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Pan-Islamism, Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba and Muslim Identity Construction in Colonial North India

The history of India within relatively recent times offers a very striking example of the influence which events in Arabia can exercise upon the Mohammedan population of India. (Valentine Chirol, "Pan-Islamism," *National Review*, December 1906).

ABSTRACT

Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba (Society of the Servants of Kaaba) was established in May, 1913, with the objective of protecting holy places of Islam located, then, in the domain (modern day Saudi Arabia) of Turkish Empire. The establishment of such an organization was necessitated by the rising tide of pan-Islamism. The rising trend of pan-Islamism in India was due, mainly, to the particular conditions of Muslim elite (ashrafiah) who felt disempowered and rendered irrelevant under the colonial administrative structure. This loss of temporal Muslim authority in India made Muslim elite take refuge in asserting their identity as deeming themselves part of larger community of Muslim world (ummah). Moreover, the reformed and willed individual self who believed in struggle within inner-self and outer mundane life, started asserting his/her identity as a Muslim who was poised to do his/her best for the community of Muslims. The contemporary declining conditions of Muslims and their subjugation by colonial powers encouraged their solidarity on the basis of ummah as increasingly relevant to take refuge in. The establishment of Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba was

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but one such expression of assertion of Muslim identity by bringing sanctity of the sacred places of Islam in political arena. It envisioned massive projects for the welfare of Muslim community of India including making its own ship making company to facilitate pilgrims of Hajj (sing. Haji, plu. hujjai) besides its main function i.e. the protection of holy places of Islam in Makkah and Madina.

Keywords: Anjuman, Religious Identity, Pan-Islamism, Ummah, Hajj, Reformism, Colonialism

Introduction: Historical Background of Pan-Islamism in India

The Muslims of India have historically been sentimental regarding the conditions of their co-religionists elsewhere. The concept of *Ummah* (the world community of believers) has been at the core of this attachment (Armstrong, 2000: 5-6). The intensity of loyalty and enthusiasm, however, knew no limits when it came to the honour of holy places of Islam in Arabia under the Turkish caliphate. The Khalifa (Caliph) was regarded as a symbol of unity among Muslims and protector of the holy places (Smith, 1989: 233-249). The first decade of the twentieth century, however, witnessed an unprecedented surge in the pan-Islamic enthusiasm of Indian Muslims towards the Ottomans. A prominent part, in this regard, was played by Indian Muslims residing abroad especially in Great Britain who actively combated anti-Turk and anti-Islamic propaganda of the western powers. In 1886, a pan-Islamic society, named as Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay (founded in 1876) was established in London with branches in India and abroad. This society, rendered almost defunct, was renamed in 1903 as The Pan-Islamic Society of London by an Indian barrister Abdullah al-Mamun Suhrawardy. Later, its name was changed to Islamic Society and Ameer Ali succeeded Suhrawardy as its president (Qureshi, 2009: 32).¹ Mushir Hussain Kidwai became its general secretary and Hafiz Mahmud Shirani, the famous scholar of Urdu literature, was elected as its joint secretary.

The society offered valuable services on questions concerning Turkey and Islam by “establishing direct contact with Turkey” and “through its journal *Pan-Islam*” (Qureshi, 2009: 32). When the British issued ultimatum to Turkey in summer 1906 following the Turco-Egyptian border dispute, India witnessed renewed excitement and enthusiasm in sympathy toward Turkey. It was pan-Islamic movement in India, among other factors, that “induced the moderates like Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the Agha Khan to agree to the formation of All India Muslim League in December 1906, in order that they might bring their co-religionists to a united political platform and thus channel their anti-British feelings” (Qureshi, 2009: 33). It was due to influence of pan-Islamism that during the founding meeting of All India Muslim League in Dhaka, the Turkish

coats and fezes dominated the proceedings of this session. Turkish coats and fezes symbolized both pan-Islamism and Muslim identity. While writing in December 1906, Valentine Chirol assessed that “the question of paramount importance to us, however, is whether and to what extent Pan-Islamism has reached the great masses of our Indian Mohammedans” who numbered roughly “one-fifth of the whole population of our Indian Empire and of whom the vast majority are Sunnis, like the Turks” (Chirol, 1906: 459).

