi Mosque, where after the prayers the Imam


delivered a speech on the subject of the Peace Treaty. Prayers were offered for an amicable and favourable conclusions of the peace treaty in accordance with the views and expectations of the Mohammedans of India. Resolutions passed at the Lucknow Conference were endorsed.

Another All-India Khalifat Conference was held in Delhi on 23rd and 24th November, 1919. A remarkable feature of this conference was that Gandhi was made the Chairman on the second day. Gandhi spoke against the peace celebrations and announced that an Anti Peace Celebrations Committee had been formed, and appealed to the people to adopt non-cooperation, in case the decision was not made in their favour. Though he denounced the proposal to boycott English goods the resolution was passed.

Writing about the conference the 'Aftab' of 30th November, said, "In view of its importance and representative character, the gathering was a memorable one. It was attended by delegates from every province." 17

A sub-committee was appointed consisting of Syed Hussain, Fazl-ul-Haq, Abdul Bari, Ajmal Khan and others to examine the question of non-cooperation and to propose effective action.

17 Aftab 30th Nov. 1919, quoted in Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
The Delhi conference had an immediate effect on the Punjab, especially in the urban areas where Khilafat agitation began to gain ground. The Commissioner of Lahore wrote "I think that Muslims are being gradually reduced from their traditional loyalty to the British crown. The tone of their speeches on the Khilafat question is rising daily." 18

At a largely attended meeting presided over by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, resolutions regarding the Khilafat were unanimously passed. A resolution also proposed the establishment of a Khilafat Committee. The following were the members of the Committee: President K.B. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain; Secretary Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, Joint Secretary Mr. Mohi-ud-din; Member: Dr. Shuja-ud-din, S.Habibullah, Chaudhari Shahab-ud-din, Mr. Haq Nawaz, Mr. Shah Nawaz with powers to co-opt others.

In Amritsar also a Khilafat Committee was formed at a public meeting and violent speeches were made and resolutions were passed, not only advocating the boycott of peace celebrations, but also demanding the withdrawal of forces from Mesopotamia, the payment of compensation to the Turks for the losses sustained by them and the withdrawal of patronage of Government from the Sherif of Mecca. Maulvi

Mohammed Daud Ghaznavi, Secretary of the Amritsar Khilafat Committee, was the spirit behind this meeting and the resolutions. As the annual session of the League was to be held at Amritsar, Maulvi Daud was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. At a meeting held under his presidency Dr. S.D. Kitchlew was elected as Chairman of the Session and as he was in jail a Vice-Chairman was appointed to act for him.

The annual session of the Muslim League was held with great enthusiasm on 29th, 30th and 31st December at Amritsar. The enthusiasm increased due to the release of Dr. Kitchlew and due to the presence of Ali Brothers on the last two days Hakim Ajmal Khan presided over the session. The Ali Brothers were the principal speakers and their speeches were couched in emotional language. Shaukat Ali said that he would sacrifice his life and property to protect the Kaaba.

A resolution expressing deep resentment felt by Indian Mohammedans at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representations made by them through their representatives in England and India, in connection with the Khilafat question was passed. It stated that Mohammadans in India would be justified in resorting to all the possible methods of constitutional agitation.

By this time the League came to be dominated by Muslims who were anxious to build friendly relations with
Hindus and the Conference passed a resolution to bring them closer. The resolution was — "The League is of opinion that with a view to reciprocate the good feelings shown towards Mussalmans by their Hindu brethren and to strengthen the growing unity between them and the Mussalmans of India, Mussalmans should on the occasion of Id festival substitute as far as possible the sacrifice of other animals in place of cows."  

A Khilafat Conference was convened in Amritsar simultaneously with the Congress and Muslim League sessions. It decided to send a deputation of Hindus and Muslims to the viceroy in order to press the objects of Khilafat Movement. The deputation consisted of 35 persons and among them were the Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Abdul Bari, Seth Chotani, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Kitchlew, Gandhi, and Swami Shradhanand. The Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford replied to the deputation that "he sympathised with the Muslim feelings and that their demands were being pressed in London and at the Paris Peace Conference by himself, Montague, two Indian representatives, Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner."  

19 The Tribune, Jan. 6, 1920.  
Till then the Khilafat movement was not very popular and was confined only to Muslims in urban areas. But after the Congress and Muslim League sessions of Amritsar great enthusiasm was evinced in the matter. Meetings held in support of the Khilafat were attended by large audiences.

"A mass meeting of the Hindus and Mohammedans of Lahore city held in the Bradlaugh Hall on 12th January. Long before the prescribed hour every available inch of the space was occupied and hundreds had to go away disappointed for want of room. Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were also present. They spoke passionately for Hindu-Muslim Unity."

Several meetings attended by both Muslims and Hindus were organised under the auspices of the Young Muslim Association, and at one such meeting L. Govardhan Dass, a Hindu leader of Amritsar, was made the Chairman.

