CHAPTER V

PAN - ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

The Pan-Islamic movement in India, like that of the Chadar, got impetus from the outbreak of the World War. During the war it expressed itself in many anti-British conspiracies and raids on the North-Eastern Frontier of India, in the close proximity of the Punjab, as much to its geographical position as to having Muslims in majority, the province was more affected by the Pan-Islamic propaganda during the course of the war than any other part of India. The Pan-Islamism not only caused a continued excitement among the Muslims but also created apprehensions in the mind of British bureaucracy which made its officers more vindictive than any time earlier.

Before discussing in details the nature and extent of the impact this movement produced on the Punjab under the impulse of the war, it would be better to have a brief look into the past history of the movement first.

The genesis of this movement lay in the rapid encroachment of the Christian powers of Europe upon the Muslim in the Near East as well as upon the rest of the Muslim world in the nineteenth century. It aimed at arousing the religious fanaticism of credulous Muslim masses against the Christians, who believed to be despoiling the rights and

The Muhammadan intelligentsia all over the world saw Pan-Islamism as a way of safeguarding their civilization and culture and of realizing their dream of complete independence from the dominance of Christian powers. The Sultan of Turkey, himself a great sufferer at the hands of European powers, became their natural leader by virtue of his dual position. He was the head of a great empire as well as the head (Khalifa) of the Muhammadan world. Among the Indian Muhammadans, Pan-Islamism, therefore, became synonymous with Pro-Turkish feeling which produced far-reaching consequences in their attitude towards the two sides fighting the World War.

The pro-Turkish feelings of the Indian Muhammadans was noticed by the British as early as the Crimean War. But the Britishers did not then see any danger to them in Pan-Islamism because the leader of the movement, the Sultan of Turkey, was not only in the British camp during the Crimean War but also deported, as the 'sickman of Europe', for survival on the British prop.

The British continued to look upon the movement with benevolent indifference right up to the beginning of the 20th century. In India, the Government sailed upon the Pan-Islamism

3. Ibid.
and viewed it as a fashionable cult and from its point of view a good diversion for the young Muhammadan intellectuals, "who otherwise might run into mischief in imitation of their Hindu contemporaries". In 1906-7 the British Government in India succeeded in making use of the Pan-Islamists to subvert the agitation against the partition of Bengal. That was because up to the year 1906 there was a complete unanimity of views and interests between the British and the Pan-Islamists in India.

The British attitude towards Pan-Islamism suffered a change soon after 1906 when the Young Turks had taken up the leadership of the movement into their hands. There were good reasons for that change. The Young Turks wanted to see Turkey the sole and unchallenged master of the whole Muslim world and so they had started using the Pan-Islamic as a handy instrument to attack Great Britain as the chief protagonist of the Christian West. Moreover this change in the complexion of the Pan-Islamic movement had coincided with a new alignment amongst the European powers. England had already in 1907 allied itself with Russia, the hereditary enemy of Turkey, and against Germany, a friend of Turkey.


7. COI-HOME-POL-Deposit-June 1913-Pro. No. 48; Influential Pan-Islamic leaders gave out that their interests were diametrically opposed to Hindu aspirations, that communal welfare of Muhammadans depended upon the maintenance of strength of the British Raj, which had afforded them, on the whole, efficient protection against Hindu aggression. A determined opposition to Hindu nationalistic propaganda was launched by the Muhammadan press which was taken up by the preachers and lecturers in mosques, and an attitude of unqualified loyalty was adopted towards the British Government.

The new role of Britain in European politics gave a jolt to the Indian Pan-Islamists and they started believing that Britain had allied itself with anti-Muhammadan forces in the world. This belief was at its height in the beginning of July 1911.

