

Appendix A

Biographies

Note: The list is alphabetized by last name, including for the Egyptians. The letter 'ayn is treated as the vowel which follows the'. The initial al- in Arabic names is not used for alphabetization. Please note that more information on most of the Egyptians is available in Arthur Goldschmidt's most helpful Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2000). The British administrators are in the Dictionary of National Biography (various editions, Smith, Elder & Co./Oxford University Press).

'Abbas Hilmi ('Abbas II) (1874–1944)

“The last khedive of Egypt” was the son of Khedive Tawfik and reigned from 1892 to his deposition in 1914. Educated primarily at Theresianum in Vienna, he was barely eighteen upon his ascension to the throne of occupied Egypt. Resentful of Lord Cromer’s authority, he helped start the Watani Party but had tumultuous relations with the nationalists after the death of Mustapha Kamil. Although his relations with Cromer’s successor Gorst were amicable, he shared mutual antipathy with the next British Resident, Kitchener. He was in Constantinople when World War I began and was deposed in favor of his cousin Husayn Kamil when Great Britain declared Egypt a Protectorate. He plotted to regain his throne during the War and only formally relinquished his claim in 1931. He lived his last years in exile in Switzerland. His memoirs, which were housed at Durham University, have been translated and published by Amira Sonbol.

Mahmud Abul-Fath (1893–1958)

An accomplished journalist and founder of the Wafdist journal *al-Misri* from 1936 to 1954, Abul-Fath had written for *Wadi al-Nil*, *Al-Afkar*, *al-Siyyasa* and *al-Abram*. He wrote two books about the efforts of Sa'ad Zaghlul and the Wafd in 1919. Mahmud Abul-Fath was also the head of the first Egyptian journalists syndicate and a representative in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Critical of Nasser's authoritarianism, he was tried with his brother Ahmed, and the paper was closed by the government. They went into exile in Tunisia, where Mahmud was buried. See Mustafa Bayoumi, *Mahmud Abul-Fath: al-Sahafa wal-Watan* (Cairo: Wahdat-at-tatweer al-muassasi bi-wazarat al-istithmar, 2010).

Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905)

Of fellah origins and a graduate of the premier Islamic university of al-Azhar, 'Abduh would eventually become Mufti of Egypt. Exiled with the 'Urabists, he was pardoned and returned to Egypt in 1889 after seven years in Paris and Beirut. During this time, however, he came to the conclusion that Islamic societies were in need of reform and that "progress" did not necessarily mean Europeanization or Christianization. Thus, a de facto supporter of the Occupation, he rose through the government-religious ranks to become Mufti in 1899. His disciples took a number of paths in defining the role of religion in public and government life, sometimes in direct opposition to one another, an indication of the vagueness of some of 'Abduh's theories, according to his critics. Muhammad 'Abduh has inspired a number of academic studies, including Muhammad Rashid Rida, *Tarikh al-Ustadh al-imam al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh wa ma jara bi-misr fi 'asrih*, (Cairo: Matba'at al-Manar, 1930) and 'Atef al'Iraqi (ed.) *al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905): buhuth wa-dirasat 'an hayatihi wa afkarihi* (Cairo: Majlis al-'ala li-thiqafa, 1995). In English, see Malcolm Kerr's *Islamic Reform; The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966).

Fakhri 'Abd al-Nour (1881–1942)

A Copt born in Jirja and educated at Cairo's Jesuit School, 'Abd al-Nour joined the Umma party in 1907, helping to found its daily,

al-Jarida. One of the first Christians in the Wafd, ‘Abd al-Nour was very influential in recruiting other Copts and was imprisoned during the 1919 Revolution for being part of a secret revolutionary society. In 1924, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1924, a position he would hold until his death. His memoirs were edited by Yunan Labib Rizq: *Mudhakiraati Fakhri ‘Abd al-Nour: Thawrat 1919: dawr Sa’ad Zaghlul wa-al-Wafd fi al-haraka al-wataniyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1992).

M.P. Tirumala Acharya (1887–1951)

The son of a supervisor in the Public Works Department in Madras, Acharya was an editor of the nationalist Tamil weekly *India*, which was printed in Pondicherry until he went to London in 1908. He became an active member of India House, and at the time of the Dhingra affair was on an assignment to join the Moroccan rebels in order to learn guerilla warfare. He spent the Great War with the other Indian revolutionaries and was among the group sent to the Suez Canal. He was part of the group that went to Russia afterwards, hoping for Bolshevik support, and then lived in obscure exile in Vienna. He returned to independent India in 1948 for the last few years of his life. See Yadav, B.D. (ed). *MPT Acharya, Reminiscences of an Indian Revolutionary* (New Delhi: Anmol, 1991).

Jamaladdin al-Afghani (or Asadabadi) (1838–1897)

Probably Persian in origin, it is likely that Jamaladdin claimed to be Afghani in order to overcome Sunni suspicions of being a Shi’a ideologue. Certainly one of the major goals of his campaign was to effect some sort of rapprochement between Shi’a and Sunni, for political strength if not for doctrinal conformity—which seemed to concern him very little. He had significant followings in India, Iran, and Anatolia in addition to Egypt—and was eventually ejected by the governments of all of them as well, as he also criticized the leaders of Muslim lands for their corruption and autocracy. His *al-Urwa al-Wuthqa*, which he edited in Paris with ‘Abduh in 1884, was the original “Pan-Islamic” paper. For more on his amazing life, see Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972).

Varahaneri Venkatesa Subramaniam Aiyar (1881–1925)

A Tamil Brahmin, he joined Lincoln's Inn in 1907. He became one of the major voices at India House and was particularly close to Dhingra. Accused in the Nasik Conspiracy, he fled to Pondicherry in French India in 1910. Implicated in another assassination and watched by the authorities, he was arrested for sedition once he returned to British India in 1921. He is also remembered for his translations of Tamil works and his own short stories. For the last few years of his life he worked for *Desabhaktan* (The Patriot) in Madras.

Duse Mohamed Ali (1866–1945)

Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Duse Mohamed was raised an orphan in England and studied in London at King's College. He originally spent time acting and became one of the most well-known actors of his time. However, after attending the First Universal Races Conference, Duse Mohamed established the *African Times and Orient Review* in 1911, the same year he published *In the Land of the Pharaohs*. The journal covered issues in Africa, Asia, the United States, and the Caribbean. Many noted intellectuals of the time contributed writings to the *Review*, including George Bernard Shaw and H.G. Wells. Duse Mohamed became devoted to the cause of African and Asian independence and nationalism, and his life was among the most international of his day. He worked with Marcus Garvey upon coming to the United States in 1921, and he founded the Universal Islamic Society in Detroit in 1925. Upon going to Nigeria in 1931, he became editor of the *Nigerian Daily Times* in Lagos and settled there until his death.

Muhammad Ali (also known as Muhammad Ali Jauhar) (1878–1931)

Educated at Aligarh and Oxford, he became a major figure in the Muslim League in 1907 and founded the English-language weekly *Comrade* in 1911 and its Urdu sister-publication *Hamdard* a year later. Over the next

few years, his publications would be fined or would forfeit their security for their “Pan-Islamic tone.” Interned with his brother Shaukat (1873–1938) from 1915 to 1919, he was a major leader of the Khilafat Movement upon release. He was initially friendly with Gandhi and served as INC president in 1924. He broke with the INC in 1928 over the Nehru Report and attended the Round Table Conference of 1930 as a member of the Aga Khan’s Muslim Delegation and died while in London. He was buried in Jerusalem as he had requested. Although he died well before the independence, he is considered by many to have been a forerunner of the Pakistan Movement. Both he and his brother were given the title of *Maulana* by their supporters.

Shaukat Ali (1873–1938)

Educated at Aligarh Muslim University, he served in the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra civil service from 1896 to 1913. He actively aided his younger brother, Muhammad Ali, with his publications, *Hamdard* and *Comrade*. Arrested in 1915 along with his brother, he spent the next four years interned and was elected the first president of the Khilafat conference while still not allowed to travel. He also attended the Round Table Conferences of 1930 and 1931 and helped organize the World Muslim Conference in Jerusalem in 1932. In 1936, he joined the All India Muslim League and was an ally of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Prior to his death in 1938, he served in the Central Assembly from 1934 to 1938.

Edmund Henry Allenby (1861–1936)

Allenby served in South Africa, Ireland, and France before World War I, during which he met with great success against the Ottomans and Germans in the Middle East. Made High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan during the 1919 Revolution, he was responsible for issuing the declaration of Egypt’s independence in 1922 and the adoption of the 1923 Constitution. In 1924, Allenby’s friend and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army Sir Lee Stack was assassinated by Egyptian nationalists; Allenby held the Egyptian Government responsible and issued an ultimatum to the government that forced Prime Minister Zaghlul to resign. Allenby himself resigned the following year and returned to England, remaining there until his sudden death in 1936.

Muhammad ‘Ali ‘Alluba (1875 or 1878–1956)

A lawyer and founding Watanist, he was elected to the first Legislative Assembly of 1914. He joined the Wafd in 1919 and then the Liberal Constitutional Party. He served as minister of several departments and was Egypt’s first ambassador to Pakistan in 1948. He wrote several books on law and politics. See Muhammad ‘Ali ‘Alluba, *Dhikrayat ijtimaiya wa-siyyasiya*, edited by Ahmad Najib Ahmad Hamdi, *et al.* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil-Kitab, 1988) and Lam’i al-Muti’i, *Musu‘at hadha al-rajul min Misr*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Shurouk, 1997).

Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1880–1936)

Educated at Muir College and Nizam College in Hyderabad, and at Edinburgh, Ansari worked as a doctor in London from 1908 to 1910, one of the very few Indians to be able to do so. He befriended the young Jawaharlal Nehru while in London and also became close to Hakim Ajmal Khan, who Mushirul Hasan describes as a bridge between old and new generations of Indian Muslims. Upon returning to India, Ansari became an activist in both the INC and the Muslim League and played an important part in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. He was also one of the founders, along with Muhammad Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan, of Jamia Millia Islamia and served as its chancellor. A close supporter of Gandhi, he broke with the Muslim League after the Khilafat Movement and served as president of the INC in 1927. See Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience: MA Ansari, the Congress, and the Raj* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1987).

Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) (1881–1938)

The “Father of the Turks” was born in Thessaloniki and graduated from the Military Academy at Monastir and then the Staff College in Istanbul. He became a hero during World War I, in which his most significant victory was the defense of Gallipoli against the Allies. When the war ended, instead of accepting the peace terms given to the Sultan by the Allies, he set up the Grand National Assembly in Ankara as a rival government in 1920. He abolished the sultanate in 1922 and officially declared the Turkish Republic in 1923. He then turned his attention from

military matters to domestic policy designed to transform Turkey into a secular nation-state along the lines of those in Europe, culminating in the Constitution of 1937. He continued to serve as president of Turkey until his death in 1938. His biographies include Jacob Landau's *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983) and the classic by Lord Kinross, *Ataturk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal* (New York: William Morris, 1965).

‘Abbas Mahmoud al-‘Aqqad (1889–1964)

He was one of Egypt's premier intellectuals, despite only having completed elementary school. Although he started *Sabifat al-Dustur* (The Constitutional Journal) with Muhammad Farid Wajdi in 1907, he became best known in 1916 with the publication of his first poetry collection; Taha Husain would declare him the successor of Ahmad Shawqi as the “prince of poets.” A prolific author, he wrote a series of biographies of early Muslim heroes as well as books on Islamic law and philosophy. He joined ‘Abd al-Qadir Hamza's *al-Balagh* in 1923 and was elected to parliament the same year. He confronted King Fu‘ad in 1930 over changes to constitution, declaring in parliament that “the people are willing to crush the highest head in the country that betrays the Constitution” (Translation mine). He was tried for insulting the king and spent nine months in prison. A Wafdist since 1919, he clashed with Mustapha al-Nahhas in 1935. In addition to a well-known biography of Sa‘ad Zaghlul, with whom he was close, he also wrote biographies of figures as diverse as Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Ben Franklin, George Bernard Shaw, Muhammad ‘Abduh, Ibn Sina, al-Kawakibi, and—of course—Mahatma Gandhi. See Muhammad Sabir ‘Arab, *al-Mufakirun wa al-Siyyasa fi Misr al-Mu‘asira: Dirasa fi muwaqif ‘Abbas Mahmoud al-‘Aqqad* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil- Kitab, 1994).

Abul Kalam Azad (Mohiuddin Ahmad) (1888–1958)

A composer of poetry and works on philosophy and religion, Abul Kalam was a master of several languages including Arabic, Persian, and Hindi/Urdu. The name Azad (free) was his pen name but has become the one by which he is known. Born in Mecca and trained as an Islamic scholar, he

wrote extensively on religious subjects and even completed a translation of the Quran while in jail for sedition. In fact, he was jailed intermittently for a total of 10 years throughout the interwar period. He founded the Urdu-language *al-Hilal* in Calcutta in 1912 and over the years edited *Al-Balagh*, *Al-Jami`a*, and *Paigham*. A supporter of Gandhi and the concept of non-violent civil disobedience, he organized the Dharasana Satyagraha with Sarojini Naidu after Gandhi was arrested during the Salt March in 1930. He became Gandhi's advisor on Muslim affairs and was perhaps the most well-known Muslim opponent of the Partition of India and creation of Pakistan. He served as the president of the Indian National Congress in 1923 and from 1940 to 1945 and was appointed the first Minister of Education in post-partition India. He also helped draft India's constitution. His birthday is now known as National Education Day in India. See his *India Wins Freedom—An Autobiographical Narrative*, edited by Humayun Kabir (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1959) and *Life and Works of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, edited by Ravindra Kumar (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1991).

‘Abd al- Rahman ‘Azzam (1893–1976)

Best known as the first Secretary-General of the Arab League, from 1945 to 1952, ‘Azzam was active with the Watani Party from his student days. His biography by Ralph Coury traces his involvement in the early Egyptian nationalist movement and then his considerable role in Libyan politics and culture. Upon returning to Egypt in 1923, he joined the Wafd and was active in a number of political spheres. From 1932, he broke with the Wafd. He would serve as ambassador to Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia before the Arab League was formed, mostly in response to the Zionist settlement in Palestine. He spent the last twenty years of his life outside Egypt due to the Free Officer's Revolution, most of which period he spent in Saudi Arabia. See Ralph Coury, *The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist: The Early Years of ‘Azzam Pasha, 1893–1936* (Lebanon: Ithaca, 1998).

Abdul Hafiz Mohammad Barakatullah (1859–1927)

A Bhopal native who had become friends with the India House group in Europe, Barakatullah spent most of his life outside India working to

expel the British from it. Although remembered as a “Pan-Islamist,” he was also instrumental in Indian nationalist organizations in the United States, Germany, and Russia. He was a professor of Urdu in Tokyo for some years, supposedly through the influence of industrialist JRD Tata, before going to the United States. His activities during the war are discussed in chapter 3. After the Armistice, Barakatullah worked in Berlin on Indian nationalist propaganda with the funding of the Comintern. See also History Sheet of Mohammad Barakatullah of Bhopal. NAI: Foreign Department Secret, Internal, February 1914 Nos 11–18.

Evelyn Baring, First Earl of Cromer (1841–1917)

Baring served in the British Army in a number of colonies before becoming the private secretary of his cousin Lord Northbrook when the latter was appointed Viceroy of India in 1872. After training there in what he would later call “the governance of subject races,” he retired from the Army at the rank of major in 1877. He served on the *Caisse de la Dette* for three years before working for the Viceroy of India. Appointed British Resident in Egypt in 1883, he effectively ruled the country until 1907. Upon returning to Britain after retirement, Cromer was active in the Unionist Party and became a leader in the anti-suffrage movement. Among his works are *Modern Egypt*, (London: Macmillan, 1908) and *Abbas II* (London: Macmillan, 1915). See his biographies by Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (New York, Praeger, 1969).

Wilfred Scawen Blunt (1840–1922)

The poet and amateur Orientalist was regarded fondly by both Egyptian and Indian nationalists as an early supporter of their causes. His *The Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1922) remains a useful primary source on the ‘Urabi Revolution and the Occupation. He founded a journal *Egypt* in 1908 to make the case against continuing the Occupation and had a good relationship with Afghani, ‘Abduh, ‘Urabi (via correspondence) as well as Mustapha Kamil. For more information on one of the original English anti-imperialists, see his biography by Elizabeth Longford, *A Pilgrimage of*

Passion: A Biography of Wilfred Scawen Blunt (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979).