The result was great enthusiasm for the cause. In the third All India Khilafat Conference which met at Bombay from 15th to 17th February, 1920, the Amritsar party was the first one to reach. Only three Hindus attended the conference and one of them, L. Govardhan Dass, was from Amritsar.

In February, 1920, the delegation to Britain sailed. It consisted of Md. Ali, Syed Hussain, Editor of the 'Independent' (Allahabad), Said Sulaiman Nadvi and Abul Kasim, who followed

\[21\] The Tribune, January 13, 1920.

\[22\] Home Pol. Deposit July, 1920, No. 89.
later. The delegation, however, found that it could make no headway with the British Government, and on the 17th of March it was informed by Mr. Lloyd George that Turkey could not be treated on principles different from those applied to other countries, and that though she would be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish lands, she could not be permitted to retain lands which were not Turkish.

The receipt of the news in India of the failure of the delegation greatly strengthened the Khilafat Movement in India. "The delay in the ratification of the peace treaty, ... coupled with the intensive propaganda which was undertaken by extremists during the period, however, had the effect of thrusting the roots of the agitation deeper and deeper into the minds of illiterate and ill-educated Mohammedans in India, with the result that during the year 1920, the Khilafat movement became a steadily increasing danger to the peace of the country."\(^{23}\)

The 'Paisa Akhbar' of the 30th March published an article. "Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat deputation is extremely disappointing and has made things worse still. The Premier has not extended to the deputation even a little sympathy. He discussed the Caliphate question in such a manner and has raised such new points, that the outlook has become

\(^{23}\)P.C. Bamford: op.cit., p.149.
more disappointing than ever. He has cut as-under even the slender thread of hope to which the Mussalmans had been clinging.²⁴

At the end of February, 1920, a Khilafat conference was held in Calcutta at which a violent speech was made by Abdul Bari and it was decided to observe 19th March as the Second Khilafat Day by observing hartal.

Under the influence of its older leaders the Khilafat Committee issued the following notice on 17th March:

"The Hindus and Muhammedans are informed not to have any meeting, spontaneous lectures, processions or demonstrations (on the day). All Government servants to attend their offices, except those who get permission to leave from their officers. No compulsion is to be used with anybody to join the hartal. Prayers should be offered in temples and mosques."²⁵

Complete hartal was observed in Lahore, Amritsar, Bhiwani, Batala, Kasur, Sialkot, Multan and several other places. Inspite of complete hartal, no disorder occurred and the day passed off peacefully. Non Muslims - Hindus, Sikhs and others - whole-heartedly joined the hartal. Describing the Khilafat Day in Lahore, 'The Tribune' wrote - "Inspite of scepticism in some quarters, of practical discouragement in others, and of lack of active encouragement in any, the Indian business quarter of Lahore observed an almost complete

²⁴Quoted in Punjab Native Newspaper Report.
hartal yesterday.... This spontaneous demonstration showed more conclusively than anything else could have done, the strength, the genuineness and the profundity of the feeling that lay behind the Khilafat agitation, not only in the Muslim circles but in the Indian community as a whole. No question affecting one single community and affecting it on the religious and not on the secular side has, indeed, within living memory excited such universal interest or struck so deep a chord in the national heart as this question has done.26

The Zamindars of the Punjab held a conference in March 1920 at which they (representing themselves as the martial races of the Punjab) also exhibited concern over the Khilafat question. The following resolution was passed: "It is the united prayer of rural and martial races of the Punjab that the Turkish empire be kept intact as it was before the war, i.e., that the Suzerainty of the Sultan over the outlying portions of the empire be maintained, provided that the just claims of the various communities inhabiting these parts to self-determination and autonomous development are duly supported and effectuated and that the holy places of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab, as defined and demarcated by the Muslim theologians, are kept free of all kinds of direct or indirect foreign control."27

27 C.M. Gazette March 18, 1920.
In April 1920 was celebrated the National Week in which redress of Punjab wrongs was added to the Khilafat question and thus more and more of Hindus joined the movement. Meetings were held in various places at which resolutions for the redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and for the attainment of Swaraj were passed. At the Lahore City Congress Committee meeting the following resolution was passed - "This meeting of the members of the District Congress Committee, Lahore, emphatically declares that there can be no peace or contentment unless or until Khilafat and Punjab wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is obtained."28

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation

Following the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee to take up non-cooperation in the event of an adverse decision, Dr. Kitchlew, at a meeting called at the instance of the Khilafat Committee on 28th May, 1920, moved the 'Non-cooperation Resolution' which was passed. The excitement stimulated in the United Provinces by the Oudh Khilafat Conference held in May, 1920 rapidly extended to the Punjab and the extreme violence of speech and large appreciative audiences were the feature of a campaign of intensive propaganda carried through several districts of Punjab during May. Maulvi Ata-Ullah of Amritsar was the chief agitator and was assisted by others, including Kitchlew. Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore assisted this