The subsequent events so affected the Indian Pan-Islamists that they got completely estranged with the government and started evincing keen interest in Turkey and its Pan-Islamic creed. Although the Moroccan crisis of July and August 1911 attracted little notice at that time in India, yet in the light of what happened subsequently in Tripoli and Persia, Morocco was frequently cited by the Pan-Islamists as one of the events in the series of misfortunes that befell the Muslim powers in 1911; and it certainly played a big part in rousing amongst the Indian Mohammedans strong resentment against Christian Europe. The outbreak of the Turco-Italian and Balkan

9. GOL-TONE-POL-A-March 1913-Pro, No. 48: In Morocco Germany and France had been contending for political and economic control at the cost of the Moroccan people and their Sultan who were Muslims by faith. As Germany had posed herself as a saviour of Islam, Muslims everywhere were against France and so also against her ally, the Great Britain. In India also, some efforts were made to organise meetings for boycotting French goods and demanding British intervention in favour of Morocco.

10. Tripoli was a part of Turkish Empire. Italy invaded it in September 1911 and began the conquest of that territory. Turkey was forced to sign a treaty in October 1912 whereby she had to relinquish it to Italy.

11. Russia made a bold venture of interfering in the internal affairs of Persia in November 1911 by sending an ultimatum. When the Persian government and the Nationalists resisted Russian demand, Russian troops began to march on Tehran. The Persians then recovered from their illusions and readily submitted.
Wars (1911-13) further stirred the forces of fanaticism latent in the Indian Pan-Islamists, which were now expressed in hysterical ravings against the Europeans, including the British. In fact the British soon became the major target of their attack.

The British, in their turn, then felt that it was no longer in their interest to protect and support consistently Muhammadans and Islamic powers all over the world. After all Turkey was toeing the German line and thereby introducing complication in British relations with other European powers. Britain would not under the changed circumstances intervene on behalf of Persia against Russia, nor would it openly offend Russia and support Turkey in Balkan wars. Under the circumstances, the British masters of India completely ignored the protests of Pan-Islamists.

The change in British attitude, as propagated by the Pan-Islamists, had affected the average Indian Muhammadans as well. Many of them now started believing that Great Britain was secretly in league with other European powers and was attempting to overthrow the last remnants of Muslim greatness in the world. They believed that if that were not so, Britain would have intervened in favour of Turkey just as it would have saved Persia from Russian designs.

13. Ibid.
Many acts of the Indian Government in 1911-12 aggravated further the anti-British feeling of Indian Muslims. They interpreted the revocation of the partition of Bengal as a concession to Hindu agitators at the expense of Muslims, who had loyally supported the Government in the partition of Bengal. The decision of the Secretary of State that the projected Muslim University at Aligarh would be only a residential university was another bombshell for them. The educated Muslims now felt particularly disturbed as their demand to make the University an affiliating one had been rejected.

In 1912 the comments and criticism of the advanced section of the Muslim Press, which expressed Pan-Islamic views, became increasingly hostile to the Government. In the Punjab, papers like the Nemidar and the Vakil openly accused the Government of applying malevolent and dishonest methods in handling the Aligarh University question. The Nemidar, apparently roused to frenzy by the cumulative effects of the contemporary events happening abroad and at home, published a poem urging Muslims all over the world to "take a connotation" and take up "the sword of Jehad". Even papers like the Observer, which

15. The proposed university was deprived of power of affiliation because it would have exaggerated the importance of the unity of Islam. By giving it an All-India character would have wed the whole community and created difficulties for the government. It was thought better to confine it at one place under strict vigilance of the government.


had been consistently loyal and moderate in its tone in the past.

It threw its columns open to the expression of strong feelings of

the Muhammadans over the University question. A passage from

an article entitled 'Our Final Word' published in the *Observer*

ran as follows:

"It will give us the greater pleasure to make the

Secretary of State modify his orders. The decision

is final, so much the better. It will be a great

triumph for us to make him rescind his decision.

They now know how to rescind decisions. Nothing is

'settled', and they have taught us the way to achieve

success. So let us welcome this decision. They are

trying our mettle. Let us show them that it is not

easy to dictate ideals.... We have committed the

initial mistake of begging for the University as a

matter of favour. We should have demanded it as a

matter of right, we grovelled into the dust when we

did the former, and our wishes were not accepted. It

is now a trial of moral strength and whoever yields

is not of us. Better poverty with honour than

riches with slavery. This is our final word."