Bhikaji Rustom Cama (1861–1936)

Posthumously named the “mother of the Indian revolution” by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1986, Madam Cama is perhaps best remembered for unfurling a flag designed for a ‘free India’ at the International Socialist Conference held in Stuttgart in 1907. She was also a major force in the effort to help Savarkar’s asylum case. Forced by Switzerland to curtail her activism during the war, she remained an eloquent, if disappointed, spokesperson for Indian independence until agreeing to conditions that allowed her to return to her homeland in 1935. She died penniless the next year. See Khorshed Sethna, *Madame Bhikaiji Rustom Cama* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1987).

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (1880–1937?)

He is mentioned admiringly by Jawaharlal Nehru in his autobiography and shows up regularly in CID Reports before and during World War I. The son of a prominent family, he went to London to study law in 1903 but became involved with the India House group in 1906 or 1907. After the war, he joined the German Communist Party during the 1920s, when he was living with American journalist and activist Agnes Smedley. In 1927, he became Secretary of the League Against Imperialism along with Nehru. He fled Germany and the rising Nazi power in 1932 and spent his last years as a professor of Urdu in Leningrad. His Russian wife claimed that he “was disappeared” during a Stalinist purge in 1937, although the Soviet Union claimed he died in the siege during World War II. For more on one of the twentieth century’s unsung heroes, see Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Anti-Imperialist in Europe* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Sir William Hutt Curzon-Wylie (1848–1909)

The British statesman served in India from 1867 to 1901, the last part as the British liaison to the Princely State of Rajputana. He returned to

England in 1901 when Lord George Hamilton appointed him political-aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India. His assassination by Madanlal Dhingra in 1909 was a shock to the Empire. On October 19, 1910, a marble tablet was erected at St Paul's Cathedral from English subscriptions, with three secretaries of state present for the dedication: Lord George Hamilton, Viscount Middleton, and Viscount Morley.

Yahya Dardiri (d.1956)

One of the founders of the Young Men's Muslim Association, Dardiri worked for them for thirty years. He was a Watani Party member as a student in Europe and was present in Italy for the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in 1921. He was also the president of the Union for Public Cooperatives in Egypt. He wrote a number of books about science and the Quran, including *How to Teach Quran to Muslim Children* in 1939. All his books were published by the Salafi Press. See Khayraldin az-Zirikly, *al-'Alaam: Kamus tarajim li'ashhar al-rijaal wa al-nisa' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'aribeen wa al-Mustashrikeen*, 5th ed. (Beirut: Dar al-'ilm lil Malayeen, 1980).

N.F. Dryhurst (1856–1930)

Born Hannah Anne Robinson, she married an official with the British Museum in 1884. She is perhaps best known as the lover of Henry Nevinson, the war correspondent and supporter of women's suffrage. However, her support of Irish nationalism and that of other colonies also led her to be one of the early supporters of socialism and anarchism. She was a reliable contributor to other anticolonial journals and organizer of conferences and meetings. She also translated many articles, as she knew French and German along with Irish and English.

Ismail Enver (1881–1922)

Best known as the Ottoman War Minister during World War I, Enver graduated from the military academy in 1902 and joined the CUP in 1906. One of the members of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, he was made a military attaché to Berlin and then sent to Libya to fight the

Italian invasion. After marrying into the royal family, Enver formed an alliance with Talat and Jemal to carry out a putsch in 1913. It was Enver that brought the Ottoman Empire into World War I and he was also found guilty *in absentia* of responsibility for the 1915 massacres of the Armenian population of Anatolia by a Turkish military tribunal. Because he had fled to Germany, and then the newly formed Soviet Union, he was never punished for the genocide. He joined an anti-Bolshevik revolt in Turkestan and was killed in battle.

Muhammad Farid (1868–1919)

A lawyer from a wealthy land-owning family, he left his practice to devote himself to the nationalist cause. Chosen to succeed Mustapha Kamil, he spent much of his life (and his money) promoting the Watani cause at home and abroad. In particular, Farid expanded Watani programs to include initiatives for the peasants and working classes, including cooperatives, unions, and night schools. After going into voluntary exile in 1912, Farid continued to work for British evacuation of Egypt by allying himself with the Central Powers during the Great War. He remained adamant about Britain evacuating Egypt until he died, still in Europe, at the end of World War I. He was buried in Berlin, but his body was returned to Egypt later and today lies interned with that of Mustapha Kamil as a national monument. Although not as charismatic as his predecessor, Muhammad Farid was mourned almost as deeply in Egypt, not the least as it was well known that he had sacrificed his considerable fortune and then his health in the cause of Egypt's independence. In English see Arthur Goldschmidt's translation of *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader, 1868–1919* (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992). In Arabic, see 'Abd al-Rahman al-Rafai'i, *Muhammad Farid: Ramz al-Ikhlās wa al-Tadhīyya (Tarīkh Miṣr al-Qaoumi min 1908 ila 1919)* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1984).

Ahmad Fu'ad I (1868–1936)

The youngest son of Khedive Isma'il, Fu'ad grew up primarily in Europe and was educated in Geneva and Turin. Returning to Egypt only after his father's death, he was chosen by the British to become sultan (later king) of Egypt in 1917 when his older brother Hussein Kamil died. He spent

much of his reign maneuvering to increase his own power and succeeded in suspending the 1923 Constitution in 1930. Forced to restore the 1923 Constitution and allow the Wafd Party to return to power, he appointed the delegation that negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian treaty but did not live to see it signed.

Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi (1869–1948)

Not only the most famous Indian but perhaps among the most famous of men, Gandhi was born in Gujrat and trained as a lawyer in England. He was in South Africa in 1893 to 1914, during which time he began his “experiments with truth” in a public arena by leading nonviolent resistance to laws discriminating against the Indian community. He returned to India during the Great War and was recruited to the nationalist movement by Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It was at the end of the war that he began the Non-Cooperation Movement and then also joined the cause of the Khilafat. He was recognized as the leader of the nationalist movement from this period on. He was the representative of the INC at the Round Table Conference and spent multiple years in jail over his life. He supported the Quit India movement in the 1940s and opposed the creation of Pakistan. His last hunger strike was in response to the widespread communal violence that accompanied Partition. He was assassinated by Hindu nationalists angry at his policy toward Muslims. Specifics of his philosophy and the satyagrahas that he led can be found in any number of biographies.

Boutros Ghali (1846–1910)

The son of a leading Coptic family, Ghali was the first native-born Egyptian to serve as its prime minister from 1908 to 1910. He served in numerous positions in the Egyptian government under Khedive Tawfik and then the British. He served as foreign minister from 1894 to 1910 under Nubar and Mustafa Fahmi, and then his own cabinet. He had been chosen by the khedive as a candidate acceptable to the British and had alienated nationalists a number of times. See Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥman Burj, *Dirasa fi al-haraka al-Waṭaniyya al-Miṣriyyah: Wezarat Boutros Ghali 1908–1910* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo al-Misriyya, 1980).

'Ali al-Ghayati (1885–1956)

An Azharite who wrote for a number of papers, he was sentenced for his nationalist poems. He eventually settled in Geneva shortly before World War I. He lived there for twenty-seven years and published *Minbar ash-Sharq* in Arabic and its French version *La Tribune d'Orient* from 1922 to 1937. The paper's masthead carried the slogan "the East for Easterners." He returned to Egypt in 1938 and continued publishing the Arabic version until his death. See Fathi Ridwan, *Asr wa Rijaal*, Vol.1 (Cairo: Al-Hayaal-'Amm li-Qusur al-Thaqafa, 2003).

Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a (1886–1953)

The prolific writer worked as a teacher and journalist before joining the Khedival Law School. Expelled for an anti-Occupation speech at a memorial for Mustapha Kamil, he went to Lyon for his degree and became very involved in Watani activities. He spent World War I under surveillance. Later, he was the defense lawyer in a number of famous nationalist assassination cases, including that of Sir Lee Stack. He was best known for his journalism throughout his life, beginning with *al-Liwa* and continuing with articles in every major periodical of his day including *al-Ahram*, *al-Balagh*, *al-Zaher*, *al-Balagh Weekly*, *al-Bayan*, and *al-Moqtabas*. See Ahmad Husain at-Tamawi, *Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a: biografia wa bibliografia* (Cairo: 'Alam al-Kutub, 2005).

Sir Eldon Gorst (1861–1911)

As a young man of twenty-five in 1886, Gorst began his career with the Foreign Office in Egypt. He then served as Controller of Revenue, advisor to the Ministry of the Interior, and Financial Advisor before being transferred back to the Foreign Office in 1904. Fluent in Arabic, he had cultivated the friendship of 'Abbas Hilmi and a number of Egyptian officials while in Egypt, although he was less than popular with his own countrymen there. He died early in his Pro-Consulship of cancer, being succeeded by one of his critics and rivals, Lord Kitchener. His biography by Peter Mellini, *The Overshadowed Pro Consul* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), is based partially upon his diaries.

Edward Grey (1862–1933)

The Oxonian from Balliol, made Viscount of Fallodon, served as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs in Gladstone's last government, from 1892 to 1895, and as Foreign Secretary for eleven years from 1905 to 1916. A Liberal Imperialist, Grey maintained a foreign policy based on Entente with Russia and France and was instrumental in the ending of the Balkan Wars and bringing Italy into World War I in 1915. He also served as ambassador to the United States in 1920. Although he retained his post under the Asquith coalition, he went into the opposition under the prime ministership of Lloyd George. He was Chancellor of Oxford University from 1928 to his death.

Mehmed Sa'id Halim (1865–1921)

The eldest surviving son of Ibrahim, the son of Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt, Sa'id Halim would have become khedive if his nephew Ismail had not arranged to change the laws of succession in favor of his own son, Tewfik. In Constantinople, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. He was a confidante of Mehmed V and served as Grand Vizier from 1913 to 1917. He wrote a book promoting Pan-Islamism and warned about the danger nationalism posed to Islam. After the war he was exiled for two years in Malta, and then assassinated in Sicily by members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation for his role in the Armenian Genocide. Zaki Muhammad Mujahid, *al-'Alaam al-Sharqiyya fi al-Me'at al-Rabi'ata-'ashara al-Hijriyya*, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1994).

Lala Har Dayal (1884–1939)

A brilliant scholar, Har Dayal gave up his Government of India scholarship to Oxford when he came to the conclusion it was a form of accepting British claims on India. He was one of the foremost Indian revolutionaries and continued his activism from the United States, starting the 'Ghadr movement,' which is detailed in chapter 3. By 1918, however, he changed his mind completely and became a supporter of Britain's role in India. He lived in Sweden for a number of years and died in the United States. His

biographer Emily Brown calls him “in sequence an atheist, a revolutionary, a Buddhist, and a pacifist.” Among his works are *Forty-four Months in Germany and Turkey, February 1915 to October 1918, A Record of Personal Impressions* (London: P.S. King and Sons, Ltd, 1920) and *Hints for Self Culture*, (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing, 2005). For Har Dayal’s biography, see Emily Brown, *Lala Har Dayal: Hindu revolutionary and rationalist* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1975).

Ibrahim al-Hilbawi (1858–1940)

The well-known lawyer who partially redeemed himself among the nationalists by defending Ibrahim Wardani four years after serving as a prosecutor at Dinshaway. One of the founders of the Egyptian Bar Association in 1911, he went on to support the Umma Party and then the Liberal Constitutionalists and was a rival of Sa’ad Zaghlul. His memoirs have been published by the Egyptian Center for Contemporary History: ‘Issam Diya al-Din (ed.) *Muzakirat Ibrahim al-Hilbawi (tarikh hayat Ibrahim al-Hilbawi Bek, 1858–1940)* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-’amma lil-Kitab, 1995).

Husayn ibn ‘Ali (Sharif Husayn) (1855–1931)

Born to a family claiming descent from the Prophet, Husayn was appointed amir of Mecca in 1908 by the Sultan. He increased his own local power at the expense of his Ottoman overlords until World War I. Throwing his lot with the British based upon the infamous Husayn-McMahon Correspondence, the Sharif rebelled against the CUP government in 1916 and declared himself “King of the Arabs.” “His forces had some success disrupting Ottoman supply lines and were the first to reach Damascus in 1918. British promises to Husayn were amended in favor of the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the French. Not only did Husayn not get the larger Arab territories he had coveted, but his own territory was lost in 1925 to ‘Abdal-Aziz ibn Saud, the founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Husayn lived the rest of his life in Cyprus, where the British transported him after recognizing Al-Saud. His sons, however, became kings of Iraq and Jordan.

Ahmed Hussein (1911–1982)

The lawyer who started *Misr al-Fataa* with his classmate Fathi Radwan was a prolific writer and charismatic speaker who also inaugurated the Piaste Plan and the paramilitary Greenshirts. He was arrested for incitement of in the burning of Cairo in 1952 but released after the Free Officers Revolution. Goldschmidt claims both Nasser and Sadat were his disciples, but he held no government position. His early memoirs were published as *Imani* [My Faith] by Dar al-Shurouk in 1985.

Ahmet Jemal (also spelled Cemal) (1872–1922)

The soldier who was born in Greece graduated from the War Academy in Istanbul in 1895 and was stationed with the Third Army when the CUP began moving against Abdel Hamid II. As a strong leader in the 1908 Revolution, Jemal also helped engineer the putsch that ended parliamentary rule in the Ottoman Empire in 1913. He was minister of the navy, commander of the Fourth Army, and governor of Syria during World War I. He was complicit in the Armenian Genocide and also was responsible for the execution of many Arab leaders for supposed foreign sympathies. Sentenced to death by a Turkish military tribunal after the war, Jemal moved around Eastern Europe for four years until found and killed in Georgia by members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

‘Abd al’Aziz Jawish (also called Shawish) (1876–1929)

Purportedly the son of a Tunisian father and Turkish mother, Jawish was born and raised in the North African quarter of Alexandria. He studied in Al-Azhar and Dar al-Ulum before being sent to Borough Road Teacher’s Training College in England by the Ministry of Education. He also lectured in Arabic at Cambridge University from 1903 to 1906. He returned to Egypt to become an Inspector with the Ministry but also wrote articles for *al-Muayyad* and *al-Liwa*. Chosen by Muhammad Farid to edit *al-Liwa* after Kamil’s death, Jawish quickly made himself into

one of the most “objectionable characters” on the British Agency’s list. Imprisoned twice in Egypt, Jawish went to Constantinople in 1911 and remained there and in Berlin during the Great War, working on “Pan-Islamic” journals for the Central Powers. Upon returning to Egypt after the war, Jawish remained active in religious groups, including being one of the founders of the Young Men’s Muslim Association. Although marginalized from nationalist politics by the Wafd, Jawish was eulogized at his death by one of Egypt’s most admired artists, the “prince of poets” Ahmad Shawqi. See Anwar al-Jindi. ‘Abd *al-Aziz Jawish*, (Cairo: Dar al-Misriyya lil Ta’lif wa Tarjama, 1965).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948)

Known as Qaid-e-Azam (the Great Leader) in Pakistan, Jinnah was educated and called to the bar in England in 1895. Upon returning to India in 1896, Jinnah became a successful lawyer and defended Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his sedition trial of 1908. He joined the INC in 1906 and the Muslim League in 1913. He was the main proponent of the Lucknow Pact of 1916, and served as president of the Muslim League from 1919. He broke with Gandhi over the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat issues and resigned from the INC in 1920. He became convinced of the Two-Nations Theory over the course of the 1930s and supported the Muslim League’s adoption of the goal of Pakistan in 1940. After the Cabinet Mission Plan failed, Jinnah’s insistence on Partition was the main cause for the eventual acquiescence of the British and then the INC. Jinnah became Pakistan’s first Governor-general, but died less than a year later. Among his many biographies is Ayesha Jalal’s *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Mustapha Kamil (1874–1908)

The son of an Egyptian army officer, Kamil attended government schools and the French Law School in Cairo before earning his law degree from the University of Toulouse in 1894. Along with Muhammad Farid, Ahmad Lufti Al-Sayyid, and others, he founded the Society for the Revival of the Nation, an initially secret group that became the Watani (National) Party. He was elected the first president of the Party, but he died just two months later. See ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Rafai’i, *Mustapha Kamil, Ba’ith al-Haraka*

al-Wataniyya (Tadhiyya Tarikh Misr al-Qaoumi min 1882 ila 1908), 5th ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1984).