28 The Tribune, April 17, 1920.
agitation by publishing violently-worded articles in the 'Zamindar'.

During July, Gandhi toured the Punjab with Shaukat Ali and Kitchlew, in the course of which many speeches were made at Amritsar and Lahore to popularise Khilafat. Discussions were also held on the non-cooperation programme. Towards the end of July, the agitation increased, but from this point the Khilafat question became more and more merged in non-cooperation and consequently this interest in the agitation can be attributed to Gandhi's non-cooperation programme, rather than to Khilafat question, though leading Khilafatists took a very active part in it. 29

After the All India Khilafat Conference at Allahabad, held in June, 1920, there was a meeting of the leaders of all parties. The non-cooperation resolution was passed there, though most of the Hindus except Gandhi opposed it. The resolution was: "This meeting re-affirms the movement of non-cooperation in accordance with the four stages already approved by the Central Khilafat Committee, and appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number, to give practical effect to the movement without further delay — Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Ahmad Haji Siddik Khattri, Shaukat Ali, Mohammad Ali, Dr. S.D.

29 P.C. Bamford: op.cit., p.159.
Kitchlew and Hasrat Mohani. 30

Dr. Kitchlew and Zafar Ali Khan took charge of popularising the movement in the Punjab. Meetings were arranged by them, at which Turkish settlement was denounced in violent language and appeals were made to adopt non-cooperation and the boycott programme. "Vigorous and persistent efforts are being made in Lahore by Zafar Ali Khan and in Amritsar by Dr. Kitchlew to inflame the fanatical passions of their co-religionists. Dr. Kitchlew arranged for a meeting at Amritsar on 28th instant. At this meeting the terms of the Turkish Settlement were adversely criticised, speeches which were virulent and anti-British in tone and spirit were delivered and the adoption of non-cooperation and boycott programme to the fullest extent possible was resolved upon." 31

Zafar Ali Khan propagated the Khilafat cause and the adoption of boycott programme through his articles in the 'Zamindar'. "His virulently worded articles in the 'Zamindar' are designed to wake racial passions of the worst order. He writes recklessly and without the least restraint." 32 In addition he called public meetings mostly attended by lower orders of Muhammedans. "It is true that no Muhammedan of an

30 P.C. Bamford: op.cit., p. 15.


32 Ibid.
respectability or position in Lahore or anywhere else in the Punjab cares to join hands with Zafar Ali Khan in this Khilafat agitation, but it cannot be denied at the same time that he is doing much mischief among the lower orders of Muhammadans in the city, whose ignorance and fanaticism constitute the worst and most dangerous factors in this situation. The Government being afraid of his attitude took action against him. Security was demanded from the 'Zamindar' under the Press Act, and Zafar Ali Khan was prosecuted under section 124 A and 153 A I.P.C. and sentenced to five years' transportation.

In accordance with the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee to observe hartal on 1st. August, 1920, the Amritsar Khilafat Committee passed a similar resolution. Complete hartal was observed in Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot, Bhiwani, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Panipat etc. All shops including those in the most busy areas and the mills stopped work. All people heartily and voluntarily participated in the

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32 Ibid.

hartal at Amritsar. The local Khilafat Committee supervised the arrangements and everything was orderly.

Lajpat Rai concerned himself only with the political aspect of the problem, leaving the religious aspect to the Muslims themselves. He was not ready to compromise with the Muslims fully and concerned himself only with the Non-cooperation part of it.

At its meeting on 29th August, 1920, the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League passed the Non-cooperation resolution:

1) That in view of the attitude of Government towards the Khilafat question and its failure to meet the demands of the Mussalmans of India based on requirements of Islamic law and repeatedly supported by the pledges of the British statesmen the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is of opinion that the principle of non-cooperation should be accepted as the only offensive means of bringing pressure on the Government.  

2) That in the opinion of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League the application of the principle of non-cooperation should in the present circumstances be confined to:

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Nagar: Lajpat Rai - The Man & His Ideas.

The Tribune, September 1, 1920.
a) Renunciation of titles, all honorary posts and privileges conferred by Government;

b) adoption of Swadeshi goods with an ultimate view to boycott the British goods;

c) refusal to participate in all war loans floated by the Government.

This resolution was passed inspite of the fierce opposition by its leader Fazl-i-Hussain. He was not in favour of Gandhi's method of satyagraha and non-cooperation. Though he believed that unfair treatment had been given to Turkey, attitude of the Government with regard to Punjab disturbances and the reforms was condemnable, yet he was convinced that non-cooperation movement was unconstitutional and useless and full of dangers. He felt that non-cooperation posed the greatest danger to schools and colleges. Gandhi's scheme of setting national schools and colleges seemed impracticable. He resigned from the Provincial Muslim League.