To the educated Muhammadans of India, those acts of

omissions and commissions on the part of British Government

brought grave disappointment which forced them to think in

terms of making new alliances. Their militant leaders, the

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the Muhammadan masses of the Punjab were inclined to lend their ears to every Pan-Islamic propaganda. Inspite of all their expressions of loyalty to the British cause, they had great sympathy for Turkey and secretly wished her all success in her struggle against her enemies.

As was to be expected, on the eve of the war, the Pan-Islamic Party in India led by Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Safar Ali Khan, Abdul Bari and Maulana Azad, felt happy at this anti-British feeling among the Indian Muhammadans and welcomed Europe moving rapidly towards a catastrophic war. This happiness was shared by the great mass of Indian Muhammadans particularly those living in Northern India as would be clear from the fact that papers of Pan-Islamic leaders, the 

22. O'Dwyer, "", *India As I Know It*, p. 172.


Note by Cleveland, Director-General CID, dated 15 August 1914.
Balkan affairs? Those acquainted with European diplomacy will be able to understand this very well. At any rate it will be soon known what happens. Our prayers are with both Austria and Servia, provided they fight. They have tasted the sight of seeing the wounded roll in blood.
It will not be improper if we today also express a desire to see this tamasha."

Pan-Islamists in India openly said that Europe deserved punishment for its infamous conduct during the Balkan wars and it would be a blessing in disguise if Europe were crippled. They argued that Turkey would then have peace and would gain strength while the others would be weakened by the war. The Standard in its issue of 29 July 1914 observed:

"The Turks have suffered not through the military power of the Balkan States but through European diplomacy. Evidently nature is going to take revenge from those wicked great powers.... Let us see when and how much the blood of the oppressed Muhammadans will be avenged and what sort of fire is to be lit by the spark lit by the murder of the Austrian heir-apparent."

In its issue of 1 August, the Standard while flashing the outbreak of the war said that at last the blood of the Turks would be


avenged and in its issue of 8 August 1914 it argued that the war that had just begun was an unjust war in which England, France and Russia would ultimately oppose the interests of Islam. Another famous paper of the Pan-Islamists of those days, the 'Comrade', in its issue of 12 August questioned the justice of England entering this war and expressed its sympathy with Germany and wrote strongly against the British alliance with Russia.

Pan-Islamists in India then must have thought that Turkey would continue to be neutral and let the European powers fight the war among themselves and ultimately use its neutrality to dictate terms to the belligerents. They entertained high hopes of Turkey succeeding in holding the balance of Europe and longer the war greater the chances of Turkey doing so. Muhammad Ali did not then hesitate to advise that course in his telegrams to the Turkish Government.

Nevertheless, irrespective of the stand Turkey had taken, neutrality or no neutrality, during the war, the Indian Pan-Islamists never tired themselves of working in support of the Turks and against the British. Their paper the Comrade of 26 September published an article captioned 'The Choice of the Turks', the whole tenour of which showed "a tendency directly


28. Ibid.

29. G I-Hone-Pol-A-January 1915-Pro. Nos. 1901-192, pp. 11-12; These were the views of Muhammad Ali, the most influential Pan-Islamist leader. He was interviewed by a Muslim CID Officer in confidence specially deputed for the purpose to read and note his ideas. He lifted and clapped his hands in jubilation many times during the course of interview.
or indirectly whether by reference or suggestion or otherwise, to excite disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government of India*.

Zafar Ali Khan who had returned to Lahore from abroad shortly after the outbreak of the war, spearheaded the Pan-Islamic activities in the Punjab. He had earlier taken a prominent part in raising Muslim sympathy for Turkey during the Balkan wars through his paper the Seminar and the numerous lectures that he had delivered then. While abroad, he had made close contacts with the Egyptian nationalists and the leading members of the Young Turk Party. On his return to the Punjab, a close look of only a few days convinced him that rigours of Press laws in the Punjab made it impossible for anyone to apprise the people with the news of German victory anywhere. To get out of this morass, he invented a devise. He made a selection of news items concerning British reverses and German successes published in the Times and other newspapers of England, where they were given merely to add to the general information of the British reader, and reprinted them in bold letters in the several issues of the Seminar. It was purposely done to give the Punjab people German and Turkish versions of


the war. His intention was to shake public confidence in
the Punjab in the night of Great Britain. To the Government,
Zafar Ali's 'trick' appeared to be a part of a preconcerted
plan to stir the Punjab Mohammedans to an anti-British activity,
particularly after they noted that the Hardard of Delhi, a
paper owned by Muhammad Ali but with a large circulation in
the Punjab had begun doing the same thing.