James Keir Hardie (1856–1915)

Instrumental in the founding of the first British independent labor party in 1882, he also founded the *Labour Leader*, which became the official organ of the political socialist movement. In 1892 he was elected Britain's first Labour MP. By 1914, when World War I started he was chairman of British section of International Socialist Bureau. *The Dictionary of National Biography* notes, "in his day, (he was) perhaps the best-hated and best-loved man in Great Britain."

Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863–1927)

A traditional (*unani*) physician, he was a founder of both the Tibbia College in Delhi and the Jamia Millia Islamia, of which he was the first chancellor. Ajmal Khan was a member of the Muslim League and the INC, and served as president of the latter in 1921. He also played a major part in the Khilafat Movement and was a mentor to many of the younger Muslim nationalists. See Zafar Ahmed Nizami, *Hakim Ajmal Khan* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1988).

Sultan Mahomed Shah (Aga Khan III) (1877–1957)

The forty-seventh of the Nizari Ismaili Imams, the Aga Khan was born in Karachi and studied in Cambridge as a young man. In 1906 he was among the original founders of All-India Muslim League and became its first president. During World War I he lobbied for the Muslim community to support the British Empire but during the interwar period was associated with the Indian nationalist movement. He led a delegation representing Muslims (in opposition to the INC) to the Round Table Conferences of 1931–1932; and he also served as president of League of Nations in 1937. He died twenty years later and is buried in Aswan, Egypt. His autobiography is *World Enough & Time—The Memoirs of Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah, Aga Khan III* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1954).

Zafar Ali Khan (1873–1956)

A graduate of Aligarh, Zafar Ali Khan was a poet and journalist who is remembered as active in the Indian and Pakistan independence movements. He became publisher of his father's Lahore paper *Zemindar* (Landowner) in 1909. According to J.C. Ker (pp. 388, 445), Khan forfeited his security deposit repeatedly for “pro-Turkish” and “anti-Christian” articles during the Balkan crisis and leading up to the war. Present at the founding of the Muslim League, he was among the “Young Party” that promoted the Lucknow Pact of 1916. After participating in the Khilafat Movement, Khan became a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1937 to 1945. He supported the Pakistan Movement and died in Pakistan.

Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916)

Originally from County Kerry, Kitchener is among the most famous of Britain's military and colonial heroes. A graduate of the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, he was in charge of the expedition to help General Charles Gordon in Khartoum and then became governor-general of eastern Sudan in 1886. Appointed commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army in 1892, he clashed with the young Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi. After serving as governor of Sudan for two years, he was sent to the Boer War, where he was successful partially due to the controversial policies of scorched earth and concentration camps. From 1902, he served as commander-in-chief in India for seven years and then as proconsul in Egypt from 1911. In 1914, Kitchener became the secretary of state for war and his was the face made famous in the recruitment poster campaign of that time. He was killed near the Orkney Islands when his vessel hit a German mine on the way to Russia.

Shyamaji Krishnavarma (1857–1930)

Along with B.R. Cama, the Balliol graduate was the main financier and instigator of the “extremist” party of Indian nationalists who operated in Europe prior to World War I. In addition to establishing India House and the *Indian Sociologist*, Krishnavarma endowed scholarships and prizes to encourage Indians to undermine the British Empire. Sidelined by internal rivalries and British and French surveillance, he nonetheless remained

committed to Indian (and other colonial) independence throughout his life. He died and was cremated in Switzerland, but his ashes were returned to India in 2003. His biography was written by another Indian nationalist activist, Indulal Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma: Life and Times of an Indian Revolutionary* (Bombay: Lakshmi, 1950).

Miles Wedderburn Lampson (1880–1964)

Lampson began his career in 1903 and served in Japan, Bulgaria, and China before being appointed High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan in 1934. His first major achievement in Egypt came in 1936 with the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, after which his title was changed to Ambassador. During World War II, he famously made every effort to ensure that Egypt would remain a base for British forces, going so far as to force King Faruq to accept a Wafdist cabinet in 1942 under the threat of British tanks. He was admitted to the Privy Council in 1941 and raised to be the Baron of Killearn in 1943. He was reassigned to Singapore in 1946 as the Special Commissioner to Southeast Asia, as post he held until his retirement in 1948.

Sir William Lee-Warner (1846–1914)

The Cambridge graduate entered the Indian Civil Service in 1869 and held a number of appointments in India until retiring in 1895. He then served in the India Office at Whitehall as Secretary of the Political and Secret Office. The author of *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie, K.T.* (1904) and *The Native States of India* (1910), Lee-Warner was on the Council of India from 1902 until retirement in 1912.

Sir Percy Loraine (1880–1961)

Educated at Eton College and New College, Oxford, and a veteran of the Second Boer War, Loraine began his diplomatic career in 1904. He served in Constantinople, Tehran, Rome, Peking, and Athens, before being appointed High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan in 1929. He only served four years there, however, before being sent to Ankara in 1933,

where he was successful in strengthening Anglo-Turkish relations. He retired from public life prior to the outbreak of World War II.

Hasrat Mohani (Syed Fazl-ul-Hasan) (1875–1951)

Born in 1875, Hasrat Mohani attended Aligarh Muslim University at the same time as Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Shaukat Ali. He was an outstanding Urdu poet, and it is his pen name by which he is known. He became a “Tilakist” while still in college and founded *Urdu-e-Moalla* in 1903. In 1908 he was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment for an article written by “an Egyptian;” it was to be the first of many jail terms. A member of the Muslim League from early on, Mohani was also one of the first members of the All-India Communist Party in the 1920s. Although remembered as a supporter of the Pakistan Movement, Hasrat Mohani stayed in India after Partition. He was the only member who drafted the Indian constitution of 1949 but refused to sign it, on grounds of it not being fair to Muslims.

Salama Musa (1887–1958)

The Copt from Sharqiyya is one of Egypt’s most famed intellectuals. Educated in both France and England, Musa wrote for a number of Egyptian papers before establishing his own *al-Majalla al-Jadida*. A secularist and socialist, he wrote on many controversial topics and was jailed in the 1940s for attacks on the monarchy. His autobiography has been translated into English by L.O. Schuman as *The Education of Salama Musa*, (Leiden: Brill, 1961).

‘Abdallah Nadim (1845–1896)

Like Yaqub Sanua’ Nadim was a friend of Jamaladdin al-Afghani and supported the ‘Urabi Revolution. Indeed, Nadim was considered the “mouth-piece of the Revolution” and spent a number of years in hiding after it failed. He died in exile in Istanbul after making both the Egyptian khedive and the Ottoman Sultan suspicious of his popularity. His work in educational reform and his literary contributions, including through *al-Ustadh*,

are recognized by Matti Moosa in *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction* (New York: LynnReinner, 1997).

Mustapha al-Nahas (1879–1965)

A lawyer, he worked in Mohammad Farid's law office as a young man. He joined the Wafd in 1919 and was exiled with Sa'ad Zaghlul in his second "externment" to the Seychelles from 1921 to 1923. He was elected in the 1924 elections and maintained a parliamentary presence until the Free Officers Revolution. He became Wafd president after Zaghlul's death in 1927 and served as prime minister of Egypt multiple times. He was imprisoned by the Free Officers from 1953 to 1954 and then was barred from public office. His funeral procession occasioned one of the few demonstrations tolerated by Nasser. His recently published "memoirs" are problematic, but there is a biography written by Mukhtar Aḥmad Nour, *Mustafa al-Nahas, Ra'isan lil-Wafd, 1927–1953* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dar al-Kutub wa-al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyyah, 2005).

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964)

India's first prime minister joined the nationalist movement in 1916 after completing his education at Cambridge. Particularly close to Gandhi, he rose through the INC to become its president immediately after his father in 1929–1930. He headed the party again in 1936–1937 and then after independence from 1950 to 1954. As prime minister, he set India on a path of socialism and state planning. He was also one of the founders, with Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser, of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Motilal Nehru (1861–1931)

The father of Jawaharlal was among the first Indians to attend Cambridge University. He joined the Indian National Congress before the Great War and was president twice, in 1919—during the Non-Cooperation Movement—and 1928. He also founded the *Independent* in his native Allahabad. A follower of Gandhi, his adoption of *khadi* and renouncing of many luxuries made him particularly popular. His Report of 1928

recommended Dominion status for India within the empire and was adopted by the INC.

Baron Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (1860–1946)

A Christian convert from a Jewish banking family in Cologne, this archeologist-Orientalist was appointed to the German Consulate in Cairo from 1896 to 1910. Fluent in Arabic and well-traveled in the Ottoman Empire and Africa, he cultivated a good relationship with Abbas Hilmi, 'Abduh, Shaykh 'Ali Yusef, Mustapha Kamil, and Muhammad Farid. He was one of the main organizers of Germany's Pan-Islamic program during the war. He is also remembered for the archeological excavation of the Hittite city of Tell Halaf in Syria. His private museum in Berlin was destroyed during World War II, but what was left of his library is now housed in Cologne.

Fathi Radwan (1911–1988)

The founder, along with Ahmed Hussein, of Misr al-Fataa in 1933, Fathi Radwan would eventually break with his friend and join the Watani Party in 1944. Although imprisoned in the early 1950s, he rose to become Minister of National Guidance and then of Communications after the 1952 Revolution. Among the books he wrote were biographies of Mussolini and Talaat Harb as well as Gandhi. He also became a noted playwright as part of the July project to revive Egyptian theater and folklore. He was imprisoned for his criticisms of Sadat in 1981. Released by Mubarak, Fathi Radwan was one of the lawyers who defended Aiman al-Zawahiri in his trial for Sadat's assassination.

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1929)

“The Lion of the Punjab,” was a Punjabi lawyer who became active in Congress and the Arya Samaj at the turn of the twentieth century. After his deportation, he spent the war in the United States and in 1917 founded the Indian Home Rule League of America and the Indian Information

Bureau in New York. He returned to India to join the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920 and quickly became a major force in Congress politics again. He suffered severe injuries from a lathi charge by police when he was leading a protest against the Simon Commission in 1928. He died the following year. See Purushottam Nagar, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1977).

Muhammad Hafiz Ramadan (1879–1955)

A lawyer who joined the Watani Party at a young age, Ramadan became its president in 1923 after the adoption of the new constitution. He had founded *al-Liwa al-Masri* in 1921 as a replacement for the original *al-Liwa* as Watani Party organ. He ran in the 1924 elections as an independent and remained in parliament most sessions serving as a minister in several cabinets after the constitution was reinstated in 1936. See Lam'i al-Muti'i, *Musu'at hadha al-rajul min Misr*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, Dar al-Shaurok, 1997).

Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935)

Born in Tripoli in Ottoman Syria, Rida became one of the most well-known Muslim reformers of his age. He founded *al-Manar* with his mentor 'Abduh and is known as one of the fathers of the *Salafiyya* movement. *Al-Manar* became one of the most popular and widely distributed Arabic papers of its time, and it was followed by many Indian Muslims as well. Rida also wrote a number of works on Islam, including biographies of the Prophet and early caliphs, a biography of 'Abduh, and a commentary on the *Quran*. During World War I, Rida worked for Greater Syria's independence and chaired the first Syrian Arab Congress in 1920. Although very influential, Rida did not make arrangements for his paper to survive him, and it was discontinued. See Malcolm Kerr, *Islamic Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

Yaqub Sanua' (1839–1912)

Remembered as one of the fathers of modern Arabic drama, Sanua' was called the Wearer of the Blue Glasses, a reference to the star of his famous

puppet show which was one of the original forms of social and political criticism in Egypt. Educated in Italy, Sanua' became a an on-and-off favorite of the khedive's court. Banished in 1878, Sanua' fled to Paris from where he continued publishing his paper. For more on Sanua', see Irene Gendzier, *The Political Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) and Jacob Landau, "Abu Naddara, An Egyptian Jewish Nationalist," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 3, 1952, 30–44.

Vinayek Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966)

The son of a Brahmin family from the Bombay Presidency, he was sentenced to imprisonment in the Andamans for fifty years for his role in the Nasik Conspiracy case. Although transported in 1910, Savarkar was released in 1924. While in jail he adopted and wrote about *Hindutva*, or Hindu nationalism, a philosophy at odds with the secular nationalism of the Indian National Congress and indeed with the India House philosophy of his earlier years. From 1937 to 1943, he was the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, a Hindu nationalist organization that grew increasingly alienated from Gandhi and the INC over the course of World War II. Horrified that independence came to also mean the Partition of India in 1947, Savarkar made no secret of his contempt for the INC's "appeasement" of the Muslim minority and was implicated in the assassination of Gandhi by a member of the Mahasabha (and another Hindutva group, the RSS) in 1948. Although he was tried and acquitted, Savarkar remained a symbol of Hindu, rather than Indian, nationalism from that time until his death in 1966. He wrote over a dozen books, and his autobiography, translated by V.N. Naik, is *My Transportation for Life* (Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1984).

'Abd al-Hamid Sa'id (1882–1940)

After earning a law degree in Paris, he joined the Ottoman army during the Balkan Wars and World War I. An unusually tall and charismatic man, he was a major figure in Watani circles in Europe. He organized Egyptian nationalists in Switzerland and Italy after the war and founded the League for Oppressed Oriental Nations. Upon his return to Egypt, he rose to prominence as a politician. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1924, and position he held until 1936, despite his dislike of the

1923 Constitution. He was a strong proponent of religious education and was a founding member of the Young Men's Muslim Association.

Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963)

The “Teacher of the Generation” was the contemporary of many of Egypt's political and intellectual leaders. He was the son of a village *umda* (headman) who studied law in Cairo and briefly worked in the government's Legal Department. He had originally been a member of Mustapha Kamil's secret society which was supported by the khedive in 1896, but broke with them after coming under the influence of Muhammad ‘Abduh. From 1907 to 1915 he was the managing editor and driving force behind *al-Jarida*, organ of the Umma party, after which he directed the Khedival (later National) Library and then served as rector of the new Egyptian University. A scholar rather than a politician, he remained aloof from party politics after a brief tenure with the Wafd in 1918 and lived up to his other honorific, “the Philosopher.” His autobiography is *Kissat Hiyati* (Cairo: Kitab al-Hilal, 1962).

Ahmad Shafiq (1860–1940)

Shafiq was born in Cairo and educated at the Khedivial Law School. In 1885 he enrolled in École des Sciences Politiques in Paris, returning to Egypt in 1893. In addition to being the first vice president of the Egyptian University, he was a loyal supporter of Khedive ‘Abbas Hilmi, remaining with him in exile during World War I. After returning to Egypt in 1921, Shafiq was involved in the Society of the Eastern Bond and wrote a number of works, including his memoirs *Mudhakiraati fi Nisf Qarn* (Cairo: Dar Majalatti li al-Taba’ wa al-Nashr, 1934). His biography has been written by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Rafai’i, *Aḥmad Shafiq al-Muarrikh: Hayatuhu wa-Atbaaruh* (Cairo: Dar al-Miṣriyyah lil-Ta’lif wa-al-Tarjama, 1965).

‘Ali Shamsi (1885–1962)

From Sharqiyya and educated in law in France, Shamsi was a committed Watanist and spent World War I in Europe and Istanbul. He joined the

Wafd when the delegation was in Europe, and returned to Egypt in 1922 to take a position in the Finance Ministry. He was elected to parliament in 1926, and then he served for two years as education minister, instituting widespread educational reforms. He joined the United Front in 1936 and was involved in the negotiations for the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. He represented Egypt at the League of Nations and became the first Egyptian chairman of the National Bank of Egypt.

Isma'il Sidqi (1875–1950)

Although a member of the original Wafd and interned in Malta in 1919, Sidqi became allied with the monarchy in the late 1920s. As prime minister from 1930–1933, Sidqi suppressed public political activity to an unprecedented extent, leading to his government being known as that of the Iron Fist. He continued to serve in public capacities after resigning due to pressure in 1933 and eventually became prime minister again in 1946. His aloofness and paternalism made him an unpopular figure even after his considerable efforts to negotiate on Egypt's behalf during his second premiership. See Malak Badrawi, *Isma'il Sidqi, 1875–1950: Pragmatism and Vision in Twentieth Century Egypt* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1996).