Attempts were made to popularise the Khilafat movement. Efforts were made to win over the peasantry by organising Khilafat Committees in villages and arranging meetings to keep alive the fanatical feelings. Volunteers were sent to special areas to keep up the enthusiasm of the people. "The Ludhiana District whose record in recruiting was very good in the great
war has been selected by the Khilafat agitators for their work of mischief. Four persons named Jamat Ali Shah, Muhammad Sharif, Muhammad Abdullah of Sialkot and Swami Shanti Sarup of Farukhabad - a Muhammadan convert to the Arya Samaj - are at present working as the vanguard of the men from Lahore who will join later on. They have visited several villages and delivered seditious speeches."  

Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore, Lal Khan of Gujranwala, Agha Muhammad Safdar of Sialkot and Syed Habib Shah of Lahore took active part in organising meetings. "For sometime past the Khilafat workers in the Punjab have been carrying on their mischievous activities in the Rawalpindi Division, particularly tehsils of districts which furnished a large majority of recruits for the army in the Great War."  

National leaders also visited the province to rouse the enthusiasm of the people. "That notorious Pan-Islamist and Khilafat and Anti-Government agitator, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad of Calcutta, paid Lahore a visit during the week. His friends and fellow workers in Lahore had arranged a public reception for him. He was carried in a procession through some bazaars of the city. Arrangements have, I understand, been made to take the Maulana on to Rawalpindi, Hazro Campbellpur, Jhelum and Nowshera."  

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38 Ibid.
With the adoption of the Non-cooperation programme at Calcutta by the Congress, the Khilafat agitation merged with the non-cooperation movement and attention was thereafter concentrated on making the boycott a success. "The Khilafat agitation has for the moment receded into the background. Very few Khilafat meetings, if any, are held these days. The Khilafat agitators — at any rate the more virulent among them — are busy promoting non-cooperation and their energy and efforts are divided between inducing people not to vote in the Council elections and asking students to withdraw from schools and colleges....Attempts are here and there made to raise subscriptions in aid of the Khilafat funds but they are not attended with any appreciable success."  

In March, 1921 was held the Near East Conference in London and all the Mussalmans hoped that the Britishers would fulfil their promises made with regard to Turkey. The elected Muhammadan members of the Punjab Legislative Council presented an address to the Lt.-Governor (which was passed on to the Viceroy) to the effect that Turkey should regain complete and independent possession of all territories which formed part of the Turkish empire before the War, and no non-Muslim power should have any direct or indirect control in any form whatsoever over the Turkish dominions.

The 'C and M Gazette' also suggested that the British should use their influence to right the Khilafat wrongs. "

"We venture to submit that the only effective way to combat the N.C.O. movement in India is to right the Khilafat wrong. The political and religious ferment in the country is unsettling the minds of the masses and it would be supremely wise and statesmanlike to ask the British Premier and the Allied Statesmen for once to rise superior to their Christian prejudices and to keep the Turkish empire intact, as it was before the war."^40

In July, 1921, an All India Khilafat Conference was held at Karachi, presided over by Mohammad Ali. Amongst the resolutions passed were - "This conference directs the Central Khilafat Committee to send from time to time its representatives to other Muslim countries, whenever feasible and necessary, with a view to establish and maintain fraternal brotherhood with Mussalmans of other countries and to remove their sufferings and hardships and to promote other Islamic interests. This meeting directs all Khilafat Committees to take satisfactory steps in their jurisdictions for the prevention of the use of liquor in cooperation with the Congress Committees, and congratulated all workers and volunteers of those places where the use of liquor is almost stopped."^41

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^40 C. & M. Gazette, March 4, 1921.
^41 P.C.Bamford, op.cit., p.170.
During this conference Shaukat Ali is said to have remarked that he could spend a lakh of rupees on propaganda in the army and that work in this direction had succeeded beyond expectation, although it was carried without any systematic programme under the guidance of himself, Dr. Kitchlew, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Majid, Sanaullah of Amritsar and Muhammad Ali of Lahore. An Army propaganda Committee was formed which resolved to place Rs. 5,000 at the disposal of the Ulemas, and Rs. 1,000 at the disposal of other persons, for work among sepoys. Forty students of the National University, Aligarh were ordered to go to the Punjab and N.W.F.P. for propaganda among the troops. A Fatwa declaring service in the police and army to be 'haram' (irreligious) was circulated.

The Governor of Bombay suggested to the Viceroy that in view of the decisions taken at the Karachi Conference, particularly relating to propaganda in the Army, action should be taken against (1) Muhammad Ali (2) Shaukat Ali (3) Maulvi Hussain Ahmed (4) S.D. Kitchlew (5) Nisar Ahmed (6) Hindu speaker calling himself Shankaracharya in respect of the Resolution No. 6 of the Conference under Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code.\(^4\)

The Government was very much disturbed by the violent manner in which the proceedings at Karachi were conducted and Dr. Kitchlew was arrested on July 17, 1921 at Simla where he

\(^4\) Reading Papers - Governor of Bombay to Viceroy.
had gone for best. "It is understood that arrest has been made on account of the part taken by Dr. Kitchlew in the resolution of the Karachi Khilafat Conference calculated to tamper with the loyalty of the troops and the police." In the afternoon, the D.C. of Amritsar called a meeting of a number of influential citizens at the Town Hall and spoke to them about the desirability of maintaining peace and avoiding disturbances of any kind. On the other hand, a public meeting was held in the Jallianwala Bagh at which a resolution congratulating Dr. Kitchlew on his arrest was passed.