The Tripolitan and Balkan wars of 1911-12 stirred literate Indian Muslims as they read in Urdu press that Christian powers of Europe had plotted against the Ottoman Turkey which was last Muslim empire and symbol of their lost glory. Another part of this conspiracy theory was the much repeated assertion that incognito European agents were roaming about into the Arab parts of the Ottoman Empire urging them to get autonomy. A rumor also became widespread that Italy had threatened to bomb Kaaba in Makkah and tomb of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in Madina to pressurize Turkey into suing for peace. These conspiracies made sense because by the end of World War I, Europe had colonized eighty-five per cent of the earth (Said, 1991: 123). The Ali brothers, during Tripolitan and Balkan conflicts, worked day and night to collect subscriptions “for Turkish relief and for a Red Crescent medical mission to go to Turkey to aid the wounded” (Minault, 1999: 23). Since the Ali brothers were very popular among the Aligarh students, they contributed very generously to the Turkish Relief Fund and some of the outstanding students went to Turkey with Red Crescent Mission in late 1912.

The pan-Islamic enthusiasm of the Indian Muslims did not dwindle although there appeared many *fatwas* reminding them their duties and obligations to the British government in India. This is evident from the manner in which they tried to surpass each other in donating funds for the construction of Hejaz Railway: it was a single track railway built to Madina for pilgrims to Makkah and Madina. It was later used for military purposes also and was attacked by Arab/British guerilla attacks. Muhammad Inshaullah, the editor of newspaper *Vatan* (Amritsar) claimed to have initiated this project of railway. He and Pir Jamaat Ali Shah of Alipur collected funds for this project. Chirol wrote that “in India, too, as in other parts of the Mohammedan world, the Hejaz Railway has been used by Abdul Hamid as a splendid advertisement for the virtues of Khilafat, and a part of its cost has been defrayed by Indian contributions” (Chirol, 1906: 462). Other indicators were the displeasure of Indian Muslims over the Iran’s control by Britain and Russia following the Anglo-Russian Treaty (1907), the French aggression in Morocco and the misfortunes of Turkey in Balkans. The Sunnis and Shias both condemned the Russian occupation of northern Iran where Russian bombardment of the shrine of Imam Ali Reza was reported (Saeed, 2004: 1-19). A Persian Red Crescent Society was formed in Calcutta and Agha Khan alone subscribed five

thousand rupees (Qureshi, 2009: 36). The British government was requested to persuade Russia to stop oppression and remove troops from Iran (Qureshi, 2009: 36).

Establishment of the Anjuman

The *Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba* or Society of Servants of the *Kaaba* was established in May 1913 with the ostensible objective of protecting Makkah and other holy places of Islam from any non-Muslim aggression. The sacred places—Makkah and Medina—of Islam occupied a very special significance and, hence, veneration in the hearts of Muslims in India. This organization, however, owes its establishment to the general feeling of uneasiness and discontent among Muslims of India that was generated by the Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars. The scheme of Anjuman was initiated in Lucknow by Mushir Hussain Kidwai and Maulana Abdul Bari in January 1913 (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 1). Maulana Abdul Bari was “by temperament an activist” and had been an “avid supporter of Turkey and Turkish sultan as caliph of Islam” (Minault, 1999: 33-34). He was a leading Farangi Mahalli of his times and had a far and wide spiritual and intellectual influence (Robinson, 2017: 1-30). An outline of the society was sent to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (editor of the *Al-Hilal* Calcutta) for publication in his newspaper but the later took no notice of it for a certain time period. This was due to the fact that Abul Kalam Azad was “occupied at that time in working out a scheme for a secret society” which could not fully develop (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 1). The earliest public announcement, regarding the establishment of Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba, was made on the March 31, 1913 by Shaukat Ali at Amritsar. It was suggested in a speech that all Muslims should support a society to be called the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba, with the object of protecting the holy places of Islam from non-Muslim aggression (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 1). Nonetheless, some sections of Muslims in India felt that Turkey was no longer able to defend holy places of Islam because it had become weaker in global contemporary politics.