Sir Charles James Stevenson-Moore (1866–1947)

The Cambridge graduate was the son of a clergyman who joined the Indian Civil Service at the age of 19. He served as Inspector-General of Police of Bengal before being appointed Director of Criminal Intelligence of the Government of India in 1907. He then served in various administrative capacities in Bengal from 1910 to his retirement in 1921. His *Report on the material condition of small agriculturists and labourers in Gaya* is an important primary source for the era, although he is best remembered for his regular Reports as DCI.

Mehmet Talat (1874–1924)

Interior minister and later grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, Talat was the only member of the governing CUP triumvirate

that was not from the military. An excellent administrator and organizer, he kept the CUP functioning through the 1908 Revolution and up through the war. Perhaps the actual architect of the Armenian Genocide, Talat was among those sentenced to death for their role in crimes against humanity after the war. He was killed by an Armenian in Berlin, where he had lived in hiding since 1918. Most notably, a German court acquitted his murderer.

Ahmad Fathy Zaghlul (1863–1914)

The brother of Sa'ad, he was one of the founders of the Umma party. He had studied law in Paris and had authored some law texts. He held a number of government posts in administration and the judiciary culminating in his appointment as Deputy Minister of Justice.

Sa'ad Zaghlul (1860–1927)

Remembered as the great Egyptian nationalist hero, he actually spent a good portion of his life working with the Occupation in the philosophy of his mentor 'Abduh. Of peasant stock and educated at Al-Azhar and the Khedival Law School, he was a favorite of not only 'Abduh but also Lutfi al-Sayyid and Cromer, who appointed Zaghlul Minister of Public Instruction in 1907. He became Minister of Justice (1910–1912) and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly set up by Kitchener. After becoming the “father of the nation” in the course of the 1919 Revolution, he transformed the Wafd into an effective political party and remained at its helm until his death. He was the first democratically elected prime minister of Egypt due to the Wafd's victory in the 1924 elections.

Arthur Zimmerman (1864–1940)

Zimmerman was a Prussian lawyer that served as German Minister for Foreign Affairs for one year during World War I. Made infamous by the leaking of the “Zimmerman Telegram” that precipitated the U.S. entry into World War I, the career diplomat was a major architect in Germany's international alliances and intrigues for at least a decade prior. In addition

to supporting the Egyptian and Indian nationalists against the British Empire, he also helped Roger Casement in planning Irish rebellion and supported Lenin's Communists in the October Revolution. Because of his admission of the authenticity of the telegram supporting a Mexican attack on the United States, Zimmerman resigned in 1917 and lived in obscurity thereafter.

Appendix B

Excerpts from Ahmed Shawqi's Poem to Gandhi in 1931

Children of Egypt, raise the laurels and welcome the hero of India
And fulfill your obligation to the well-deserving celebrity,
Your brother in suffering and the experience of adversity
In the great battle and in the goal and in striving
In a trip for righteousness and in the role of a delegation.
Stand and greet him from near the ships and far
Cover the shore with myrtle and the sea with roses
On the deck of Rajputana there is a statue of greatness
A prophet such as Confucius or from that era.
Similar in speaking and action to the awaited Redeemer
Resembling the prophets in defense of righteousness and asceticism
He has taught with truth and patience and strong will
And called the farthest East and from the deathbed it answered.
He treated the sickened souls of their envy
He called the Hindus and Islam to harmony and love.

— 7 lines omitted—

Salaams from the Nile and these flowers are from me
And greatness from the pyramids and Karnak and papyrus
And from the elders of the valley and its rebellious cubs
Salaams to the milker of goats, salaams to the spinner of garments
And he who protects the salt and doesn't accept honey
And he who walks from India to Sindh
Salaams whenever you pray, naked or clothed
Or in a prison corner or tied in chains
From the Green Table, be careful, oh Gandhi
And pay attention to the cards of the Sir and those of the Lords
And be the cleverest player in chess and backgammon

Face the two geniuses as an equal
 And say to them, bring your snakes; the snake-charmer has come from
 India
 And return not caring about the critics, and don't be swayed by the praise
 The greatest criticism does not reach this star
 And return India to the nation from one end to the other.

From:

Ahmed Shawqi. *Al-Mosua' as- Shawqiyya: al-'Amaal al-Kamila li-'Ameer ash-Shua'ara' Ahmad Shawqi* [The Encyclopedia of Shawqi: the Complete Work of the Prince of Poets Ahmed Shawqi] Vol. III. Edited by Ibrahim al-Ibyaari. Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1994.

Translation by Noor-Aiman Khan

Appendix C

Madanlal Dhingra's Statement (*With Spellings and Grammar Preserved from the Original*)

I admit that the other day I attempted to shed English blood as an humble revenge for the inhumane hangings and deportations of patriotic Indian youths.

In this attempt I have consulted none but my own con-science, I have conspired with none but my own duty.

I believe that a nation held down by a foreign bayonet is in a perpetual state of war since open battle is rendered impossible to disarmed race I attacked by surprise, since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired.

As a Hindoo I feel that wrong to my country is an insult to God. Her cause is the cause of Shri Ram, Her service is the service of Shri Krishna. Poor in wealth and intellect a son like myself has nothing else to offer the mother but his own blood and so I have sacrificed the same on Her alter.

The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves therefore I die and glory in my Martyrdom.

This war will continue between India and England so long Hindee and English races last (if this present unnatural relation does not cease).

My only prayer to God is that may I be reborn of the same Mother and may I redie in the same sacred Cause till the Cause is successful and She stands free for the good of Humanity and to the glory of God.

BANDE MATARAM

Appendix D

Wardani's Proposed Book (From PRO: FO141/802)

*Note from the Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior to Sir Eldon Gorst
(signed) Ronald Graham on June 30, 1910*

Imprisonment and Execution of Ibrahim Nassif al-Wardany

“La constitution d'un Gouvernement Musulman”

Book One

- I Apercu du premier Gouvernement
- II Democratie
- III Communaute
- IV Elements Sociaux et Politiques

Book Two

- I Chambre des Deputes
- II Senat
- III Prince
- IV Ministre
- V Administration

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. For the poem by Ahmed Shawqi, see Appendix B.
2. In fact, by the time nationalist activism became a significant part of Egyptian issues under the British Occupation, there was already an Indian Minister of Parliament in London, although he represented an English district and not India.
3. It should be noted here that most of the government documents from the National Archives of the United Kingdom for the period covered by this work use the words “English” and “British” interchangeably. I use the word British, but direct quotations will often use the term “English.”
4. See Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, “The Modern World-System,” *Studies in Social Discontinuity* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), and Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
5. The seminal work in this school of thought is Arnold J. Toynbee’s *A Study of History* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1961), and for the Islamic world, H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962).
6. As elucidated originally in Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: The Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988).
7. The use of the term “invented” comes from Eric Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
8. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).
9. Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
10. See Roger Owen, “The Influence of Lord Cromer’s Indian Experience on British Policy in Egypt 1883–1907,” *St. Antony’s Papers* No. 17 (1965) and also Robert Tignor, “The ‘Indianization’ of the Egyptian Administration under British Rule,” *American Historical Review* (April 1963).

11. Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version, and Other Middle-Eastern Studies* (New York: Praeger, 1970), and Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and also *Middle Eastern Themes; Papers in History and Politics* (London: Cass, 1973).
12. Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972).
13. Juan Cole, "Of Crowds and Empires: Afro-Asian Riots and European Expansion, 1857–1882," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 1 (1989), 106–33.
14. Horst Krüger, "Indian Nationalist Revolutionaries in Paris before World War I," *Achiv Orientalni* 45 (1977): 329–343; Miroslav Krása, "Relations Between the Indian National Congress and the Wafd Party of Egypt in the Thirties," *Achiv Orientalni* 41 (1973): 212–233; and Z.M. Quraishi, *Liberal Nationalism in Egypt: The Rise and Fall of the Wafd* (Delhi: Kitab Mahal, 1967).
15. In any of these forms, "Pan-Islamism" was frightening, inherently violent, and so deeply seated in the Muslim psyche as to be genetic. Valentine Chirol declared it the most serious challenge the Empire was facing and Lord Cromer used it to explain almost any opposition to British actions in Egypt. The term was not used often by Muslims themselves until the Great War, except in apologia explaining why Muslim solidarity should not frighten the West.
16. Jacob Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
17. Nikki Keddie, "Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism," *The Journal of Modern History* 41, no.1 (March, 1969): 17–28.
18. In the interest of full disclosure, the writer actually sees promotion of cultural ties among Muslims as more properly recognized as an integral to the nature of Islam, with no "Pan" to it. I would only use the term Pan-Islam to refer to a political idea.
19. The Wafd Delegation, which would eclipse the Watani Party as the dominant nationalist voice of the interwar era in Egypt, did not come into existence until after the War. Most of its members had belonged to the Umma (People's) Party previously. Similarly, the Indian National Congress, while in existence, was but one of many nationalist voices on the Indian scene during the prewar era and far from the most vocal.
20. Bal Gangadhar Tilak had been convicted of inciting the murder of a British plague inspector in Poona in 1897. He had claimed that the inspector had brought his fate upon himself through his high-handed behavior with natives and that the only way to make the British leave was through violence. His inspiration, along with that of Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, led to the identification of the Indian nationalists who demanded a complete break with Britain as the Lal-Bal-Pal group.
21. Others, however, joined the Wafd, as shall be seen. These are the same activists that had been most suspicious of Ottoman or German motives.
22. The difference between the two terms here is the difference between the issue of defining an Islamic institution and the mixed objectives of an

- Indian-Muslim political movement. The “Caliphate crisis” in this work refers to the dilemma occasioned by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s abolishment of the office of Caliph of Sunni Islam that had been claimed by the Ottoman Sultans for centuries. For many in the Muslim world, the symbol—although rarely the actual reality—of the Caliphate was an important part of their identity. The Khilafat Movement, on the other hand, was a political movement in India that technically was organized to pressure the British Empire to not be “too harsh” in its dealings with the defeated Ottoman Empire in 1918–1919. The movement actually included other, more local, demands and was closely aligned with the simultaneous Non-Cooperation Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. See chapter 4 for more information.
23. For more information, see Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
 24. This is why, despite the Pakistan Movement’s appeals for international Islamic support in the years immediately preceding World War II, the support they received from Egypt was confined to religious individuals and institutions, rather than the mainstream nationalist movement.
 25. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Towards Freedom: The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 387.
 26. ‘Abbas Mahmoud al-‘Aqqad, as quoted in Mohi ad-Din Riḍa, *Abtal al-Wataniyya: Mustapha Kamil, Sa’ad Zaghlul, Mustafa Kemal, Mahatma Ghandi, Mudabbajah bi-Aqlam Uzuma Munshii Hadha al-Asr* (Cairo: Dar al-Rida, 1923), 7.

1 A TALE OF TWO NATIONALISMS

1. Robert Hunt Lyman, ed., *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1933* (New York World Telegram Corporation: NY, 1933), 590. All further following statistics for 1933 are taken from this source unless otherwise stated. The territory of British India also included what are now Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Nepal. To this day, English remains the language of national governance in India, although fourteen other Indian languages are recognized as “official” by the Constitution.
2. P.J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1991), 3. The total surface area of Egypt is 363,000 square miles.
3. For example, major Egyptian leaders (including Boutrus Ghali as well as Muhammad Farid, Mustapha Kamil and Sa’ad Zaghlul) all wrote in French, not English.
4. The title of “founder of modern Egypt,” has been used since the publication of Henry Dodwell’s *The Founder of Modern Egypt: A Study of Muhammad ‘Ali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931). It has recently been disputed by historians such as Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt* (New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2002).

5. One of the major problems for anyone trying to maintain effective sovereignty in Egypt, the Capitulations were only abolished by the Montreux Convention in 1937, despite British efforts to curb their abuse since 1882.
6. This Arab folk hero appears in many tales, including the one in which he sells a house with the exception of a single nail inside. When the owner finds Goha asleep on the floor and confronts him about his trespassing, Goha replies, "I am sleeping in the shade of *my* nail." Goha continues to use the presence of his nail as a reason to occupy or dictate the use of the house until the owner abandons it to him.
7. According to one economic historian, during the sixteen years of Isma'il's reign, Egyptian debt went from 3 million to 93 million pounds sterling. David Landes, *Bankers and Pashas: International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958). However, in his defense, Isma'il spent a great deal of this money on public works, including expansion of irrigation, public education (for the first time, girls and peasants could receive an education), transportation systems, public lighting and sewage systems. He also supported the arts, including opening a national library, the geographical society, and an opera house. Indeed, Verdi's *Aida* was commissioned by Isma'il for the opening of the Canal.
8. Gabriel Baer, *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt, 1800–1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
9. Tobacco cultivation was discouraged through high excise taxes soon after Occupation, in order to protect the other British colonies. England was the buyer for most of the Egyptian harvest.
10. The contemporary claim that rioting was occurring before British intervention has been challenged by multiple studies, including Alexander Schölch's, *Egypt for the Egyptians! The Socio-political Crisis in Egypt, 1878–1882* (London: Ithaca Press, 1981).
11. P.J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt*, 170. June 18, "Evacuation Day," is a national holiday in Egypt to celebrate the final departure of British soldiers from Egyptian soil as a result of the Suez Crisis of 1956, over seventy years later.
12. Juan R. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'Urabi Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
13. Jamaladdin al-Afghani (or Asadabadi) (1838–1897): see Appendix A.
14. The most prominent example of the former opinion is Robinson and Gallagher's *Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1961). For an example of a dissenting opinion, see Robert T. Harrison, *Gladstone's Imperialism in Egypt: Techniques of Domination* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).
15. Both Schölch and Cole have expressed skepticism toward the British claim.
16. Indeed, so closely was Egypt tied with Britain that in 1912 the proprietors of an English company wrote to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to ask whether Egypt was "a protectorate or dependency of Great Britain." While the inquiry proves only the ignorance of one particular group of

- businessmen, it is emblematic of the confusion that reigned everywhere over Egypt's legal status. Tellingly, Sir Edward Grey's office replied simply "that Egypt is neither a dependency of Great Britain nor a protectorate" without clarifying what status Egypt did enjoy. The National Archives of the United Kingdom (henceforth TNA): FO 371/1363, letter dated June 19, 1912, 248–249.
17. Among them was a young Sa'ad Zaghlul (1860–1927), who would lead the Wafd almost three decades later. Released and 'rehabilitated,' he became a favorite of Cromer by 1906. After World War I, he was one of the most visible critics of the Occupation. See Appendix A.
 18. Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Evelyn Baring (1841–1917): see Appendix A.
 19. Peter Mellini, *Sir Eldon Gorst: The Overshadowed ProConsul* (Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution, 1977), 94.
 20. *Ibid.*, 138.
 21. The blue glasses were a reference to the star of Sanua's famous puppet show, one of the original forms of social and political criticism in Egypt. Yaquub Sanua' (1839–1912): see Appendix A.
 22. 'Abdallah Nadim (1845–1896): see Appendix A
 23. Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905): see Appendix A.
 24. *Al-Urwa al-Wuthqa* (The Unbreakable Bond) was the first "Pan-Islamic" paper that was self-consciously aimed at Muslim readers throughout the world and advocated both reform and resistance to Western encroachment.
 25. Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963): see Appendix A.
 26. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *The Egyptian Nationalist Party* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968), 344–347. The most obvious trigger for disaffection came when the young khedive openly criticized Egyptian troops during an inspection at Fashoda in 1893. The Sirdar of the Egyptian Army in Sudan, Lord Kitchener, rendered his resignation in response. However, Cromer intervened and impressed upon the upstart "boy" that he was in no position to criticize publicly what was, legally, his own army. The young khedive was forced to reinstate Kitchener and apologize, saving face for the British administration in the short run but creating a permanent gadfly for the Occupation by making the khedive resent it. The "Frontier Incident" also made enemies of Kitchener and 'Abbas Hilmi.
 27. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt*, 179–180.
 28. In 1885, *Le Bosphore* had been so vehemently critical of British policy that the government considered suppressing it, setting off a diplomatic crisis. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt*, 194.
 29. Mustapha Kamil (1874–1908): see Appendix A.
 30. Mustapha Kamil, "*Al-Hukuma wal-Umma fi Misr*," reprinted in *Awraq Mustapha Kamil: al-Maqalaat, Vol. II*, edited by Youquim Rizq Murqus (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyaa al-'Amma lil-Kitab, 1992), 126–127.
 31. Juliette Adam, for example, printed a three part series on Egypt by Kamil in her *La Nouvelle Revue* on October 15, November 15, and December 15, 1895.