The 'Zamindar' of Lahore published the Fatwa circulated in the Karachi Conference under the title 'Muttafiqa Fatwa' (unanimous Fatwa) in its issue of 5th August, 1921. The Punjab Government forfeited all the copies of the papers under the Press Act.

There was a rumour that Ali Brothers would also be arrested. This created anger among the Punjabis. The 'Pratap' (Lahore) of 31st August, 1921 commented on this: "If Government has really decided to put the Ali Brothers into jail, it will commit the most serious mistake it has ever committed. The Mussalmans will go out of its hands for ever. It is to be hoped that Government will refrain from committing such a mistake." The 'Tribune' commented in its issue of 2nd September, 1921:

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43C & M. Gazette, September 20, 1921.
"We hope with all our heart that there is no truth in either statement. As we have said, times out of number, the worst of many bad mistakes which a Government bent upon removing political discontent can commit is to seek to punish the men who are merely the voice and organ of that discontent."

The arrest of Ali Brothers in September, 1921, revived the Khilafat agitation. Meetings were organised in various places where public anger on their arrest was expressed in a violent language.

"The Commissioner of Jullundur says that there is considerable Khilafat activity, and he understands that the belief that Government is bitterly opposed to the Khilafat is permeating to a greater or lesser extent to all classes of Muhammadan society. He remarks that arrest of the Ali Brothers is looked on with disfavour though its effect seems to be steadying."

"Khilafat activity is increasing and there are some indications of separate Mohammedan agitation on religious lines. Fiery speeches have been made at meetings at Karnal and Panipat in connection with the prescription of the Fatwa."

In February, 1922 the massacre of police occurred at

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Chauri Chaura in Bahar. As a result of this outrage, Gandhi decided to postpone mass Civil Disobedience. This had an immediate effect on the Khilafat movement which was dependent to a very large extent on Congress support. The leading Muhammadan extremists had been far less impressed by Gandhi's non-violent programme than were his co-religionists, and they had accepted it merely to get the support of Hindus, which they considered was essential to the success of their agitation. When Gandhi and his Congress followers withdrew, their programme, their Muhammadan allies were extremely disappointed and almost immediately signs of Hindu Muslim friction appeared, for the Muhammadan public began to feel that they had been utilised merely to further the Hindu aim of Swaraj for India. (In the Punjab at this time a common joke was that Swaraj meant 'Swah' (ashes) for the Muhammadans and 'Raj' for the Hindus) and that their own grievances, had been pushed into the background. This feeling was shared by their leaders, who, however, realised the necessity of concealing it in order to maintain at least a semblance of the much-desired Hindu-Muslim Unity.46

Still the Khilafat activity did not cease completely.

46 P.C. Bamford: op.cit., p. 191.

*Discussed in Chapter on Non-cooperation.
There was some activity in Ludhiana where Muhammedan volunteers reintroduced picketing of liquor shops and in Peshawar where, by successful picketing, they were able to effect a complete hartal on the 6th March, 1921.

At the All India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi in February, 1922 it was resolved to: (1) continue non violent non-cooperation which is the only right means in India for the attainment of Khilafat demands (2) to enlist volunteers and to recruit one lakh of members for Khilafat purposes (3) to work under the Congress and concentrate on (a) collection of Angora Fund, (b) enlistment of Khilafat members, (c) boycott of British goods, (d) to establish relations with the Muhammedans of other countries and to try to unite them, (e) if possible, to revive 'hijrat' after consulting Mustafa Kamal Pasha and after proper organisation and a full consideration of facilities and difficulties.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, during his visit to Punjab, had interviews with leaders and representatives of Akalis, Khilafat movement and Congress Committee. The interviewees on behalf of the Khilafat Committee were Maulvi Abdul Qadir, Rana Firoz Din and Malik Lal. They said that the provincial Khilafat Committee had adopted resolutions on the lines of the Central Khilafat Committee and would stand by its decisions. They expressed their preference for constructive programme rather than for Civil Disobedience. "To the question as to to
what extent the Punjab Muhammedans cared for the attainment of Swaraj and what work they were doing for it, the answer was that among Muhammedans the agitation was chiefly on account of Khilafat and that very little had been done for the larger issue of Swaraj."  

The 'Kesari' of Lahore published from a correspondent of Lyallpur an account of the social boycott practised on a Mohammedan barber for giving evidence in a case brought by Government against a Khilafat leader, Khwaja Abdur Rahman.  