Mushir Hussain Kidwai wrote a letter on April 9, 1913, to the editor of *Al-Hilal* and asked him to publish the scheme of the Anjuman which was done in the issue of April 23. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali visited Lucknow and met Maulana Abdul Bari to amend the initial outlines of Mushir Hussain Kidwai and give final shape to rules of the Anjuman. The issues of subscription and giving a part or whole of remittances collected by the Anjuman to the Sultan of Turkey (referred to as *Khadim-ul-Harmain*) were discussed in this meeting. The members of this meeting took an oath on Quran to follow the rules. A committee was formed consisting of Maulana Abdul Bari as *Khadim-ul-Khuddam* (Servant of the Servants), Shaikh Mushir Hussain Kidwai and Shaukat Ali as Secretaries. Hakim Abdul Wali (Lucknow), Dr. Nazir-ud-Din

Hasan (Barrister of Lucknow) and Mohammad Ali (editor of *the Comrade*) were appointed as *Muatmidin Khadim-ul-Khuddam* (Assistants of the Servant of the Servants). The provisional rules framed as a result of the discussion of this meeting were then sent to various newspapers to be published to attract Muslim public acclaim and support.

Rules and Regulations of the Anjuman

The rules of the Anjuman stated that its chief aim was to maintain the honour and safety of Kaaba and to defend the holy places from non-Muslim aggression (Aziz, 1992: 84). In order to realize this objective, the society was to form an association of the lovers of Kaaba, whose members would at all times be ready to sacrifice their lives and property for the protection of holy places of Islam. Further the society was to undertake measures to spread Islam, to establish Muhammadan schools and orphanages, to improve the existing relations between Muslims and the *Bait-Ullah Sharif*, and to render every facility for the sacred pilgrimage (Hajj) (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: Appendix A, Burra, 2017: 319). An annual subscription was fixed at one rupee for rich and poor alike, so that equality as an integral principle of Islam may be held supreme. The money thus obtained was to be divided into three equal shares, one third share being allotted to that independent Muslim state which may have the duty of looking after the Kaaba, one share was to be given to different orphanages, schools, and missionary societies, and the third share was to be reserved so that it may be advantageously spent in time of need for defending the Kaaba. It was further explained that this last portion may be devoted in part to any commercial undertaking which was for the good of the Kaaba and other holy shrines. For example, a vessel for pilgrims may be purchased to transport pilgrims easily, cheaply and comfortably to the holy places of Islam.

Membership of the Anjuman was open to every Muslim male or female. It was essential requirement for the members, on joining, to take the following oath:

I, son of _____ being in the presence of God, after repentance for my past sins, with *Kalima* on my lips and facing the *Kaaba* (pointing towards *Kaaba* with his finger), solemnly affirm that I shall try with my whole heart to maintain the respect of the Kaaba and shall sacrifice my life and property against non-Muslim aggressors. I shall fully carry out the orders of the *Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba* given to me (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: Appendix A).

After taking this oath and having become member of the Anjuman a title of *Khadim-i-Kaaba* used to be conferred on member and this occasion of making a member used to be “celebrated with great solemnity” (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: Appendix A). This oath had to be repeated in the presence of

two Muslims as witnesses and other requirement of oath was to place hands on Quran so that the *Khadim* could not trace back his volunteerism of sacrificing his/her life and property for the protection of holy places.

There was another oath too. It was a detailed affirmation including some repetitions of the previous oath and adding another category of votaries for the protection of holy places of Islam and to up-keep the honour of Kaaba. There seems to have been some idea of utilizing the services of some of the more earnest members for this task and for special work—though the nature of this work was deliberately not specified due to apprehensions of colonial government—for there was a special provision in the rules in which it was laid down that those associates who were ready to sacrifice their lives, property and honour at the direction of God and in the interests of the Kaaba, and would like to become volunteers (votaries), would have to take the following solemn oath (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 2).

I, son of _____ with my face turned towards the Kaaba, being thereby in the presence of God, hereby solemnly affirm that I have given up my life for the service of God. I now must serve the *Kaaba* only and maintain the respect of the *Kaaba*. The orders of the *Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba* will be my most responsible duty which I shall be always ready to carry out with my heart and soul, and without any objection or delay. I will, without objection or delay, start for any destination to which I may be ordered to go; no difficulty will keep me back. With this solemn promise I enter into the society of *Shaidaian-i-Kaaba* (Votaries of the Kaaba) swearing for a second time by my God and my Prophet, the Quran, my religion, and my honour to remain faithful to the above promise (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: Appendix A).

***Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* and the Colonial State**

The British government was alerted by the nature of propositions and designs laid down in the oaths. The Criminal Intelligence office was assigned the duty of investigation and it prepared a report about the Anjuman which was submitted to the government in March, 1914. These oaths, with an understanding on the part of the Anjuman to be responsible for meeting the requirements of a votary and his family according to his social position, sufficiently indicated that the promoters of the society contemplated action rather than mere proselytization, preaching or educational work. According to the report of the intelligence department the ideas of the founders were reported to have been “most extravagant” and it was anticipated that “society...will develop into a factor of great importance in Indian political movement” (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 1-2). It was said that they hoped to collect a crore of rupees in a year, and to be in a position to build ships, and to maintain an army and navy for the protection of Makkah and other sacred places. It was

reported that the “original intention was to send 5000 men abroad for military training” (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 1-2). Its rise was meteoric as “in the 18 months of its existence, the all India membership grew from 23 in May 1914 to 3113 in September 1914, and to 17,175 a year later” (Aziz, 1992: 86). This proposal, however, was vetoed and the scheme of the society was modified later on. Some viewed it as a politicization of Hajj (Talbot and Kamran, 2016: 132). However, the objects of the special order of votaries were never clearly defined. Such ambiguities were cause of concern for the government and administration that kept itself informed about the activities of the Anjuman through its intelligence apparatus. Moreover, due to the pre-WWI peculiar circumstances in Europe and colonies, the British government could not afford a pan-Islamic storm in India.

Pan Islamism, Muslim Press and the Anjuman

The Muslim press, generally, was very supportive of the Anjuman because of its stated objectives of protecting sacred places of Makkah and Medina. The period of late nineteenth and early twentieth century was very prominent regarding the massive emergence of press and its far and wide outreach. Naeem Qureshi is of the opinion that “During the post-Kanpur period the unrest seemed to subside a little... but the pan-Islamic sentiment endured, thanks to the efforts of popular journals like the *Comrade*, *al-Hilal* and the *Zamindar*” (Qureshi, 2009: 41; Daechsel, 2013: 218-273). One article wrote; “we who are living today have witnessed perhaps one of the most decisive wars of any period in history” (*Comrade*, May 31, 1913). Mr. Asquith announced even before the war was over that “things can never be again as they were” and that “the victors are not to be robbed of fruits which cost them so dear” and that “the map of Eastern Europe has to be recast” (*Comrade*, May 31, 1913). The newspaper commented that “but if to Europe it means something strange and startling to have to recast the map of Eastern Europe, can it mean nothing to the Moslems of the world to entirely recast the map of the Moslem world?” (*Comrade*, May 31, 1913). Since the newspaper *Comrade* was published by Muhammad Ali, it was an avid supporter of Anjuman-i- Khuddam-i-Kaaba.

The *Comrade* while commenting on the establishment of Anjuman stated that “Apart from the work of safeguarding the sanctity of the Kaaba and other sacred places of Islam from violation, and maintaining an independent and effective Moslem sovereignty over these lands,” the Society of the Servants of the Kaaba was “destined to do much useful work in connection with the Moslem propaganda, the establishment of Moslem primary schools where Government assistance is not easily available, and saving the lives and faith of Moslem orphans, and it would be most appropriate for such a society to

remove the existing difficulties of pilgrimage to the Hedjaz and other sacred places of Islam” (*Comrade*, June 7, 1913).

Another article by the *Comrades* commented in these words:

When we in India received a London wire dated November 1st, saying that the Bulgarians are now only twenty-five miles from the Capital, and that they declare their resolve to make peace in Constantinople and nowhere else. We know what Indian Musalmans felt and what terrible apprehensions penetrated their bosoms and brains. It was then that for the first time they began to think uneasily of the safety of their holy places. But the war was still going on, and all hope was not lost.... Besides, it was apprehended that at such a time any reminders to the Musalmans of the situation of their holy places may possibly excite them to acts of desperation. It is certainly not by acts of desperation that the Kaaba of Islam could be safeguarded, and it was resolved that when the war was over, and there was no fear of any violence of thought and feeling, the Musalmans should be invited to deliberate over this question and arrive at a carefully determined conclusion concerning ways and means (*Comrade*, June 7, 1913).