32. Yoaquim Rizq Murqus, *Sahafat al-Hizb al-Watani: 1907–1912* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil-Kitab, 1985), 13, 41. “*Abrar fi Balaadina, Kuruma li-Dhiyufina*”/ “*Libres Chez Nous, Hospitalities pour Tous.*”
33. *Effendi*, usually translated as “Mister,” referred to white collar employees, usually of the government, such as teachers, accountants, engineers, and middle managers. To be an *effendi* meant to have achieved at least a secondary education as well as a reliable fixed income and a pension fund. The mark of the *effendi*, the red fez or *tarboush*, distinguished him as having middle-class respectability.
34. For an extensive examination of Mustapha Kamil, his successor Muhammad Farid, and the Watani Party, see Arthur Goldschmidt’s 1968 Ph.D. thesis from Harvard University, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, which was translated into Arabic and published as *Al-Hizb al-Watani* (Mustapha Kamil-Muhammad Farid), translated by Fu’ad Dawaara (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil-Kitab, 1983).
35. For example, J. Alexander, *The Truth about Egypt* (London: Cassel, 1911), 203.
36. Muhammad Farid (1868–1919): see Appendix A.
37. B.L. Carter, *The Copts in Egyptian Politics* (Croom Helm: London, 1986), 26–29. Popular pressure had led to the creation of a Coptic Lay Council (*majlis al-milli*) over the objections of the clergy in 1874 and the council had become a real threat to the monopoly of the ecclesiastics on church policy and money by 1883. One of the major issues was oversight of the large religious endowment of the Patriarchy (a *waqf*, or un-taxable trust, under government law), although there were also struggles over communication with government authorities.
38. Both these journals were to become involved in a series of bitter exchanges with *al-Liwa* between 1908 and 1910, when rigorous application of a censorship law silenced what looked to the authorities like an emerging communal clash.
39. Carter, 46–47. Both *al-Watan* and *Misr* eventually became Wafdist, and even included some Muslims on their staff in the early 1920s. *Misr* had seized the opportunity to oppose the Protectorate and promote intercommunal harmony at the very beginning of the 1919 Revolution and thus was embraced by the Wafd. *Al-Watan*, having lost both the support of the British and that of the Patriarch with its change of philosophy in 1924, folded in 1930.
40. Rashid Rida (1865–1935): see Appendix A.
41. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt*, 199. These groups will be discussed further in chapters 4 and 5.
42. An 1883 law allowed attacks on the Army of Occupation to be tried outside of civil courts. There was no recourse allowed for appealing sentences, which were supposed to be executed expeditiously. The law had not been used since 1895, as it had always been understood to be aimed at the remnants of ‘Urabi’s sympathizers.
43. These were W.C. Hayter, judicial advisor; W.G. Bond, vice president of the Egyptian court of appeal; and Lt. Colonel Ludlow, Judge Advocate General for the Army of Occupation.

44. Boutros Ghali (1846–1910), Ahmad Fathy Zaghlul (1863–1914), Ibrahim al-Hilbawi (1858–1940): see Appendix A.
45. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 130.
46. *Ibid.*, 132.
47. Mellini, *Sir Eldon Gorst*, 116.
48. TNA: FO 141/405: No. 276, October 9, 1907. Most of these men were also members of the Fabian Society, a fact that was probably well known to the Foreign Office.
49. Alexander, *The Truth about Egypt*, 91.
50. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 137.
51. Sir Eldon Gorst (1861–1911): see Appendix A. Although many criticized Gorst for being “too soft” on the nationalists, both Watani Party historian Goldschmidt and Gorst’s biographer Mellini point out that it was Gorst, by courting the khedive and cutting off his support for the Watani Party, who seriously undermined the ideological and financial stability of the extreme nationalists during some crucial years before the Great War.
52. These included *al-Alam*, *al-Sha’ab*, *Wadi al-Nil*, and *Misr al-Fatat* at various points, depending on which was currently banned or broke.
53. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Jawish (1876–1929): see Appendix A.
54. Widespread Coptic involvement in anti-British activity began in the Revolution that followed the Armistice, and then Copts were almost exclusively associated with the Wafd. Murqus Hanna (1872–1934) and Wissa Wassif (d.1931) are among the few early Watanists, and they indeed became less active following Jawish’s diatribes—and both later joined the Wafd.
55. While most accounts call the pro-Ottoman attitude “Pan-Islamic,” Lutfi al-Sayyid himself interpreted the Egyptian reaction differently. He noted that Egyptians were anti-British and resented the implication that it was the British who decided what was part of Egypt and what was not. Asserting that the Sultan had a right to make border decisions for his putative province was another way of rejecting both the effort to distance Egypt from her Ottoman and Islamic identity and the claim that Britain had a right to speak for Egypt. Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Kissat Hayati* (Cairo: Kitab al-Hilal, 1962), 43–44.
56. For a complete discussion of the Umma party’s philosophy, see Ahmad Zakariyya al-Shilq, *Hizb al-Umma wa Dowruh fi as-Siyyasa al-Misriyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’arif, 1979).
57. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 144.
58. The meaning behind this will be more extensively explored in chapter 3.
59. *Al-Liwa*, August 4, 1908. Although the Ottomans called their capital Istanbul, it was called Constantinople in Europe until after 1923. The Republic of Turkey changed the name officially. This change is reflected in British Foreign Office documents.
60. Mustapha Kamil, *Al-Masa’ala al-Sharqiyya* (Cairo, 1907), 21.
61. Wilfred Scawen Blunt (1840–1922): see Appendix A.
62. Indulal Jaynik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma: Life and Times of an Indian Revolutionary* (Bombay: Lakshmi, 1950), 209–208.

63. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903): One of the most influential intellectuals of his time, he advocated individual freedoms as the key to all personal and societal progress. He is remembered as a Social Darwinist, who coined the phrase “survival of the fittest,” and wrote a number of works on philosophy, sociology, education and ethics. His emphasis on anti-imperialism and self-improvement made his work popular as far abroad as China and Japan.
64. The first of these scholarships was named after the Rajput hero Rana Pratap Singh, the second after Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, and the third was to carry the name of “some such distinguished Mahomedan ruler, thinker, or benefactor of India, as the readers of (the *Sociologist*) may suggest.” Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 152–153.
65. There were five scholarships each awarded in 1905 and 1906, including one to the same Abdallah Suhrawardy that spoke at the Pan-Islamic Society dinner for Mustapha Kamil in 1906. National Archives of India (hereafter NAI): Foreign Dept., Internal B (May 1909), No. 308; Note of December 24, 1905.
66. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 148.
67. TNA: FO 371/1363, note from India Office to Grey, 65.
68. By 1907, there already had been a few murders in India and authorities feared that the unrest was spreading beyond Bengal.

2 CONGRESSES AND CONSPIRACIES

1. Sir William Hutt Curzon-Wylie (1848–1909); see Appendix A.
2. Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1929): see Appendix A.
3. James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India* (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973/reprint from 1917), 174.
4. Vinayek Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966): see Appendix A.
5. The Mutiny Ceremonies of 1908 were reported in the *Times of London* on May 10, 1908. According to the article, about 100 Indians attended and speeches were made that would have guaranteed prosecution had they been made in India.
6. Savarkar’s prediction that the British Empire would not last as long as his sentence was proved correct in 1960, when he celebrated the day he would have been released from jail in an independent, albeit partitioned, India.
7. TNA: HO 144/AI/180952. Note on Savarkar.
8. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (1880–1937?): see Appendix A.
9. TNA: HO 144/AI/180952. Note on Savarkar.
10. NAI: Home, Political A, September 1909, #66–68A, 4.
11. TNA: HO 144/AI/180952.
12. NAI: Home, Political B, November 1910, #17–24, 33.
13. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 170. Ker served as a personal assistant to the Director of Criminal Intelligence in the Indian Civil Service from 1907 to

1917. He claimed that Krishnavarma felt that Curzon-Wylie had played a role in his (Krishnavarma's) dismissal from an important office in Rajputana ten years earlier, when Curzon-Wylie was the region's British Resident.
14. See, for example, NAI: Home, Political A, September 1909, #66–68A, 3, 6, 7.
 15. Example of this are included in NAI: Home, Political B, October 1910, #1–8, 31; Home, Political A, May 1910, #133–135A, 7; and Home, Political B, November 1910, #17–24, 8. The slender Savarkar had jumped out of a porthole while the ship was docked briefly in Marseilles but was returned to the pursuing British policemen by a gendarme who stopped him, despite Savarkar's claim of political asylum. Savarkar's situation created a diplomatic crisis between France and Britain that was resolved by a court in the Hague. Although the verdict went against Savarkar, and Great Britain was able to try him in India, the publicity surrounding the trial helped the nationalist activists in Europe reach a much larger audience than usual.
 16. This second pistol was a Belgian Browning automatic, which Savarkar admitted to supplying in his memoirs published after Indian independence.
 17. See Appendix C.
 18. *Times of London*, July 24, 1909.
 19. NAI: Home, Pol. B, September 1909, nos. 47–54.
 20. Varahaneri Venkatesa Subramaniam Aiyar (1881–1925): see Appendix A. Much to the chagrin of the authorities, Dhingra left all his worldly possessions to Aiyer.
 21. TNA: HO 144/A1/180952. Letter dated August 13, 1909.
 22. T.R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad, 1905–1921* (New Delhi: Anmol, 1979), 18. Apparently, the other target of choice was Lord Kitchener, who would also be the subject of an Egyptian assassination plot a few years later.
 23. NAI: Home, Pol. B, May 1910, nos. 133–135.
 24. *Daily Telegraph*, July 24, 1909, 1.
 25. Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 272 and also Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 175. Horsely was convicted on July 23, 1909 and Aldred on September 10, 1909. The printing of the *Indian Sociologist* was thereafter done in Paris. Guy Aldred (1886–1933) remained a political activist and organized the Savarkar Release Committee two years later. He remained in contact and helped another India House friend, Har Dayal, as late as World War I. He wrote an account of some of these adventures in Guy Aldred, *The Golden Echo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954).
 26. For a discussion of these views, see Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), and *Political and Literary Essays, 1908–1913*, (London: Macmillan, 1913).
 27. Also about Dhingra's age, Bhattacharji was imprisoned for six months and then went to the United States soon after. According to Ker, he became a student at "Chicago University." Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 399. See also Appendix A for Stevenson-Moore and Lee-Warner.

28. NAI: Home, Pol. B, November 1909, nos. 32–46. Harnam Singh (d.1917) was another Indian “extremist” who would be hanged for conspiracy and sedition in connection with the Ghadr movement (see chapter 3).
29. Bhikaji Rustom Cama (1861–1936): see Appendix A.
30. *Times of London*, July 24, 1909, p. 2.
31. See, for example, the statement read in the Bengal Provincial Assembly, NAI: Home, Political B, July 1909, #140–142.
32. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. IX (1908–1909), (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1969), 302.
33. V.N. Datta, *Madan Lal Dhingra and the Revolutionary Movement* (Vikas: New Delhi, 1978), 68–69.
34. For example, in NAI: Home, Political B, Nov. 1910, #17–24, 12, No.19: Pondicherry.
35. It might also have comforted Dhingra to know that placards praising him showed up around Ireland, believed by Parliament to be the result of Labour MP’s Keir Hardie’s influence. *The Parliamentary Debates*, HOC, 10th Vol. of session from August 30 to September 1909, column 18.
36. Translation that of the Government of India in NAI: Home, Political A, October 1910, #81–84A, 17.
37. TNA: FO 371/660, 335.
38. ‘Ali al-Ghayati (1885–1956): see Appendix A.
39. NAI: Home, Political A, October 1910, #81–84A, 13. A few months earlier there had been a letter written to *al-Muayyad* complaining that an Egyptian student at the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh had been pressured by the GOI to leave his studies in India and return home. Although the British denied this claim, in 1908 Hasrat Mohani of *Urdu-e-Moalla* had been sentenced to two years imprisonment for an article by “an Egyptian student” which insulted the British education system.
40. *Al-Liwa*, June 28, 1909, “*Fi zikra Dinshaway*.” Also see ‘Abd al-Rahman Rafai’i, *Muhammad Farid: Ramz al-Ikhlās wa al-Tadhiyya (Tarikh Misr al-Qaoumi min 1908 ila 1919)*, 4th ed., (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’arif, 1984), 123. Prime Minister Butrous Ghali will be discussed further later in the chapter.
41. *Al-Abram*, August 8, 1910. Ironically, during World War I, Al-Ghayati would actually support the Allies, including Britain, in the pages of his Geneva journal *La Tribune d’Orient*, thereby arousing the ire of the Watanists.
42. This act had been reinstated by Sir Eldon Gorst upon being appointed British Consul to Egypt in 1907 in the aftermath of Dinshaway.
43. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., “The Egyptian Nationalist Party: 1892–1919,” in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt: Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic*, ed. P. M. Holt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 325.
44. TNA: FO 371/660, letter no.98, August 20, 1909. A *hashash* is someone addicted to hashish.
45. “*Al-Zira’a wa al-Sina’a fi ahb al-Ihtilal bayna Misr wa al-Hind*,” *Al-Liwa*, October 18, 1910.

46. *Al-Muqattam* had run a short note on August 9 in which they reported on a meeting in London in which the “unrest” in India was discussed. The speaker at the meeting had blamed the problems on the fact that so many Indians were being over-educated and also being influenced by Japan, Turkey, and Iran’s ideas.
47. It is my opinion that al-Sayyid wanted to condemn Dhingra’s act, but that perhaps others on his staff did not. He could not afford to ignore the issue, given *al-Liwa*’s obvious focus on it, and so chose a way to marginalize it. Curzon-Wylie’s murder was clearly an act al-Sayyid would not support, so the strange way it was reported by *al-Jarida* bears further scrutiny.
48. “*Hukm wa-Inzaar Youm 25 Aug.*” *Al-Jarida*, August 26, 1909. In this debate, al-Sayyid knew well the issues at stake; he himself had been sent to Switzerland to acquire citizenship so that he could publish in Egypt under protection of the Capitulations, which shielded any foreign national from Egyptian press laws.
49. Mansour Rifa’at was the son of a Turkish officer from the Egyptian army who had studied at the Syrian Protestant College and then Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His brothers included Muhammad Farid’s best friend Isma’il Labib. He was very active in Watani causes until falling out with Jewish at the start of World War I and then Farid in 1917. He remained in Berlin until his death—probably by suicide—in 1925. In the issue of Capitulatory protection of *al-Liwa*, the U.S. Consulate in Egypt did not intervene on Rifa’at’s behalf, probably because he had not truly acquired citizenship.
50. “*Ila al-Umma al-Misriyya.*” *Al-Jarida*, August 28, 1909. The article was by Hasan ‘Abd al-Raziq, president of the Umma Party at the time.
51. Muhammad Farid, *Al-Murasalat: Vol. II, Part I* collected in *Awraq Muhammad Farid* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil-Kitab, 1978). Mahmud Hasib to Farid, September 3, 1909, 162–164. See also TNA: FO 371/664 Graham to Mallet, Ramleh, August 30, 1909 private—The Interior Minister had “leaked” to the press that al-Azhar and other school officials would be there to record the names of protestors.
52. “*Sifaat al-Aqaliyya fi-Ash-Shu’ub.*” *Misr*, July 23, 1909.
53. Syed Ashmawi, for example, mentions this in his unpublished lectures. Ahmad Fouad Nassar also mentions the role that Dhingra played in exciting the imaginations of young patriots in his memoir “*Kayfa Ussisat a Jama’iyya Misriyya bi-Uruba.*” *Kul Shay wa-al-Alam* on March 8, 1930 (Issue 226).
54. The Egyptian intellectual Muhammad ‘Awda, who was a young man during World War II, mentioned Dhingra as a hero of the Indian struggle and an inspiration to Egyptians during a personal interview in 1999. This was surprising, as many Indians do not seem to know of him at all, or only as a disciple of Savarkar of the Hindu Mahasabha.
55. *Egyptian Gazette*, February 21, 1910, 3.
56. TNA: FO 141/802, 2.
57. Malak Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925: Secret Societies, Plots, and Assassinations* (London: Curzon, 2000), 37.