Khaddar Campaign was taken up by the Khilafat volunteers. The volunteers of Lahore made strenuous propaganda in favour of Khaddar. A week previous to the Id festival they issued instructions asking Mussalmans of Lahore to wear Khaddar on the Id Day and insisted on it through the Press and the platform. On the day of the Id they went round the city singing songs on the use of Khaddar. However, the move was not successful as Khaddar was not available in sufficient quantities. But it appeared as if Muslims had purposely discarded Khaddar on this occasion. It was so inconspicuous that hardly any one was seen wearing it in the Badshahi mosque where the bulk of the people gathered to say their prayers.  

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47 Home Pol. 861 of 1922.

48 C. & M. Gazette, April 19, 1922.

49 Ibid., May 31, 1922.
The mother and wife of Mohammad Ali also arrived in Lahore and spoke in favour of Khaddar and Hindu-Muslim Unity and advised the establishment of panchayats.

Resolutions were passed against the repressive policy of the Government at a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. A Resolution was also passed against the arrest of leaders like Azad, Das, Nehru, Ali Brothers, Hussain Ahmad, etc., culminating in the arrest and conviction of the country's most revered and believed leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

The Hijrat Movement

Another aspect of the Khilafat agitation in the Punjab was the 'Hijrat' movement. Hijrat means migration from a place where Islam is in danger to another place. Some Muhammadans believed that India had become unsafe for Islam and there were two courses open to them: Jehad (holy war) or Hijrat (migration). Since they did not have the means to launch jehad, hijrat was the only course left open. Since the new Amir of Afghanistan had expressed his hostility towards the British Government and Afghanistan was near India, so the Muhammadans of Sind, the Frontier Province and Punjab started migrating to Afghanistan.

Hijrat was first of all suggested by Ali Brothers from the Chindwara Jail:
"In view of our present weak condition, migration is the only alternative for us, and if we are forced either to forswear our faith or leave our motherland, we could only migrate from this great country. This step which we shall now have to consider with all the seriousness that its very nature demands, will perhaps be the most decisive in the history of our country since the Hijrat of our Holy Prophet. Discouraging and bitterly painful as our existence has been in recent years, we feel that before we finally take it, one more opportunity must be given to the Government to review its attitude towards the people." 50

This memorandum was banned by all the provincial Governments, but before the ban was imposed, copies of it were circulated in various places.

Then in a durbar in Afghanistan in May, 1919, the Amir denounced the Rowlatt Act and the tyranny practised in India and seizure of Baghdad and holy places and invited those present to join in the jehad.51

The hijrat question assumed seriousness in April, 1920 when an Afghan Peace Delegation under Amir Amanullah, the Ruler of Afghanistan arrived in Mussorie. The speech of Amir Amanullah in which he had said that he was ready to die for the integrity of the Khalifat and to offer an asylum to any Indian whom religion might drive from India became very popular and was repeated at various places. At the same time


51 Home Pol. A May, 1919 No.363-68.Viceroy to the Secretary of State.
were announced the peace terms contrary to the wishes of the Indians.

The chief supporter of hijrat in the Punjab was Maulvi Ata-ullah who was elected chairman of various meetings. At a meeting at Amritsar on 30th April he said that the Turkish question had been as good as settled. The only alternative now in the hands of the Mussalmans to show their resentment was Jehad and hijrat. The first was impossible in a subject country nor had they the means for it. The second was, therefore, the only plan feasible and His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan has extended to them the hospitality of his country. They should avail of this generous offer and prepare for hijrat. 52

Some efforts were made to popularise hijrat

"Emigration (Hijrat) offices have been opened in certain political centres in the province, but the movement is regarded as premature and very little progress has been made in the way of enlisting the names of intending emigrants to Afghanistan." 53

In the Legislative Council Sir John Maynard disclosed that upto Ist. August, 1920, 2 sub-inspectors, 6 head constables, and 13 constables had left service amongst the Police on account of non-cooperation and hijrat movement.

52 The Tribune, May 9, 1920.

The hijrat question was mostly popular among the rural peasants and low status people due to their economic difficulties. The hijrat enthusiasts told the peasants that there were large areas to be colonised in Afghanistan and that they would be carried safely to Afghanistan where they would have a good time. The peasants whose size of holdings had been reduced due to division and sub-division were anxious to migrate.

The provincial leaders like S.D. Kitchlew who wanted to move with the Central Khilafat Committee were not in favour of taking any decision regarding hijrat as long as it was not decided by the Central Committee. At a meeting on 28th May, 1920 many young men of low status enquired of Dr. Kitchlew about hijrat. He said that the ulemas of India were silent on this question, and, if the Central Khilafat Committee decided in favour of it, his countrymen ought to undertake it. Maulvi Ata-ullah requested Dr. Kitchlew to place the matter before the Central Khilafat Committee at Allahabad.  