Zafar had not confined his activities to journalism.
Soon after his arrival at Lahore from abroad, he delivered a
speech in a mosque as bitter as any that he had earlier delivered
against the British during the Balkan Wars and offered
prayers for the three Mohammedan sovereigns—the Sultan of
Turkey, the Shah of Persia and the Amir of Afghanistan—
while refusing to do so for the King-Emperor of India. It
appears he had received his new enthusiasm from his connec-
tions with the Egyptian Nationalists and Young Turk Party and
hoped of securing more ground for the Pan-Islamism in the
Punjab by his activities. Obviously he had not calculated
the ruthlessness of the then head of the provincial government.

Sir Michael O'Wyer throttled the activities of the
Pan-Islamist papers and their leaders in the Punjab before

33. GOI-HOME-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Proc. No. 30, p.3.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
they could do any damage to the Government. O’Dwyer ordered Zafar Ali Khan’s deportation to his village away from Lahore and further restrained him from taking any part in journalism or politics.

This severe punishment noted out to Zafar, a fortnight before Turkey entered the war, did produce an effect on other Pan-Islamists and the papers expressing their views, but O’Dwyer was not satisfied with that single step. He was actually more concerned about the Press Act and the papers entering the Punjab from outside the province. He repeatedly requested the Government of India after the outbreak of the war to tighten the Press Act and take stringent actions under it. In his letter of 13 October 1914, he pleaded:

"Recent experience has shown clearly that the Press Act is too slow and clumsy a weapon for use against the transgressor in a time of war.... Moreover a great deal of mischief is done before Government has had time even to examine pernicious articles much less take action against the offending newspapers."

He felt "immediate action is essential to the public tranquility", and suggested pre-censorship powers in the hands of the local government. He also indicated his keenness on some action against papers like the Hamid and the Conrade of Muhammad Ali.

Zafar Ali was taken off to his village on Saturday, the 17 October 1914.
and the Alhijal of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He pressed upon
the Government of India to put an effective check on them
immediately. O'Dwyer wrote to the Government of India on
5 November 1914 as follows:

"The license allowed to these papers is already
a source of much mischief in their community and
of no little anxiety to those who were loyal
supporters of the Government."

When the Government of India did not fall in line with him,
O'Dwyer wrote another letter to the Government of India on
13 November 1914 in which he gave weighty arguments for his
being given extraordinary powers to control the press in the
Punjab and to prevent the ingress of outside newspapers. He
asserted, "that the Press has now devised a method of causing
uneasiness in the public mind without bringing itself within
the grasp of the law". In his view the policy of vacillation
adopted by the Government of India was "not only inexpedient
but dangerous". But he failed to carry conviction very far.

Much to his chagrin, the Government of India thought
it prudent to take mild action against a few for the moment.
The result was that though O'Dwyer had seen to it that the
Pan-Islamic Press did not exist in the Punjab, newspapers

40. GOI-Home-Pol-A-January 1915-PrO. No. 80.
41. GOI-Home-Pol-A-January 1915-PrO. No. 95.
42. GOI-Home-Pol-A-January 1915-PrO. No. 97.
43. Ibid.
published outside the Punjab continued to enter the province to keep alive, through indirect references made in the guise of Islamic service, the cause of Turkey. And this state of affairs continued to last till he successfully prevailed upon Government of India to agree to pass the Defence of India Act in March 1915. This act gave him the sweeping powers for which he had anxiously waited so long.

Turkey's joining the Central Powers made the position of Pan-Islamists in India awkward and forced them to work secretly. From the beginning of November 1914 they found themselves declared as the enemies of Great Britain in India and so outlawed for their extra-territorial loyalties to the Khalifa. This changed situation forced the Pan-Islamists to go underground, don a revolutionary garb and begin to work conjointly with Hindu-Mohiz revolutionaries.