58. Ahmad Fouad Nassar, *Kul Shay wa-l 'Alam*, March 8, 1930 (Issue 226). Wardani, along with Mahmoud Azmi and 'Abd al-Hamid Sa'id, had just set up a branch of Young Egypt in Paris and was apparently traveling around Europe on this mission. In London, Dhingra and other "Indian revolutionaries" had met with their Egyptian friends at the home of Ibrahim Ramzi to discuss the Suez Canal concession. Nassar misidentifies Dhingra as the assassin of "Curzon, ruler of India."
59. Although the real effects of this extension would not be felt for decades, as the current concession was not going to expire until 1968 anyway, the idea was unpopular in Egypt as it only underlined the sense of most Egyptians of not controlling their own resources. Indeed, the Nationalist Party papers had started a sustained campaign against it and even the normally circumspect Umma party had weighed in on the fact that their members on the quasi-elected General Assembly did not plan to support the extension. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925*, 12.
60. TNA: FO 371/890 Gorst to Grey, Cairo, February 24, 1910 No. 2.
61. TNA: FO 141/802, note of March 25, 1910. Draft of note from Gorst to Grey, No. 33.
62. This legal gap was soon corrected the following year. The Law of Associations, which was based on a similar Indian law, had a chilling effect on almost all political activity from 1912 onwards.
63. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925*, 65.
64. Fourteen years later Mansur would become the leader of the assassins of Sir Lee Stack, the British Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.
65. *Al-Liwa*, February 22, 1910; TNA: FO 141/802, 6.
66. *Egyptian Gazette*, May 17, 1910.
67. TNA: FO 141/802, Note from Ronald Graham to Gorst, June 30, 1910, "Imprisonment and Execution of Ibrahim Nassif al-Wardany," 5.
68. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925*, 42. One of the visitors that he turned away was an Indian named Mohammad 'Abd al-Hak, who was known to work occasionally in the *al-Liwa* offices. TNA: FO 371/894, 8.
69. The lyrics to a popular song in the aftermath of Ghali's murder, "Wardani, who killed the Christian." This was one of the many manifestations of religious bigotry occasioned by the assassination. Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms* (London: I. Nicholson & Watson, 1937), 84.
70. TNA: FO 371/111; EGYPT No.1 (1910), Sir Eldon Gorst on the dangerous influence of press campaigns in Egypt, 528. Emphasis Gorst's.
71. TNA: FO 141/802; Report by H. Nolan, controller public security department, May, 1910, 4.
72. Tariq al-Bishri, *Al-Muslimun wa al-Aqbat fi Itar al-Jama'a al-Wataniyya*, (Cairo: Dar ash-Shuruq, 2nd edition, 1988), 146–150. Medical student 'Aryan Yusef Sa'ad was sent by a cell within the Wafd to kill Yusef Wahba, prime minister after Muhammad Sa'id, in December 1919. The young man was yelling "Long live the homeland!" when he threw two bombs that missed Yusef Wahba's car; he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

73. For the outline he wrote, see Appendix C.
74. *Al-Liwa*, June 18, 1908. Also Ahmad Fouad Nassar, “*Kayfa Ussisat al-Jamaiyya Misriyya bi-Uruba*,” *Kul Shay wa al-Alam*, February 9, 1930 (Issue 222).
75. TNA: FO 141/802, Note from Ronald Graham to Gorst, June 30, 1910, “Imprisonment and execution of Ibrahim Nassif al-Wardany,” 2.
76. *Ibid.*, 4.
77. *Ibid.*, 5.
78. Datta, *Madan Lal Dhingra*, 12, 22.
79. The original *Bande Mataram* had been founded in 1905 in Calcutta by Bipin Chandra Pal, who had been jailed for nationalist activities. Madame Cama was clearly referring to the legacy when she chose the name; the editor was Lala Har Dayal, about whom more will be said. The first issue was dated September 10, 1909, and the last mid-1914.
80. *Bande Mataram*, 10 September 1909, 1, quoted in Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 113.
81. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 383–384.
82. Muhammad Farid, *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader* (1868–1919), translated by Arthur Goldschmidt (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992), 192–93.
83. James Keir Hardie (1856–1915): see Appendix A.
84. Muhammad Lutfi Goma’a (1886–1953): see Appendix A.
85. Sareen, 159, and also NAI: Foreign Department, Secret Internal, Jan 1913 No.1, MacDonald to Grey, October 15, 1915. Abdul Hafiz Mohammad Barakatullah (1859–1927): see Appendix A.
86. Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 285.
87. Edited in New York by George Freeman, an ardent Irish nationalist and supposed Sinn Fein contact, according to TNA documents. John Devoy of Clan Na-Gael owned the paper.
88. Owned and edited by Henry Mayer Hyndman (1842–1921).
89. William Maloney and then Fredrick Ryan ran the *Standard*. See TNA: FO 371/248; file 14376. Cromer to Grey, April 27, 1907, No. 72. and FO 371/448, J.B. Dinghooly to Grey, Dublin Castle, January 21, 1908.
90. Ryan actually died in Blunt’s home during a visit in 1913.
91. NAI: Foreign Dept. Secret Internal, February 1910, Nos. 56–59.
92. N.F. Dryhurst (1856–1930): see Appendix A.
93. Frank O’Cahan O’Donnell (1848–1916) born Francis Hugh MacDonald. Served as MP for many years and then was a writer and activist for education.
94. Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 234.
95. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 144.
96. Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 291. A Committee was instituted in 1917 under Rowlatt to report on the nature and extent of seditious activities in India. The Report, released in April 1918, found evidence of widespread conspiracy and revolutionary organization and recommended that many of the powers granted the government during the war be kept in place indefinitely.

97. M.L. Goma'a, *Shahid 'ala al-'Asr: Mudhakiraat Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a (Part I)*, Silsilat Tarikh al-Misriyeen (Issue 183), (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-'Amma lil-Kitab, 2000), 156.
98. An earlier conference was held in Geneva the year before (September 1909) in which representatives of all Egyptian parties were invited. A split occurred between the students who collaborated in organizing the event and the Watani faction, including Wardani, who felt that they were being marginalized.
99. NAI: Home, Political B, Oct 1910, #1–8, Weekly Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence (henceforth CID Weekly Report), September 6, 1910. Al-Alaily had also been one of the organizers of the 1909 Conference in Geneva and would supposedly plot to kill Consul-General Kitchener a few years later.
100. 'Abd al-Hamid Sa'id (1886–1940): see Appendix A.
101. TNA: FO 371/1364, Kitchener to Grey, October 27, 1912, No.117.
102. Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) was president of the Indian National Congress in 1925 and attended the Round Table Conference with Gandhi in 1931. She was a close friend of Jawarharlal Nehru, who appointed her the first woman Lt. Governor of an Indian state, Uttar Pradesh, in independent India.
103. M.P. Tirumala Acharya (1887–1951): see Appendix A.
104. Lala Har Dayal (1884–1939): see Appendix A.
105. NAI: Home, Pol. B, November 1910, Nos. 23–24, CID Weekly Report, 25 Oct 1910. Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a wrote a moving eulogy to Cama a year after her death. "*Wataniyyat al-Parsee fil-Hind wa man Takun Madam Cama*, in M.L. Goma'a, *Mabahith fi-at-Tarikh*, (Cairo: 'Alam al-Kutub, 2001).
106. NAI: Foreign Dept. Secret Internal, February 1910, Nos. 56–59.
107. NAI: Home, Political B, October 1909, Nos. 110–117, CID Weekly Report 25 Sept 1909.
108. Krishnavarma sent a telegram, which was published in *l'Humanite*, to Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi as well, asking for clemency for Wardani. Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, 284.
109. TNA: FO 371/890, 567, Cheethan to Mallet, October 2, 1910.
110. Goldschmidt, "The Egyptian Nationalist Party," 328.
111. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925*, 72.
112. NAI: Home Department, Political B, Nov 1910, #17–24, CID Weekly Report, October 18, 1910, 17.
113. Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Anti-Imperialist in Europe*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 28.
114. Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a, *Shahid*, 245.
115. TNA: FO 371/894, 298, Cheetham to Grey, October 2, 1910.
116. NAI: Foreign Dept. D, External B, January 1911 #549, 17–18.
117. Ahmad Fouad Nassar, *Kul Shay wa al-Dunya*, March 8, 1930. This article is the only reference to the Association I have found in an Egyptian source. I have found no references to it in Indian sources and only three in British

- documents, despite the fact that the tone of the references indicates the existence of the club was accepted as an established fact.
118. Barooah, *Chatto*, 27–28. He refers to “Some unpublished facts on the Egyptian National Movement,” a handwritten article copied on microfilm in the erstwhile Dmitroff Museum in Leipzig.
 119. NAI: Home, Political Deposit, April 1909, #21–26.
 120. NAI: Home, Political B, June 1912, #37–40, 12.
 121. NAI: Home, Political B, October 1910, #1–8, CID Weekly Report, September 6, 1910; TNA: FO 371/894, 8–9.
 122. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 64.
 123. NAI: Home Political A, May 1910, 133–135A, 7.
 124. N. Gerald Barrier, *Banned: Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India, 1907–1947* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 32.
 125. TNA: FO371/1363, Kitchener to Grey, Cairo, April 4, 1912, No. 38. H. H. Kitchener (1850–1916); see Appendix A.
 126. Barrier, *Banned*, 58, quoting GIPOL February 1911, 90–91A.
 127. NAI: Home Political B, November 1910, #17–24, 8–10. George Freeman was also a subscriber to *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, another Indian nationalist-leaning journal.
 128. NAI: Foreign, November 1907, Sec E, #549–550. These two papers and *al-‘Alam-al-Islami* had drawn Indian authorities’ attention in 1905 as well; see NAI: Foreign, Sec E, Aug 1905, #446–454.
 129. This is the same Watani doctor who claimed American protection for *al-Liwa* in response to the Press Law.
 130. TNA records actually record Wardani’s last words as being slightly different than those in the *Sociologist*, but perhaps Krishnavarma felt that a little poetic license was in order for his hero.
 131. *Talvar*’s inaugural edition also carried a laudatory article on Wardani.
 132. TNA: FO 317/1364 Kitchener to Grey, September 9, 1912, No.96 At this point, there had been a squabble among the heirs of Mustapha Kamil over ownership of the papers and ‘Ali Fahmy Kamil was running *al-Liwa*.
 133. TNA: FO 317/1364 Kitchener to Grey, November 30, 1912, No. 126.
 134. TNA: FO 371/894, 297, Cheetham to Grey, September 18, 1910.
 135. TNA: FO 371/892, 372, Gorst to Mallet. These machinations to undermine the safeguards of civil rights laws in the early twentieth century perhaps are not unfamiliar to those living a century later.
 136. Samir Seikaly, “Prime Minister and Assassin: Butrus Ghali and Wardani,” *Middle East Studies XIII*, (1977), 112–123.
 137. Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 116.
 138. *Ibid.*, 107–108, quoting the *Indian Sociologist*, August, 1908.
 139. Seikaly, “Prime Minister and Assassin,” 122.
 140. ‘Issam Diya’ al-Din, *al-Hizb al-Watani wa al-Nidal al-Sirri* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-‘Amma lil Kitab), 65.

141. TNA: FO 371/1363, Kitchener to Grey, 93.
142. India Office Library (henceforth IOL): Report of the Departmental Committee on Indian Students, Judicial and Public Department, No. 840/1908.
143. In 1912, inspectors from the Egyptian Ministry of Education were set up in London, Paris, and Geneva. TNA: FO 371/1363, 62–65. Mellini, 172, notes that Supervision of the students included surveillance by Scotland Yard.
144. Richard Poppowell, *Intelligence and Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904–1924* (Frank Cass, London: 1995), 140–141.

3 IN ENGLAND'S MISFORTUNE, OUR OPPORTUNITY

1. Ahmet Jemal, Ismail Enver, and Mehmet Talat. See Appendix A.
2. Not only did the reforms fail to keep the Balkans from revolting against the Empire, but many Arabs resented what they saw as “turkification” of what had always been a multilingual and multiethnic confederation. The CUP’s centralizing policies included the replacement of many local notables in the Arab provinces, most of whom had been quite independent for generations, with trusted men from the Constantinople bureaucracy (usually Turks). Many institutions that had been linguistically and culturally Arab (or Armenian or Kurdish, etc.) outside the Anatolian provinces were seen as being under attack. Most historians date the rise of Arab nationalism to the revived sense of “Arabism” resulting from these policies, particularly in the religiously heterogeneous Levant.
3. The idea of joining all Turkic-speaking peoples of Anatolia and Central Asia was also promoted by the CUP, who saw the Turkic peoples under Russian hegemony as part of a possible “nation” and useful allies in any case. The fact that all Turkic-speaking peoples were also Muslim has made the rhetoric occasionally overlap with that of Pan-Islamism.
4. Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto, The Life and Times of an Indian Anti-Imperialist in Europe* (New Delhi: Oxford, 2004), 35–36.
5. Barooah, *Chatto*, 35.
6. Donald M. McKale, *War by Revolution* (London: Kent State University Press, 1998), 7–10.
7. Arthur Zimmerman (1864–1940): see Appendix A.
8. Barooah, *Chatto*, 37, quoting from *Germany and the Next War*, 96.
9. Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London: I. Nicholson & Watson, 1937), 121. Baron Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (1860–1946): see Appendix A.
10. McKale, *War by Revolution*, 33.
11. *Ibid.*, 41–42. Rashid Rida (1865–1935): see Appendix A.
12. Storrs, *Orientations*, 121.
13. TNA: FO 371/2778/130553, “The War with Turkey,” Memorandum by Sir Arthur Hirtzel, Political Department, India Office, May 25, 1916.

14. Joseph Heller, *British Policy towards the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1983), 39.
15. Russia's most direct influence was on Iran, and by 1911 it had a recognized "sphere of influence," backed by troops, in the northern half of Iran while Britain claimed the southern part.
16. Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali (1855–1931): see Appendix A.
17. Herbert Horatio Kitchener (1850–1916): see Appendix A.
18. McKale, *War by Revolution*, 32, 44.
19. *Ibid.*, 33.
20. 'Issam Diya al-Din, *Al-Hizb al-Watani wa al-Nidal al-Sirri*, (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-'Amma lil-Kitab, 1987), 241.
21. Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, Ph.D. dissertation, (Department of History, Harvard University, 1968), 274. The moderates included 'Abd al- Hamid Ammar, 'Abd al- Latif al-Sufani, Hafiz Ramadan, and Muhammad 'Ali Alluba. Among the "extremists" were Isma'il Labib, Isma'il Hafiz, 'Abd al- Malik Hamza, Isma'il Kamil, and 'Abd al- Rahman Rafai'i.
22. TNA: FO 371/1363, Cheetham to Mallet, Communication, September 16, 1912, private.
23. Geneva was the other haven of choice, for much the same reasons.
24. TNA: FO 141/746/4681. *Procès Verbal*. Interrogation of Shaykh Jawish. September 10–15, 1912, 3.
25. By 1913, the khedive pushed his luck too far and did indeed attract Kitchener's ire when he tried to sell the Maryut railway concession to the Italians, thereby giving them the opportunity to build a railway line from the Alexandrian coast right up to their military bases in Libya. Kitchener stopped the sale and finally managed to take control of the sale of titles and the *awqaf* monies from the khedive.
26. Muhammad Farid, *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader (1868–1919)*, translated by Arthur Goldschmidt (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992), 167. When Cama confronted the khedive on this plot, 'Abbas Hilmi claimed the amount he paid for it was less than indicated.
27. "Supposedly" because the chief of Cairo's secret police at that time later admitted to taking bribes and manufacturing evidence in many cases. He claimed on a later date that the evidence in this "Shubra Plot" had been concocted. With only circumstantial evidence aside from his testimony, the guilt of the "conspirators" might be doubted, although they all served their full terms anyway. Certainly, their associations supported the authorities' suspicions. See Malak Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt 1910–1925: Secret Societies, Plots, and Assassinations* (London: Curzon, 2000), 86–92.
28. 'Issam Diya al-Din, 243, and TNA: FO 141/430/5334/1. 'Issam Diya al-Din claims the group held their first meeting at Wardani's grave.
29. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt*, 80–84.
30. The "Arab Revolt" of Sharif Husayn of Mecca in 1916 was partially the result of British investment in the possibility of a new caliphate of this sort.