The All India Khilafat Conference met at Allahabad on June 2nd, 1920. It discussed hijrat and non-cooperation. The first was referred to a Committee of ulemas as the conference could not arrive at any decision on the issue. The ulemas, it is said, decided that hijrat was optional.

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The decision of the Allahabad conference created divisions in the Punjab Khilafat Committee. Maulvi Ata-ullah expressed his dissatisfaction with the decision. He said that the decision of Allahabad Khilafat Conference was quite contrary to the expressed intentions of Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. He regarded non-cooperation as impracticable and in no way connected with the Khilafat. Maulvi Daud said that non-cooperation was according to the Muslim law and this question was of greater importance than that of hijrat. Hijrat only meant leaving the country, and was meant for the weak. This enraged Ata-ullah who enquired of Maulvi Daud from what authority he said that hijrat was meant for the weak.

Gandhi, when he toured Punjab in August, 1920 opposed the hijrat movement which he characterised as a great mistake as it decreased the number of their effective workers.

The President of the Punjab Khilafat Committee, Maulvi Haji Ahmad Ali was in favour of hijrat and left Lahore for Afghanistan with one hundred and fifty Muhajarin (emigrants). Thousands of Mussalmans collected to bid him farewell and he was presented with a purse of Rs. 5,500. Fazl-i-Hussain was opposed to the Hijrat movement and he undertook to condemn the hijrat movement, but was successful in influencing only a few people.

All the trains carrying the emigrants or Muhajarins
passed through Punjab and created great enthusiasm among the people. Several people flocked to bid farewell to the Muhajarins and they were given help of all sorts. The following message was cabled to Mr. Montague on the 12th July, 1920 — "As practical protest against iniquitous peace terms being forced upon Caliph special train carrying 700 men, women and children from Sind en route for Afghanistan passed Lahore 11th July. 50,000 citizens flocked to bid them good-bye. Parting scene heart-rending. Similar scenes throughout Punjab. Many thousands have already left India. 40,000 from Sind and untold numbers from Punjab and Frontier and elsewhere preparing to leave.... Avert this colossal danger by your broad statesmanship which repudiates brute force as basis of empire's stability. 56

People from Punjab used to join the Muhajarins coming from Sind. The rural areas were the most affected. People sold their lands and crops at a low price in order to go on hijrat. "The situation is further being exploited by unscrupulous persons anxious to buy up land and crops at fictitiously cheap rates." 57

Though most of the Muhajarins belonged to the poor classes and mostly of the peasant class but 290 of the railway


men on strike and several clerks from the audit office also gave their names as volunteers for hijrat.  

A press communiqué stated — "The hijrat movement has assumed a considerable proportion in N.W.F.P. and a very large number of persons have migrated into Afghanistan of whom some are from Sind, some from Punjab and adjoining provinces, but the majority are from the N.W.F.P. and chiefly from Peshawar district."

In a meeting attended by the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab the Home Member, the Chief Secretary of the Punjab, the Director, Central Intelligence, the Commissioner of Lahore and the Home Secretary, the Governments' attitude towards hijrat was discussed. Though it was admitted that the passage of Muhajari through the province increased fanaticism amongst the rest, yet it was decided not to put any obstruction both in the migration to Afghanistan and in the coming back of the emigrants to India.

The hijrat movement suffered a setback in August, 1920 when the Afghan officials changed their attitude towards the Muhajari. The first few batches were welcomed and given land also. But as the rush of Muhajari went on increasing it became difficult for the Afghans to provide land to all. The Government of Afghanistan had to encounter a

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great deal of opposition. "A curious side-light is thrown on the situation by a petition lately received from the Afghan residents of Khost who have been deprived of their lands in favour of immigrants asking that they may be allowed to migrate to and settle in India. Many of the Khans of the Frontier areas are doing their best to dissuade the people from embarking on these ruinous adventures."

Most of the Muhajarins, therefore, wanted to come back to India and General Nadir Khan sent a message through them that men of professions and crafts are badly wanted in Afghanistan and emigrants should bear in mind that all others are not wanted.

In view of these developments the D.C. Lahore issued the following notice — "The public is hereby notified that with effect from the 12th August, 1920, His Majesty the Amir has forbidden absolutely the entry of all persons from India into Afghanistan. Khilafat and hijrat Committees, formed in the Lahore district, are hereby notified that the whole responsibility of making this known to intending Muhajarins and preventing them from going to Afghanistan will entirely rest on the aforesaid bodies."

60 Ibid.

61 C & M. Gazette, August 14, 1920.
Attempts were made to revive the hijrat movement in October, 1920 after a discussion between Shaukat Ali and the Afghan envoy who was present in Simla, and the Afghanistan Government agreed to receive more Muhajarin. The 'Al Fazal' of 14th October, 1920, referring to the announcement by the Central Khilafat Committee that "the door of hijrat has opened again" said that it is the door of destruction for the people that has been thrown open. The Muhammadans should act with foresight, and refuse to act upon the wicked proposals of their leaders, who are leading them into the wrong path.  