The newspaper contended that the holy places of Islam were in real danger and that Muslims should collectively plan to safeguard them being united as *Ummah*. The actualization of that plan was the establishment of *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba*, a befitting response by the Indian Muslim leaders.

While explaining the miserable situation of Muslim states and their colonization by the colonizing powers, the newspaper presented a grim picture by stating that:

The Musalmans of the world who have seen enacted before their very eyes the tragedy of Turkey in Europe, who have watched the strangling of Persia, who have witnessed the independent kingdoms of Africa being one by one practically lost to Islam, cannot now find the comfort in their past achievements or present temporal power hence they are minded to think of the future of their sacred places. Islam is no longer a conquering power. It does not rule any more over a large part of Europe. In Africa, too, the days of its domination are over (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 4).

The newspaper was reminding Muslims of their plight and miserable condition at the hands of colonial powers. The Muslims lost their countries one by one and were rendered totally powerless. On the other hand, Europeans developed in the fields of science and technology and warfare. They developed sophisticated weapons and tested them not only by fighting against each other in Europe but also abroad at various fronts. Muslim press in India was trumpeting about this and sensitizing Muslims about their real contemporary and future dangers as well as challenges.

Activities of the Anjuman and Formation of Muslim Identity

After launching the Anjuman, the promoters of it made earnest efforts to make the movement popular “by touring and holding meetings and by advertising the society in the press” (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 4). Maulvi Abdul Bari accompanied by Shaukat Ali left Lucknow on 2 June and visited places which were Muslim centers of importance including Bareilly, Badaun, Delhi, Ajmer, and Deoband: Deoband being the home of Muslim orthodoxy (Talbot, 1999: 28-29). The visit to Ajmer was timed as to coincide with the celebration of *Urs*, when a large number of people from all over India gathered at Ajmer: Ajmer is a very important center of *Chishtiah silsilah* due to *dargah* of Khawaja Moeenuddin Chishti Ajmeri. At the time of *Urs*, people from all over India visit this place.

Almost at the same time Mushir Hussain Kidwai visited Kashmir in order to organize a branch of the Anjuman there. However, the movement could not succeed at first to the extent anticipated. The Anjuman was regarded with suspicion; particularly the oath of membership and that of becoming votary caused distrust among the people. The distrust and anxiety was so much so that a number of newspapers published warnings, advising their readers to have nothing to do with this organization. The society was described as “an association for the purpose of preaching and waging religious war (Jehad),” and the honesty of its organizers and the promoters was questioned by these newspapers and public at large (Rahman, 2019: 1-22). A *Shiah* Muslim paper warned the followers of its particular sect “not to be taken in by the political tricks of the Sunnis, and remarked that the Anjuman was bound in course of time to disturb the public tranquility” (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 4). A circular letter addressed to leading Muslims in Bombay, containing an appeal to join the society, and enclosing forms of membership was rejected by many of the recipients on the score that the rules of the Anjuman were most objectionable and likely to bring ruin and consternation on Indian Muslims.

On the July 9, a letter from Shaukat Ali was published in the *Zamindar* notifying changes in the rules. The most important of these was the abolition of the oath of membership, and the substitution of a vow or promise in which the words “all possible help” replaced the words “life and property” (*Zamindar*, July 9, 1913). This amendment in the rules of the Anjuman was due to the consternation that it caused in the Muslim community. People started questioning the intentions of its organizers and government was also likely to take action. The British were observing the situation very minutely and government could not afford any disturbance in the peace and tranquility of their empire, especially the ongoing war effort did not permit.

The Cawnpore mosque incident and subsequent occurrences of agitation diverted public attention from the Kaaba and its hypothetical dangers to

actualities nearer home. Resultantly, the activities of Anjuman ceased and little was heard about it until October, although few preachers were reported to be wandering about and lecturing on its behalf and endeavouring to rally Muslims in the defence of their sacred places. On October 26-27, 1913 public meetings were held at Delhi with a view to explaining the objectives of the society and pushing on the movement and from this time the society appears to have made steady head-way. It was then explained that owing to the unfortunate occurrences at Cawnpore the society had kept itself in the background lest its motive should be misunderstood but since a settlement had been arrived at, the promoters were desirous of advancing this religious movement.