- Although the Muslim world never recognized a Hashemite Caliphate, the military help that the Sharif provided the British was useful during the war.
31. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 257.
 32. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt*, 94.
 33. TNA: FO 371/1364, Cambon to Grey, London, September 15, 1912.
 34. Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt*, 101.
 35. Shafiq Mansur would be one of the assassins of Sir Lee Stack, sirdar of the Egyptian army, in 1924.
 36. Farid, *The Memoirs*, 88.
 37. *La Patrie Egyptienne*, July 15, 1914.
 38. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries; Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888–1914* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1932), 825.
 39. ‘Issam Diya al-Din, 259.
 40. Farid, *The Memoirs*, 90.
 41. NAI: Home Political B, January 1912, 121–123.
 42. The partition of Bengal was revoked in 1911, as well, compounding the Muslim community’s sense of being politically ineffective. The new generation of Muslim leaders, including those below, had become far less supportive of Britain’s role in India. By 1913, they would actually commandeer the Muslim League from the traditional “loyalist” leadership associated with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aga Khan.
 43. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1880–1936): see Appendix A.
 44. Zafar Ali Khan (1873–1956): see Appendix A.
 45. Muhammad Ali (1878–1931): see Appendix A.
 46. *Comrade*, Feb 22, 1913.
 47. Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience: MA Ansari, the Congress, and the Raj* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1987), 49. Other than Talat and Enver, Ansari and Khan worked most closely with the Turks, Khalil Beg, and Halide Edib along with Egyptians Ahmad Fouad and Jawish.
 48. Ker, 392, 445. Abu Sayyad el-Arabi (1872–1927).
 49. NAI: Home, Political, Deposit, July 1914, #17, letter of February 28, 1914.
 50. M. Naeem Qureishi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918–1924* (Boston: Brill, 1999), 59.
 51. Mehmed Sa’id Halim (1865–1921): see Appendix A.
 52. Jacob Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 93. Landau also claims that *Jehan-i-Islam* “inspired” such papers as *al-Sha’ab* in Egypt, which was a Watani paper. *Jehan-i-Islam* went from being a fortnightly to a monthly in 1915.
 53. These included Sa’ad Zaghlul, who was making the transition from “collaborator to revolutionary” in Watani eyes, according to Arthur Goldschmidt.
 54. The first Conference was held in Caxton Hall, Westminster, and featured Farid as well as Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal as speakers. The 1911 Congress was held at the University of London and is well remembered among Americans for the participation of W.E.B. Dubois.
 55. ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Azzam (1893–1976): see Appendix A. ‘Azzam, who had spent much of the summer of 1913 in Istanbul consorting with Jawish and

- other Watanists, had actually been removed from the ferry returning him to London because the khedive had been on the same craft and feared he might be part of an assassination attempt. Ralph Coury, *The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist: The Early Years of 'Azzam Pasha, 1893–1936* (Lebanon: Ithaca, 1998), 76.
56. Duse Mohamed Ali (1866–1945): see Appendix A.
 57. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 299.
 58. Emily Brown, *Har Dayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 182–183.
 59. NAI: Home, Political B, July 1914, #124–128. CID Weekly Report, June 23, 1914.
 60. He had been appointed a lecturer at the University of California for two years. A socialist and a believer in “naturalism,” Har Dayal had caused quite a stir at Berkeley, not the least for advocating “free love” along with suspect economic ideas.
 61. Pandurang Sadashiva Khankhoje (1884–1967).
 62. NAI: Home, Political, File No. 28/7/38, Political History Sheet of Har Dayal.
 63. Farid, *Memoirs*, 460.
 64. *La Patrie Egyptienne*, July 15, 1914.
 65. ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Rafai’i, *Muhammad Farid: Ramz al-Ikhlās wa al-Tadhiyya (Tarikh Misr al-Qaoumi min 1908 ila 1919)* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’arif, 1984), 400.
 66. Coury, *The Making of an Arab Egyptian Nationalist*, 86.
 67. The exceptions were Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian states. Italy entered the war in 1915, and Greece in the final weeks before Armistice. The United States entered in April 1917.
 68. Enver Pasha violated Ottoman neutrality by allowing the German ship *Goeben* to enter the Black Sea flying Ottoman colors. The newly renamed *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, still manned by Germans, bombarded Sevastopol on October 29, 1914, and the Russians declared war upon the Ottomans on November 2.
 69. James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India* (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973, ca.1917), 297–298. Copies of this *fatwa* and also of *Jehan-i-Islam* were circulated widely throughout India.
 70. Raouf Abbas Hamed, “Germany and the Egyptian Nationalist Movement 1882–1918,” in *Gegenwart als Geschichte: Islamwissenschaftliche Studien*, ed. A. Havemann and B. Johansen, (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1988), 17.
 71. Farid, *Memoirs*, 100.
 72. *Ibid.*, 100.
 73. Farid, *Memoirs*, 441. This was probably Ernst Graf zu Reventlow (1869–1942?), a German naval officer married to a French woman. The “Indian student” was probably Champak Raman Pillai, who knew Reventlow well and also was in touch with the India House group that Farid knew.
 74. TNA: FO 371/1114, Robert Greg to Sir W. Tyrell, Cairo, November 19, 1911, report by Ronald Storrs.
 75. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 306.
 76. Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Kissat Hayati* (Cairo: Kitab al-Hilal, 1962), 164–165. In this memoir, al-Sayyid claimed to have negotiated with the British

- for Egypt's direct support in the war effort in exchange for a declaration of independence. The idea was rejected by London, supposedly as they doubted the loyalty of Egyptian troops to the British over the Ottomans, whatever the land-owning elite might have decided.
77. Apparently inspired, but not organized, by Lala Har Dayal, hundreds of Indian expatriates in North America and East Asia started traveling back to India with the intent to help liberate it. That the plan failed was not just due to British intelligence but also the failure of the Germans to get the promised arms to most of the rebels. For more information, see James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India* (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973, ca.1917), and Richard J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904–1924* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1995).
 78. NAI: Foreign, Proceedings 61-M/1924. It was estimated by the Indian authorities that 18,000 Indian Muslims left their homes and property.
 79. Control of the Ottoman Empire was effectively in the hands of the triumvirate of Jemal, Talat, and Enver Pashas from Jan 1913 until the Armistice of November 1918.
 80. For Hasrat Mohani (1877–1951), Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958), and the Ali Brothers Muhammad (1878–1931) and Shaukat (1873–1938) see Appendix A. As editor of *Urdu-e-Moalla*, Hasrat Mohani had been sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment for an article supposedly written by an Egyptian that “criticized the educational policy of the British in Egypt in... [a very] bitter and hostile spirit.” NAI: HD, Political A, August 1908 #47–51 A, 6–9.
 81. Hasan, *Nationalist Conscience*, 74.
 82. Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah Aga Khan (Aga Khan III) (1877–1957): see Appendix A. See his report on “The Situation in Egypt” in India Office Library and Records (IOLR), Political and Secret Department Proceedings, B216, No. 31.
 83. NAI: Home, Political, Deposit, April 1909, #21–26.
 84. The other named by M.N. Roy in his *Memoirs* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1964) was Champak Raman Pillai. However, Emily Brown, in *Har Dayal*, also includes Abinashchandra Bhattacharya, who returned to Bengal to continue the Committee's work on the ground.
 85. B.D. Yadav, ed., *MPT Acharya: Reminiscences of an Indian Revolutionary* (New Delhi: Anmol, 1991), 34.
 86. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 181.
 87. NAI: Home, Political, Deposit, December 1916, No.30.
 88. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 327.
 89. The plan was to set up a Provisional Government of India in Afghanistan and convince the ruler of that land to join in an attack on northern India. The plot has been examined extensively in literature on Pan-Islamism, as much of the funding was provided by the Ottomans. However, the Germans sent a contingent of officers (along with the Ottoman officers) after Baron Hans von Wangenheim, their ambassador in Constantinople, conferred with Har Dayal on the specifics of the plan.

90. NAI: Home, Political B, December 1914, Nos. 218–222, CID Weekly Report, October 20, 1914.
91. NAI: Home, Political B, February 1919, No. 185.
92. T.R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad, 1905–1921* (New Delhi: Sterling Press, 1979), 178.
93. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 308. Farid recorded that Enver Pasha had been enthusiastic in welcoming him, while Talat had been reserved and Jemal Pasha had barely concealed his hostility.
94. *Ibid.*, 307. It was Farid and his friend Isma'il Labib who secured a *fatwa* authorizing the murder of the new Sultan of Egypt, Husayn Kamil, for having accepted the post.
95. McKale, *War by Revolution*, 53.
96. Hamed, 18, quoting Farid's diary of September 11, 1914: *Memoirs*, 179–180.
97. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 191–196, 222–223.
98. Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 52.
99. Farid, *The Memoirs*, 287–89. His reputation suffered even further during the “Bolo affair” in which it became public in 1916 that he had pocketed 4 million marks given to him by Germany to buy control of several leading Paris newspapers to influence their editorial policies against the war. Paul Bolo, the khedive's financial agent, had been the center of the scheme and was court-martialed and hanged by the French in 1918. The khedive refused to pay the money back to Germany and eventually the Watanists threatened to break with him for the sake of their own reputation.
100. McKale, *War by Revolution*, 52.
101. *Ibid.*, 54.
102. *Ibid.*, 55–56, quoting from Prüfer's papers preserved in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.
103. Hamed, 22, quoting Farid: *The Memoirs*, 223.
104. Al-Rafai'i, *Mudhakiraati*, 352.
105. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 317 *fn*. Goldschmidt notes that Mme Viellard (aka Aziza de Rocheburne, Farid's mistress) wrote to him in February 1965 that Farid himself wrote most of the Sultan's statement, but that he did not wish this to become known.
106. Hamed, 20.
107. McKale, *War by Revolution*, 54, quoting Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg's September 1914 letter to the German Foreign Ministry.
108. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 310–312. In the end, only some minor members of the khedival entourage went with Jemal, and he ordered them back to Constantinople well before the troops entered Palestine.
109. Ahmad Shafiq, *Mudhakiraati fi Nisf Qarn, Juz' III*, (Cairo: Dar Majalatti li al-Taba' wa al-Nashr, 1934), 52–58.
110. Arun Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad: 1905–1907*, (Patna, India: Bharati Bhavan, 1971), 64.

111. NAI: Home, Political B, February 1919, Nos 181, 184: CID Weekly Report, February 24, 1919.
112. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 316.
113. Muhammad Farid, *The Memoirs and Diaries of Muhammad Farid, an Egyptian Nationalist Leader (1868–1919)*, translated by Arthur Goldschmidt (San Francisco: Mellen University Research Press, 1992), 208–15, 222, 231.
114. *Ibid.*, 394–99.
115. *Ibid.*, 328.
116. Coury, *The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist*, 126–127.
117. Hamed, 23.
118. *Ibid.*, 21.
119. Sareen, 167.
120. His biographer Emily Brown takes great pains to point out that his criticisms were specifically directed against the Turks and the “Pan-Islamic project,” which he saw as undermining national objectives, rather than at Muslims as a whole or Islam as a religion.
121. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 190.
122. *Ibid.*, 212.
123. *Ibid.*, 214.
124. NAI: Home Political B, November 1917, Nos. 43–45.
125. Yadav, *MPT Acharya*, 42.
126. Hamed, 24.
127. *Ibid.*
128. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 325.
129. J. Alexander, *The Truth about Egypt* (London: Cassel, 1911), 76.
130. TNA: FO 371/894, 297, Cheetham to Grey, letter dated September 18, 1910. As noted above in the case of the Sinn Fein, colonial authorities tended to apply general labels to any anti-imperial activity; thus, they insisted in calling the 1916 Easter uprising as Sinn Fein despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Personal communication with Raymond Douglas.
131. TNA: FO 286/737 (1920), 2.

4 REVOLUTIONS AND REALITIES

1. Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 6.
2. The Sultan-Caliph had just ascended his throne in July, 1918, upon the death of his brother, Mehmet V.
3. The area recognized as the State of Turkey also included much of the Kurdish-speaking area of Anatolia and the area that had previously been heavily populated by Armenians. The remainder of the Armenian population was absorbed by the Soviet Union. For more on this tumultuous era and the specifics of border decisions, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) and Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

4. The reader will remember here Gershoni and Jankowski's definition of the two terms from the Introduction.
5. The Khilafat and Noncooperation Movements are treated as one in this work not only because of their simultaneity but because they did, in fact, share personnel, organization, and larger goals. For more on this see Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) and Naeem Qureishi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918–1924* (Boston: Brill, 1999).
6. Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience: MA Ansari, the Congress, and the Raj* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1987), 33.
7. Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863–1927): see Appendix A.
8. In fact, it had been Ansari who introduced Obeidullah Sindhi of the Silk Letter Plot to Muhammad Ali and Azad. Hasan, 52. Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, 30.
9. M.N. Roy, *Memoirs* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Private Ltd., 1964), 489. Indeed, according to Roy (1886–1954), the reason the Third International did not choose "Chatto" as the official Indian representative was his tendency to give nationalism at least as high a priority in the "revolution" as the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Roy was chosen for being more loyal to the Party.
10. B.D. Yadav, *MPT Acharya, Reminiscences of an Indian Revolutionary* (New Delhi: Anmol, 1991), 56. Mansour is present, for example, at a meeting organized by Chatto in Moscow on May 25, 1921, to restart the work of the Indian Independence Committee. Also present was Chatto's then-lover, the American activist-journalist, Agnes Smedley (1892–1950).
11. Lala Har Dayal, *Forty-Four Months in Germany and Turkey, February 1915 to October 1918: A Record of Personal Impressions* (London: P.S. King and Sons, Ltd, 1920). The screed provides the reader with considerable insight into Har Dayal's attitudes and grievances but little information on the many "acquaintances" he cites as colleagues in his stories. For example, conversations with Egyptians are mentioned several times, but without names, dates, or particulars. Either to protect his old comrades or himself, Har Dayal gives no "actionable intelligence" in his story of the war.
12. The official delegation consisted of Husayn Rushdie, the Prime Minister, and 'Adly Yakan. Prince 'Umar Tousson, who had a good relationship with many Watanists, also tried to form a second delegation of Watani members.
13. Muhammad Farid Hashish, *Hizb al-Wafd: 1936–1952*, Vol. I (Cairo: Al-Haya al-Misriyya al-'Amma lil Kitab, 1999), 35–36.
14. The first group to visit Wingate consisted of Sa'ad Zaghlul, 'Ali Sha'rawi, and 'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmi. When asking for the endorsement of "the people," the petitions added to these three names those of four others: Muhammad Mahmoud, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, 'Abd al-Latif al-Makabati, Muhammad 'Ali 'Alluba. The last two were also old members of the Watani Party.