However, hijrat agitation died slowly. People were discouraged from migrating because of the accounts given by the people returning from Afghanistan. "Echoes of last year's disastrous hijrat movement continue to reach India through the stories of the stragglers of the ill-fated expedition who are now finding their way back to these shores", says the 'Pioneer'. "Some are of that band of Punjabis who were sent on from Kabul with promises of land in the Khanabad district. They were also promised substantial advance to enable them to cultivate their land. In the event they discovered first of all that the land was waste ground and that the advance amounted to no more than the miserable sum of Rs. 30 and 40.  

They thus had to face the bitter winter of Afghanistan destitute and without any means of livelihood and of the 800 composing the convoy in question 300 have died of starvation and cold, 200 have succeeded in settling down and finding some kind of a living, while the remaining 300 are finding their way back to India as best they can."^63 So the hijrat movement failed to gain any success and by end of 1920 it had completely lost its vigour.

After Hijrat

The Khilafat agitation became weak since the beginning of 1922. "All Khilafat activities by the non-cooperationist Khilafatists of an anti-British character have now ceased. Leading Muslim residents of Lahore have expressed to me their deep gratification as well as gratefulness at the action taken by the Government on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans."^64 Some functions like the Chiraghan Fair of Shalimar Gardens near Lahore which was not held for two years due to Khilafat agitation, was held in 1922 and the anniversary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was also held. This had been held regularly since its birth except in 1921 when it could not be held due to the activities of the Khilafatists. These

^63C. & M. Gazette July 17,1921.

^64Reading Papers Letter from Md. Shafi to Reading 20.4.22.
things showed gradual return to normalcy and also that the Khilafat agitation had started losing its ground. "Private letters have shown to me which have really surprised me for I had scarcely anticipated that some of the men against whom we were then proposing to institute criminal proceedings would now be working privately to bring about Muslim cooperation with the Government of India. Resolutions from Muslims of different parts are coming up to thank me and my Government. Some of my enthusiastic adherents tell me it will cause a definite and open secession of the Mohammedans from the non-cooperation movement. It is quite peaceful now. Whenever we had trouble with the non-cooperationists it was caused by the Mohammedans and indeed at least 75 or 80% of the political prisoners were Mohammedans." 65

Another reason for the loss of interest amongst the Muslim masses towards the Civil Disobedience Movement was the disappointment of non-cooperationist Khilafatists with the non-fulfilment of Gandhi's promise. Hindu-Muslim Unity which was a significant feature of these years began to waver. The Muslims began to keep themselves aloof from the Hindus. "Signs of antagonism between the two started becoming apparent, noticeable, particularly in the Punjab. This

65 Reading Papers - Reading to Peel 13th July, 1922.
is a factor of very considerable importance, for it is
difficult if not impossible, for non-cooperation to be effective
without cohesion between Hindu and Muslim."66

In September, 1922 the Mussalmans of Punjab tried
to revive the Khilafat agitation by sending a deputation
to the Viceroy, stressing that, though they had been quiet,
it did not mean that they had forgotten the Khilafat question.
The deputation comprised Maulvi Sir Rahim Baksh, Nawab Khuda
Baksh, Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir
Bahram Khan, Samjad Mehdi Shah and one or two others.

The day of the victory of Turkish forces over
Greece was celebrated as the Victory Day. The celebrations
were primarily organised by the Khilafat Committees but in
many cases were freely participated in by members of other
communities.

At the same time Turkish Nationalist Party under the
leadership of Kamal Pasha was making rapid strides in Turkey.
The sympathy of the Indian Moslems was transferred to their
side. They showed their intention to accept him as their
Khalifa by inserting his name in the Friday prayers. The
Government drew itself aloof from the agitation. "I anticipate,
however, that the great bulk of Muslim Indians will accept

66 Reading papers - Viceroy to Secretary of State, 16th July, 1922.
Kamalists fait accompli. Extremists are already at work with propaganda to this end. The final result may be weakening of enthusiasm for Angora and eventually of political attachment to Turkey. This is not, however, likely to come about unless we stand absolutely aloof from this new development in the Khilafat question and treat it as a domestic business of Islam with which we have no concern.⁶⁷

In November, 1922, Kamal Pasha was successful in his struggle against the Greeks and he deposed the Sultan of Turkey and abolished the Caliphate in November, 1922, which led to the end of the Khilafat agitation. "Since the maintenance of the temporal power of the Khilafā was one of the main objects of the Khilafat agitation, this action by a purely Muslim agency, completely took the wind out of the sails of the agitators. Of course, the cognate question remained, i.e. the freedom of the Holy places from foreign influence and control, and an effort was made by the leaders to carry on the movement on this ground, but up to date this agitation has been confined to the irreconcilable extremists.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ Reading Papers - Viceroy to Secretary of State 28th November, 1922.