A statement regarding the working and income of the society up to October 31, 1913 was published soon after these meetings by Shaukat Ali. According to this statement the society began with twenty-three members, and by October 31 had enrolled 3431 persons. As regards practical work two *Shaidais* (votaries) had been employed at first, namely Syed Ayub Ahmad of Shahjahanpur, and Syed Manzur Ali of Delhi, and at the time of publication of this statement their work had been supplemented by the services of six more votaries. The names of these men were given as Hasan Ahmad Ranbari, Maulvi Habib-ul-Hasan, Maulvi Irshad Ali Khan, Maulvi Mehdi Hasan, Taj Mahomed, Mir Mahomed and Maulvi Ata Mahomed. They are said to be employed chiefly as clerks and accountants, though occasionally as preachers.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the famous Muslim poet-philosopher, responded to pan-Islamism in political, cultural and religious spheres. He was influenced having stayed in Europe (1905-08) and studied about the problems plaguing Islam, by contacting Muslims of other countries and influence of the Anjuman-i-Islamia Punjab and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Through poetry, which was his main vehicle for expressing religio-political philosophy, he appears to have been moved by the events of 1908 in Turkey. Most of what he wrote whether poetry or prose, letters or speeches were full of pan-Islamic fervor. Iqbal wrote exciting poems on Turkey and a recited a famous poem of these "*Jawab-i-Shikwa*" at a congregation in Badshahi Mosque Lahore in November 1912 for the purpose of collecting funds for the Turks wounded in the war (Qureshi, 2009: 37). He wrote a poem "Begging the Khilafat" on the issue of caliphate with reference to the December 1919 Amritsar session of the Khilafat Committee that decided that a delegation should be sent to Britain and the British government should be requested not to annul the institution of caliphate (Iqbal, 2004: 360). Iqbal severely criticized Maulana Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, firebrand leaders of Khilafat Movement, and questioned them that they were actually begging for the caliphate which Islam did not allow (Qasmi and Robb, 2017: 18). He wrote that government taken without force of jihad is not worth taking by the Muslims (Iqbal, 2004: 360).

Within India branches of the Anjuman were established at Hyderabad (Deccan), Lucknow, Sukkur, Khost (Baluchistan), Ajmer, Jamnagar, Amritsar, Naini Tal, Saharanpur, Benares, Sandela, Dhuan village, Kathiawar, Shabaznagar, Akbarpur, Makhdumpura, Gaya district, Narain Pinth (Deccan), and Bhainsa, Bareilly district. The Anjuman was not established to be confined to the geographical limits of India only because its very nature of pan-Islamism, had potential for spreading to other Muslim countries. There was growing interest in some of countries regarding the activities of Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba.

Branches in other Countries and Pan-Islamic Connections of Personalities

The formation of the Anjuman in India attracted enormous attention out of country, and enquiries regarding its rules and objectives were received by Shaukat Ali from Egypt, Morocco, Turkey and other countries. The requisite information was given back on the understanding that membership of the Anjuman in India was confined to natives of India, whether living in India or abroad, and consequently if members of other nationalities were desirous of belonging to such a Muslim institution they must establish them in their own countries. This precaution was presumably due to a desire to evade any responsibility that may be incurred by forming in India an association of pan-Islamism with branches in other countries having Muslim population. In spite of this declared intention, however, of taking no part in establishing branches in other countries Shaukat Ali had the rules of Anjuman translated into Arabic (including a revised version of the oath of membership suitable to other countries) and printed in that language with the express intention of sending copies to Egypt and other countries where this language was spoken and understood. Moreover, the society proposed to publish a paper in Arabic, and it was reported that the services of a person named Hafiz Wahabi had been engaged to edit the paper. Hafiz Wahabi had been chief editor of *Al Haq Yallu*, a newspaper published in Constantinople (OIOC, L/P&S/20/242: 6). He came to India at the close of 1913, with the object of studying the conditions of Muslims in various parts of the world. His appointment as editor of the Arabic journal of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba was announced in January 1914 in the *Al Shaab*, a newspaper published in Cairo in a letter apparently addressed from Delhi.