The Indian Pan-Islamic leaders now also made use of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, held at Rawalpindi during the last week of December 1914 to continue their work. Ignoring the detestation of the loyalist Muhammadan leaders, Maulana Azad and Ali brothers met on that occasion to consult one another and to work out a concrete plan for helping Turkey. They later held another private meeting at Rawalpindi and still another at Lahore. In these meetings one of Maulana Azad's suggestions that batches of
the Muslim students should be despatched to Turkey where they would take up either army or naval service or receive education and serve as spies or work in any other capacity for the benefit of Turkey and the Muhammadan world, was given a very serious consideration. After discussion it was agreed that the plan be executed vigorously through secret contacts with young Muhammadan students. The first batch of fifteen students disappeared from Lahore, Peshawar and Kohat in February 1915 under this plan. This mysterious disappearance of students aroused a great deal of interest throughout the Punjab.

This party of fifteen students passed through Haripur and Amb in the Hazara District and then visited the colony of Wahabis in the North-Western Frontier where they received a very cordial welcome. The Wahabis helped them cross the dangerous tribal area to Kabul. Their first reception at Kabul was not quite hospitable. They were actually imprisoned when they reached Kabul but released when Sirdar Haqullah Khan, the leader of conservative Muhammadans at the Kabul Court, intervened on their behalf. There, they came in touch with two Indian revolutionary leaders, Mahendra Partap and Barkatulla, who had established an advance base near Kabul for fomenting an uprising in India with Turko-German help, and got more important assignments under them. They were despatched as roving ambassadors on various missions round the world. This was in pursuance of a new


46. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-March 1915-Pro. No. 56, p.10.

47. GOI-Home-Pol-B-May 1915-Pro. No. 953.


49. O'Dwyer, W., op. cit., p. 177.
plan designed by the Pan-Islamists at Kabul, which consisted of an armed invasion of India in the near future from the north-western side. The new plan encouraged Pan-Islamic leaders in India to run to Kabul under the belief that conditions would be more conducive for them in Kabul.

One of the active Pan-Islamists of India, named Obeidulla, of the School of Islamic Theology at Deoband (Saharanpur, U.P.), left for Kabul in August 1915, after sending a message of his departure to Afghanistan for Maulana Azad. Obeidulla was followed by Maulana Mahmud Hassan who left India for Mecca with Muhammad Mian Ansari. Like the party of fifteen students Obeidulla first visited the colony of the Wahabis on the Frontier and having made the necessary contacts with them left for Kabul. At Kabul, he met the Turkish-German mission, the anti-British section at Kabul Court and Mahendra Pratap and Party. Here he was joined by

50. GOI-Home-Pol-A-June 1916-Proc. Nos. 517-525: The message was to the effect that Obeidulla after reaching Kabul would endeavour to persuade the Amir to send for Abul Kalam. Meanwhile Abul Kalam was to approach Hakim Azam Khan (of Delhi), with a view to persuade the latter for writing to the Amir's news-writer in Rawalpindi (Nazar Mohammad Khan) to recommend Obeidulla to the Amir and procure for him a good reception.

51. Maulana Mahmud Hassan was a famous Muhammadan religious leader with strong inclination for Pan-Islamic ideals. He had been head Maulvi at Deoband.

52. Muhammad Mian Ansari also held an important post like Obeidulla in the Deoband School of Theology.

Ansari, who had come there with Chalibname, an anti-British firman issued by Chalib Pasha, then Turkish Military Governor of Hedjaz, for propagation among the Muhammadan brotherhood at Kabul and India.

Under the directions of Obeidulla, the Pan-Islamists at Kabul devised a magnificent scheme, popularly known as 'Silk Letter Conspiracy' to subvert the British rule in India. According to this scheme an attack on the North-West Frontier by an 'Army of God' was to be synchronized with a Muhammadan rebellion in India. To achieve their objective they smuggled into India thousands of copies of anti-British literature printed in Germany and Turkey, which made fervid appeals to the religious sentiments of the Muhammadans living in India.