Regarding active preaching in villages, a preacher who was touring in Lahore district is alleged to have openly stated that the infidels (Christians) were threatening to capture and demolish the holy places of Islam and that people should join the Anjuman. However, this objective of the Anjuman that enjoined preaching as incumbent was not vigorously pursued. However,

preaching was carried out though slowly. It may be noted that the Anjuman did not preach to men alone, but to women also. Under the rules, Muhammadans of either sex were eligible for membership and both in launching and pushing their scheme the promoters did not neglect to appeal to women. In Delhi, a number of meetings for women were organized and they were explained aims and objectives of the Anjuman along with other pan-Islamic issues confronting Muslim world.

Earlier, with original objectives, it roused considerable consternation and from some quarters even opposition; even, with modified objectives, opinion was largely divided and in some quarters opposition continued, notably a strand at Aligarh, but the movement daily grew and ranks of the Anjuman swelled to considerable extent. Mohamed Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali, who were the leading spirit of the Anjuman, had profound influence at Aligarh, in particular. Maulvi Abdul Bari had come into considerable prominence since the beginning of the Turkish war in virtue of a somewhat truculent attitude on Pan-Islamic questions. He had busied himself collecting subscriptions, in attending meetings and in entertaining other agitators, and generally had taken a leading part in stirring up excitement among the Muslims of Lucknow and its surroundings.

Mushir Hussain Kidwai was of quite another mould. He was a Kidwai Shaikh of Bara Banki district and belonged to a *taluqdari* family. His brother, Khan Bahadur Maqbul Hussain, was serving in Kashmir state, and he had many well-to-do relatives. He was respected to a certain extent, though considered by many as a crank. He was called to the Bar in England and visited Constantinople, where he was decorated by the Sultan of Turkey with the Osmanlia Order as a reward for his services in the cause of Islam. He also visited South Africa. He was much interested in the Pan-Islamic movement and frequently contributed articles to the press. He was regarded by the Muhammadan community as a well-intentioned but unpractical, and his political influence was correspondingly restricted.

Conclusion

The Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba was a response of the Indian Muslims who were going through times of unprecedented consternation at home and abroad. After the abortive armed struggle against the British in 1857 the last signs of Mughal glory had been faded away. The Muslims of India, henceforth, looked up to the Ottoman Khalifa of Islam as representing religious and temporal authority of Muslim community (Ummah). However, the institution of Caliphate was becoming redundant due to the colonial powers and emergence of nation states. The Indian Muslims continued to pay homage to Khalifa and they tried hard to persuade the British government to take side

with the Caliph. The Muslims felt that the Ottomans were no longer in a position to effectively defend holy places of Islam from non-Muslim aggression. The primary function of Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba was the protection and defense of holy places of Makkah and Madina. The Muslims who were divided within in India on many lines were not a monolith community. Spread of pan-Islamism and activities of the Anjuman contributed enormously in constructing Muslim identity throughout north India.

On the issue of Khilafat and Pan-Islamism, both modernists and traditionalist Ulema were on the same page (Aziz, 1963: 94-113). These years of working together provided opportunity for both strands not only to understand each other but to work together for Muslims of India. Aligarh tradition even went into aberration from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's ideas about Caliphate. Sir Syed maintained in one of his last political writings that the Sultan of Turkey could claim no spiritual authority over the Muslims of India. He reiterated that "it was not to him but to the Queen of England that their loyalty and obedience were due according to the religious law" (Morrison, 1898: 307). He acknowledged, however, that all Muslims of India could sympathize with the only remaining Muslim potentate but that this sympathy could not cancel the obligation of loyalty to the Queen. Naeem Qureshi summed up the contribution of pan-Islamism in Indian politics by contending that "pan-Islamism, even though it proved chimerical in the end, played a central role in mobilizing Indian Muslims for mass politics and in so doing contributed decisively to the development of Muslim nationalism in the long run" (Qureshi, 2009: xxv). "It was," he wrote, "this factor that culminated in the partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan" (Qureshi, 2009: xxv).

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