The scheme aimed at uniting all the forces of Islam against British rule in India and link them with the Turko-German activities against the British hold on India. It also aimed at getting in contact with the Hindu-Sikh revolutionaries living in India and abroad. The scheme was executed with some success as is evident from the fact that when the British discovered


55. Ibid, p. 178; A plan was made for forming an 'Army of God' with Medina as headquarters. The army was to have 3 Patrons, 12 Field Marshals and many Colonels and Lt. Colonels. Subordinate Commands were to be stationed at Constantinople, Tehran, and Kabul. Sherif of Mecca who revolted against 'Caliph' was named one of the Field Marshals.


the 'Silk Letter Conspiracy' they noticed its links with Delhi, Lahore and Kabul on the one hand and the Indian revolutionaries in Europe and America on the other. It also disclosed the contacts of Indian Pan-Islamists with their counterparts in Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Turkey.

The conspiracy was pushed ahead with "all the traditional oriental methods — spies and emissaries going to and fro, letters in elaborate ciphers and cryptic scripts", but before it could harm the British the "Silk Letters", which contained the detailed description of the progress so far made in pursuance of a well thought out plan and thus were the key to the whole thing, accidently fell into the hands of the Punjab Government. That was in August 1916.

The plan failed as much because of its impractical nature as to the absence of an 'Army of God'. Moreover, the revolt of the sheriff of Mecca who had been named one of the Field Marshals of the 'Army of God' divided the Muslim world into two hostile groups. On discovering the conspiracy of the Pan-Islamists, O'Dwyer tightened the security measures in the Punjab and Keppel did the same in the North-Western Frontier, thereby killing any hope of the Plan succeeding in its aim.

The Pan-Islamists, however, did not give up. They continued their efforts of inciting occasional turmoils on the

53. GOI-Hone-Pol-E-February 1920-Pro. No. 373.
North-Western Frontier of India where they had been quite active since the very beginning of the war, and thus remained a constant dread to Britishers in India in general and Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab in particular.

The Pan-Islamists could make their stronghold on the North-Western Frontier of India because of the conducive nature of its terrain and of the people residing there. The designs of the Pan-Islamists to foment troubles against the British in India readily appealed to them. Their wagging hopes suddenly revived when Turkey joined the war and the Khalifa proclaimed Jihad against the British. The warlike tribal population of the Frontier felt extremely excited when the news arrived that troops from India were to leave for abroad in large numbers. The tribal people started believing that troops on the Frontier would be withdrawn, enabling them to have a free hand on the surrounding area. The temptation to loot and plunder combined with the desire to avenge the humiliation inflicted on Islam had made them extremely restive. They soon began to move about in war arrays and boldly intruded in to the British India.

Khostwals were the first tribal people who made this bold venture.

The Khostwals from the tribal area and the southern province of Afghanistan made two serious attempts to cross the Indian border and enter the Tochi area; the first in

61. MacMunn, G., Turmoil and Tragedy in India, p. 139.
October-November 1914 and the second in January 1915. On both occasions, they were driven back by the Indian army posted there but, even as they failed, they set a pattern for other tribal peoples.

The Mohmands, a frontier tribe inhabiting north of Peshawar, who had adopted uneasy postures early in December 1914 moved into the British administered part of their tribal area in April 1915. By the summer of that year Pan-Islamist agents had infiltrated in the numerous valleys in the north-western border and stirred the tribals in the name of Jihad against the British. The immediate result was that the entire Swat Valley was astir in July 1915, and would have completely passed under the Wahabis but for large scale military operations undertaken by the Indian army against them. The Chagarais rose in the Black Mountain early in 1916 and were crushed only after a vigorous attack on them by the Indian Army.

There was calm for the major part of 1916 but towards the end of the year Mohmands recommenced their raids and their

63. Ha丘hman, C., Turmoil and Tragedy in India, p. 139; Leigh, M.S., op. cit., p. 240.

64. Leigh, M.S., op. cit., p. 249.

65. Ha丘hman, C., op. cit., p. 139.
example was followed by Mahsuds, who were up in revolt in southern Waziristan by the beginning of 1917. The situation then became so dangerous indeed that the Britishers informed the Amir of Kabul that as the frequent raids of tribal people were creating bad effects especially in the Punjab, they would not be bound by his advice to handle the tribal affair with that alone and without using force against those who took shelter in Afghan territory beyond the British frontier. In serving this threat to the Amir, Government of India intended to sweep upon the tribal people so that a good impression might be made on the minds of Punjabis and the Indians at large. The Indian army moved into the tribal belt with terrific speed and suppressed the Frontier risings ruthlessly by August 1917.

Baluchistan could not remain immune from the unrest of the North West Frontier Province. At the end of May 1915, the treasury of the Khan of Kella at Khosdar was looted as a punishment for his loyalty to the Britishers. The order was restored for some time but occasionally the unrest would erupt as it appeared in the summers of 1916 and 1917.

A section of the Waziri inhabiting the hills on the Tank and the south Bani borders. Their clans are the Alzai, Shahman Khal, and Ratozai. They have always been highly predatory, especially the Alzai, and are at enmity with all around them. After British occupation they continued their habits.

66. A section of the Waziri inhabiting the hills on the Tank and the south Bani borders. Their clans are the Alzai, Shahman Khal, and Ratozai. They have always been highly predatory, especially the Alzai, and are at enmity with all around them. After British occupation they continued their habits.

68. Leigh, M.B., op. cit., p. 22.
In February 1918, the Harri tribe of Baloches rose in revolt and thus brought the war right to the doors of the Punjab. It was not before May that they could be overpowered and that too after considerable loss suffered by the British.

The greed for handsome booty could have been an important motive behind these uprisings but they also reflected love for Islam and the deep-rooted hatred among the frontier tribes towards the Britishers. Instances were not lacking when Muslim soldiers hailing from the Punjab and the Frontier under the Pan-Islamic influence either revolted against the Britishers or deserted to the other side on the war fronts.

The colony of the "Hindustani Fanatics" as the Wahabis were then referred to was an important link between the Pan-Islamists in India and abroad. The members of the colony played a great role during the war to further temporal cause of the Khalifa. They had a well-knit secret organization of their own which operated through out the northern India, and they had a large following in Calcutta as well as eastern Bengal.

69. A race or tribe occupying part of Baluchistan. The Harri are a brave race and had long been distinguished as daring depredators.

70. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-May 1918-Proc. No. 21, p.13.

71. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-August 1918-Proc. No. 29, p.16.


The organization of the Wahabia was much more widespread than known to the British intelligence. Extraordinary precautions were taken by its active members to keep their proceedings and whereabouts concealed from the government and the non-members. Extraordinary precautions were taken by its active members to keep their proceedings and whereabouts concealed from the government and the non-members. The colony proved very useful to the Pan-Islamists as hiding place or a rendezvous centre. The Wahabia successfully collected money from the plains of India, and from far off places like Calcutta, Raj Shehi, Murshidabad and Poona and spent it in the service of Pan-Islam in various ways. The Pan-Islamic literature was smuggled into India through this colony and in this its wonderful secret service played a prominent role. Their influence perhaps contributed in tickling the imagination of the Royal Princes of Kabul, living in exile in India, to make a bid for returning home and participating in the Muslim pan invasion on India. Their design was, however, foiled at Attock Bridge on the night of 20 April 1915. They were arrested there on their way to Kabul and not only sent back but also put behind the bars.

It is to be noted that the war had brought about a change in the concept of Pan-Islamism itself. Under the stress of the war its complexion got transformed into active Pan-Turanism after 1916. Before and during the war the Young Turks had sought

74. Home-Pol-B-June 1917-Proc. No. 44.
76. They were Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan, sons of the late Sardar Ayub Khan.
to galvanise the Pan-Islamic ideal serve their end. They sought to use it for getting the support of all good Muslims within and without their Empire. But to their dismay, the defection of the Albanian Muslims and the revolts in Yemen soon made it apparent that the idea of a common religion could not prevail against political and racial antipathy. It was extremely distressing for the Young Turks to see the Shah of Persia and Amir of Kabul hug their neutrality and refuse to come out openly in favour of Turkey and resist both persuasion and pressure from the Turks and the public opinion within their own kingdoms. The Pan-Islamists received the greatest shock when Sharif of Mecca engineered a Revolt against Turkey in June 1916.

Before the end of 1916 the Turks were fully convinced of the inability of Pan-Islamism to knit together the different racial elements in the Muslim world under the hegemony of Turkey. They therefore discarded the cloak of Pan-Islamism in the beginning of 1917 and started appealing to the national ideal of Pan-Turanism.

What is of interest to us is that the transformation did not affect the Indian Muslims. Instead of giving up

78. GOI-Home-Pol-B-August 1917-Proc. No. 105, p.3.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
all support to the Turks, after the latter renounced Pan-Islamism in favour of Turanism, the Indian Pan-Islamists continued to extend their political support to the Turks. The fact is that Indian Pan-Islamists remained bound, heart and soul, temporally and spiritually, with Turkey and her cause.

The *Keni Turan* or Neo-Turanian movement while taking a prominent interest in the Pan-Islamic movement since 1910 was certainly known to the Indian Pan-Islamists. Mushir-ul-Hurain Kiliwai, the founder of the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Ka'abah, 82 and Safar Ali Khan, Mazhar-ul-Haq and the Red Crescent Missions had all visited Constantinople between 1910 and 1914 and familiarised themselves with the Turanian movement. The Red Crescent Missions of the Indians had, as a matter of fact, helped the development of *Keni Turan* into *Pan-Turanian Ideal*.

In all probability the Indian Pan-Islamists themselves got converted to Pan-Turanian aims, possibly because they were convinced that there was Turanian blood in their veins and their destiny lay in the survival and extension of Turkish Empire.

That the Indian Pan-Islamists had linked themselves with the political interests of Turkey is also borne out by evidence contained in the papers, found on the person of


32. The organization was sponsored by the Indian Pan-Islamists in 1912 with an outward mission to help Haj pilgrims from and to India. But its real intention was to popularise the creed of Pan-Islam. Its headquarters was at Bombay.

33. He presided over the Muslim League Session at Bombay in 1915.
Prince Shakib Chalib Day, Commandant of Turkish Force in Medina, killed in a battle. It was a sort of circular issued by Central Committee of a Society called Turk Durusti, a well-known organization with branches in the towns and villages of Constantinople, Asia Minor and all other provinces of Turkey. The mission of that society was to spread the Turanian movement and to cause all Muslims to submit to its doctrine which were directly against Islam. The circular ran thus:

"The fictitious chaos known as Pan-Islamism, which has long been an obstacle in the way of our progress and realisation of our Turanian ideal, is now declining and disappearing and is no longer a danger to the objects we are endeavouring to attain. The state of Indian Moslems testifies to that fact, for Sunnis are the strongest sect among them and we have succeeded in engaging some of them in our service under the veil of the servants of the Holy Temple (Khuddam-i-Ka'aba). These people are really devoted to our cause and do all they can to defend us, and are quite able to convince their Indian brethren that white is black and black white. So let members of our society do away with any reserve or secrecy in promoting our mission and let them fear no longer the resistance of the Moslem World."84

84. GOI-Home-Pol-B-August 1917-Pro. No. 195, p.3.
In a letter to an Egyptian paper, the organisers of the Khuddan-i-Ka'aba from its headquarters at Bombay stated that the object of the society in India was:

"to teach Muslims their duty to their religion and to their one and only Empire, i.e., to Turkey."

In 1917 Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the great Indian Pan-Islamists, even after passing a good deal of time in internment, when interviewed in the jail in confidence by the Deputy Commissioner of Shhindwara, expressed similar views. When asked about the Home Rule Movement, then at its height in India, Muhammad Ali quipped at once:

"Home Rulers are good Hindus. They worship the map of India. But for us India is only a clod of earth."

He considered that the spiritual power of Islam was essentially bound up with the temporal power of Turkey.

It is thus clear that the Indian Pan-Islamists had aligned themselves with the political future of Turkey rather than of India. Their coming closer to and co-operating with the other Indian revolutionaries and the extremists was not out of patriotic sentiments but purely a tactical move to serve Turks more in the war. However, in doing so, they laboured hard to work up the Muhammadan hatred in India against the Britishers and contributed a great deal to the foment in the north-western part of India, including the Punjab.

85. GOI-Home-Pol-B-August 1917-Pro. No. 195, p.4.
86. GOI-Home-Pol-B-1917-Pro. Nos. 43-45, p.6.