15. President Wilson himself declared his support for the British Protectorate over Egypt in April, 1919, creating great disappointment and disillusionment in Egypt.
16. Christina Phelps Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt* (Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution, 1964), 93.
17. Indeed, 'Umar Tousson's original plan for a delegation was scrapped when Zaghul reached out to the Watanists in order to project a united face in negotiations. Muhammad Farid Hashish, 35–36.
18. According to 'Abd al-Nour, police arrested everyone who signed this statement two days later, and he was among those chosen ahead of time to replace the arrested members as a backup committee. Muhammad Farid Hashish also mentions this in *Hizb al-Wafd*, 55–56.
19. The Irish War of Independence also began in 1919, and *The Times* on April 19, 1919, printed, "There is one fact which more than any other has caused the present outbreaks in India, and possibly also in Egypt, and that is the example of Ireland."
20. TNA: FO 141/521/2. High Commissioner for Egypt, Cairo, to Viceroy, India, April 19, 1919.
21. TNA: FO 141/521/2. Government of India to General Officer Commanding, Cairo, May 4, 1919.
22. TNA: FO 371/7730, pp. 45–46, 54.
23. TNA: FO 141/819/7, Department of Public Security, December, 12, 1921. A second document in the same file "Sinn Fein and Egyptians" notes that the former Secretary General to the Irish delegation to Versailles was in touch with 'Ali Shamsi, a Watani turned Wafdist.
24. TNA: FO 371/5023, letter dated April 8, 1920. For more on 'Ali Shamsi (1885–1962), see Appendix A.
25. TNA: FO 371/5026, Telegram to Eastern Department, May 6, 1920.
26. The Milner Report, quoted in John D. McIntyre, Jr., *The Boycott of the Milner Mission: A Study in Egyptian Nationalism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), 188.
27. The Reserved Points, as they became known, consisted of Britain's control over Imperial communications (including the Suez Canal), protection of minorities and foreign interests, defense, and the Sudan. Protection of "minorities and foreigners" was relinquished with the Montreux Convention of 1937.
28. The other major change was in educational policy, which resulted in far more students in secondary and postsecondary schools than ever before. The results of this change became obvious in the following decade, as we see in chapter 5.
29. The Unity Party also set up their eponymous *al-Ittihad* immediately upon forming the party in 1925.
30. *Al-Abram* and most other papers had lowered the number of pages printed during the war due to the scarcity of paper. *Al-Muqattam* and *al-Watan*, being pro-British, were the exceptions.
31. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 367.

32. *Ibid.*, 368. Presumably, this is the Dr. Abdul Hafiz of the Berlin Indian Committee.
33. TNA: FO 371/ 5021, Allenby to Curzon, Enclosure from RS Patterson, Educational Advisor, March 27, 1920.
34. One example is a letter to *al-Afkar* on April 2, 1920, from a student describing how happy he was in Berlin.
35. TNA: FO 371/5023, Quigley, Captain CID of OETA to Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, April 8, 1920.
36. Coury, *'Abd al- Rahman 'Azzam*, 160–162. The fact that Italy assured that Tripolitania's republic was “stillborn,” in Coury's word, no doubt prepared 'Azzam on some level to not take Egypt's “independence” too seriously.
37. TNA: FO 371/ 7744, 52.
38. *Ibid.*, 58. Note dated March 11, 1922.
39. TNA: FO 395/332, Political Report from Geneva, dated July 5, 1920, 11–12.
40. Coury, *'Abd al- Rahman 'Azzam*, 228 (fnt 249). The younger 'Azzam would stay in Italy to study chemistry, all the better to learn how to make bombs.
41. TNA: FO 371/22004. Note from Lampson to Viscount Halifax, May 30, 1938.
42. Goldschmidt, *The Egyptian Nationalist Party*, 354–255, quoting Mohamed Anis, *Dirasat fi wathaiq 1919* (Cairo: Anglo-Egypt Maktab, 1963), 238. Emphasis mine.
43. *Al-Ahram*, September 20, 1920.
44. Ahmad Shawqi eulogized him as he had Mustafa Kamil eleven years earlier.
45. Muhammad Fahmi actually remained in Geneva until well-after Nasser's Revolution.
46. Shamsi was given permission to return to Egypt in December of 1920 despite serious concerns about his Watani activities. He returned in February 1921 but was present again in Geneva in September for the suspicious Congress on the Rights of Peoples. TNA: E6815/189 Secret Intelligence Staff, July 1922.
47. Coury, *'Abd al- Rahman 'Azzam*, 232–233. Coury notes that others who had been in the Watani Party were accepted, but they had been with the Wafd since the 1919 Revolution. It is also important to note, however, that these men also had not been activists in exile.
48. Muhammad Hafiz Ramadan (1880–1955) was on the first Administrative Committee of the Party when it was elected in 1907.
49. TNA: FO 371 4899 (Eastern 1920). Scott to Curzon, October 21, 1920, 4.
50. Both have written on this subject, separately and together; see Bibliography.
51. TNA: FO 371 4899 (Eastern 1920). Scott to Curzon, October 21, 1920, 4.
52. The Egyptian Interior Ministry was particularly alarmed that an Egyptian YMMA Boy Scout troop was greeted in a trip to Palestine as “young men who would save the country [...] If they united and became powerful they could oppose their oppressors.” TNA: FO 141/705/13, letter from Graves to W. Smart, September 15, 1933.
53. Yahya al-Dardiri (d.1956): see Appendix A.

54. Ahmad Shafiq, *Mudhakiraati fi Nisf Qarn* Vol. III (Cairo: Dar Majalatti, 1934), 319. Also see Appendix A.
55. *Ibid.*, 327.
56. *Ibid.*, 324.
57. *Ibid.*, 323.
58. TNA: FO 141/795/3 Note on the Rabta el sharkia (Bond of the East), No. 18375, March 7, 1926. It is noted that one of the purposes of the group was “to rescue them [Moslem peoples] from the dominance of the Western powers.”
59. TNA: FO 141/795/3, letter from Eastern Department to Northern, October 28, 1927.
60. TNA: FO 141/795/3, Report 346 from “K.” on September 2, 1928.
61. *Al-Ahram*, May 6, 1928, 10.
62. TNA: FO 141/828, Intelligence Notes. March 27, 1929, 1.
63. *Ibid.*, 4.
64. See in particular Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), Jacob Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Sean Oliver-Dee, *The Caliphate Question: the British Government and Islamic Governance* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009).
65. These were two of the most controversial works of the decade in that they challenged commonly accepted interpretations of Islamic law and history. Taha Husayn’s book, which celebrated literature from a period of history that traditional Islamic interpretation had named *jahiliyya*, or the Age of Ignorance, cost him his professorship at the Egyptian University. ‘Abd al-Raziq’s book, which argued that the caliphate was not an integral part of Islam, also created a storm of controversy, particularly as he was a *sharia* judge.
66. NAI: Foreign and Political Department, #93N, 1924–1925, 9–13.
67. NAI: Foreign and Political Department, #293N, 1924–1925; Letter from A.M Abdul-Cader, Revaqul-Hind of al-Azhar, on July 10, 1926 to M. Ali.
68. TNA: FO 141/728/10.
69. TNA: FO 371/16009/1657/E753/87/65, The Mandate authorities had required that the conference discuss only “religious matters” and not any “politics.”
70. This conference was incepted by an earlier one in Berlin in October 1926 that was organized by the International Workers’ Help and the German Committee Against the Crimes in Syria. Miroslav Krása, “Relations Between the Indian National Congress and the Wafd Party of Egypt in the Thirties,” *Achiv Orientalni* 41 (1973), 215. Chattopadhyaya was at this point a member of the German Communist Party (KPD).
71. Chattopadhyaya would eventually flee Berlin and the Nazis for Moscow in 1933. At this point, however, he was involved in the “Anti-imperialist Group in Berlin,” which would evolve into the Association of Revolutionary Asians

- in the early 1930s. He may have initially met some of his Chinese and Japanese contacts through his former mistress, the American journalist Agnes Smedley who accompanied him to the Third Communist International in 1921. He became a member of the German Communist Party and was also in contact with Rash Behari Bose during the 1920s. "Chatto" also set up the Indian News and Information Service in Berlin, which developed ties with the INC after J. Nehru became INC president in 1929. Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Anti-Imperialist in Europe*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
72. Although often associated with the Communist International, the League tried to maintain its independence and was close to the heart of both Indians for its short life. John D. Hargreaves, "The Comintern and Anti-Colonialism: New Research Opportunities." *African Affairs* 92, No. 367, 256.
 73. TNA: FO 371/11104, pp. 14–15. Letter dated November 20, 1926. Cairo notes snidely that "invitations seem to have been issued in a very catholic spirit, for common ground between e.g. Sheikh Mohammed Shaker, Sheikh Abu'l 'Uyun, Suleiman Effendi Fawzi, 'Abbas Pasha Daramalli, and Hafez Bey Awad, is hard to find." Presumably the organizers of the conference thought the name of the League explained the common ground.
 74. JNMML: All India Congress Committee Papers, G29-I-134–135. (1927), *Note for the Working Committee*. There is no evidence that Ramadan did so, despite being president of the Watani Party.
 75. *Al-Ahram*, February 11 and 12, 1925, and March 9 and 14, 1925.
 76. *Al-Ahram*, September 12, 1925.
 77. Mahmud Abul-Fath (1893–1958): see Appendix A.
 78. *Al-Ahram*, January 22, 1928, 4.
 79. *Al-Ahram*, January 20, 1928.
 80. *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, December 3, 1926.
 81. See, for example, *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, December 10, 1926: Abbas Mahmoud al 'Aqqad's column named "Hours among books," which discusses Tagore's spiritual philosophy and 'Indian wisdom' and December 17, 1926: "Shaytani wa Shaytan Tagore" written by Mustafa Sadiq al-Rafai'i, a literary rival of Taha Husayn, who writes about Tagore's visit to the Egyptian University and his meeting with Ahmed Shawqi. A January 14, 1927, article by lawyer Aziz al-Dauweiri is also on "the poet philosopher Rabindranath Tagore."
 82. *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, March 13, 1929. Exactly a month earlier, the paper had run an article on the Chinese nationalist movement with the title "Nationalist movements in the Asian East: victory of a great movement will result in greater consequences." That article had ended with "The whole East is wronged/suppressed and all of it is groaning under the shackles of the unjust. So if an Easterner sympathizes with another, it is the sympathy of the wounded for another wounded." *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, February 13, 1929.
 83. *Ibid.*
 84. *Al-Ahram*, November 12–13, 1929.

5 GANDHI: HERO OF EGYPT

1. Isma'il Sidqi, (1875–1950): see Appendix A.
2. Somewhat surprisingly, the Watani Party participated, seeing in the Wafd a rival that was now weakened. The Watani Party continued to be associated with the Palace until 1942. The general fraternal bickering and competition among Egyptian parties, to the detriment of their shared larger goal of independence, is one of the major hallmarks of the interwar era.
3. *Al-Ahram*, July 13–16, 1931.
4. See, for example, TNA: FO 371/15403, 121, Loraine to Henderson, February 21, 1931.
5. The INC had not sent delegates to the first Conference, but the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March, 1931, had opened the way for their participation in the second. Gandhi went as the only representative for the INC, although Sarojini Naidu did accompany him. Other representatives also went, including Muhammad Iqbal for the Muslim League. The Conference failed to achieve a mutual agreement.
6. *Al-Ahram*, January 25, 1931.
7. 'Abbas Mahmoud al-'Aqqad (1889–1964): see Appendix A. Al-'Aqqad was jailed for nine months for his articles against the changes to the Constitution in 1930.
8. 'Abbas al-'Aqqad, in Mohi al-Din Riḍa. *Abtal al-Wataniyya: Mustapha Kamil, Sa'ad Zaghlul, Mustafa Kemal, Mahatma Ghandi, Mudabbaja bi-Aqlam Uzuma Munshii Hadha al-Asr*, (Cairo: Dar al-Rida, 1923), 6.
9. Al-'Aqqad in Mohi al-Din Rida, 105.
10. See, for example, Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*, and Charles D. Smith, "The 'Crisis of Orientation': The Shift of Egyptian Intellectuals to Islamic Subjects in the 1930's," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973), 389–391.
11. Al-'Aqqad in Mohi al-Din Rida, *Abtal al-Wataniyya*, 117–118.
12. *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, 1930: February 5, March 12, March 26, April 2, April 9, April 30, May 14, May 21 (two articles), June 11, July 2, and July 9. Two further articles in June were devoted to "The Indian Woman," after one on Sarojini Naidu in May, perhaps inspired by her visit to Egypt the previous summer.
13. TNA: FO 371/15403, 245. Loraine to Henderson, April 8, 1931.
14. TNA: FO 371/15403. Letter from Percy Loraine to Henderson, March 3, 1931.
15. TNA: FO 141/560/14. Report from R.H. Hoare to High Commissioner, August 23, 1931. See the official Arabic text calling for boycott on page 4.
16. *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, July 9, 1930, "The Power of Ghandi."
17. See TNA: FO 141/665/3.
18. TNA: FO 141/731/12, 1–10.
19. TNA: FO 141/731/12. Confidential letter from F. Harvey to Director General, European Department, September 7, 1931.

20. TNA: FO 141/731/12. Shaukat Ali had been very critical of Gandhi earlier, but the watchers noted they embraced upon meeting.
21. *Egyptian Gazette*, September 8, 1931.
22. *Al-Abram*, September 8, 1931.
23. Ibid.
24. *Misr*, September 8, 1931.
25. *Al-Balagh*, September 8, 1931. Although the article was unsigned, Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a identified it as his own in his *Shahid 'ala al-'Asr* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-'Amma lil- Kitab, 2000).
26. Al-Dia'a, September 8, 1931.
27. TNA: FO 141/731/12, #1044/12/31, December 1, 1931.
28. Passengers in transit through the Canal did not require a visa to visit Port Said, but could not leave the city.
29. TNA: FO 141/731/12, DGPS to Keown-Boyd, December 16, 1931.
30. TNA: FO 141/731/12, Cypher Telegram #373.
31. He would be replaced by Sir Miles Lampson, (1880–1964), who would retain his position until 1946.
32. Even the Egyptian University had come under the government's fist, and in 1931 Taha Husayn was removed from his position as the University's Dean of the Faculty of Letters because of the uproar surrounding the publication of his book on Pre-Islamic Poetry. The Rector of the University Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid resigned in protest.
33. Yehya actually guaranteed he would not be undercut by Sidqi by arranging to have him removed as head of the Sha'ab Party soon after.
34. It did not resolve the issue of control of the Sudan, one of the complaints against it. The signing of the Treaty was met with large demonstrations against it, and against the Wafd, which had accepted it.
35. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation*, 13.
36. James Jankowski, *Egypt's Young Rebels*, (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1975), 5.
37. Salama Musa, *The Education of Salama Musa*, translated by L.O. Schuman, (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 78. The political alignments of the leaders of the YMMA have already been addressed in chapter 4.
38. Founded by Hasan al-Banna, a high school teacher, in Ismailia in 1928, the Brotherhood had set up a branch in Cairo by 1932. Although it grew exponentially throughout Egypt in the 1930s, it was focused on social issues and services in its formative years. The Brotherhood became obviously politically active in 1936, opposing Zionism in Palestine and the British occupation of Egypt.
39. TNA: FO 371/5026, Courtney to M.I.5, 24 March 1920, "Egyptian Boy Scout Movement."
40. The sons of government employees from land-owning families, they both went to the Faculty of Law at the Egyptian University. They were boyhood friends who reconnected at university and started writing for *al-Sarkha* while still students. In 1933, Misr al-Fataa designated *al-Sarkha* its official organ in

- exchange for a subsidy. Jankowski, *Rebels*, 16. Ahmed Hussein (1911–1982) and Fathi Radwan (1911–1988); see Appendix A.
41. 'Ali Shalabi, *Misir al-Fataa wa Dawruha fi al-Siyyasa al-Misriyyah, 1933–1941* (Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Jami'i, 1982), 55–56.
 42. Jankowski, *Rebels*, 10–12.
 43. Hussein was president and Radwan was secretary of the group.
 44. TNA: FO 371/17977, Miles Lampson to John Simon, May 7, 1934.
 45. Ahmed Hussein, *Imani wa Kutub Ukbra* (Cairo: Dar al-Shaurouk, 1985), 54–61.
 46. TNA: FO 371/20099, Lampson to Foreign Office, March 2, 1936.
 47. TNA: FO 141/498/6, Lampson to Simon, April 25, 1924. It could, of course, be both, as the Watanists had allied themselves to the palace by this point.
 48. TNA: FO 141/498/6, Yencken to Simon, (draft) January 19, 1934. Ahmed Hussein also mentions his relationship with Muhammad 'Ali 'Allouba, another Watanist.
 49. Jankowski, *Rebels*, 19.
 50. TNA: FO 141/498/6, Lampson to Simon, April 25, 1924.
 51. Ahmed Hussein, *Imani*, 82–83. The Wafd sent some of its supporters to disrupt the proceedings anyway, and the melee that resulted required police intervention.
 52. Jankowski, *Rebels*, 19–20.
 53. TNA: FO 141/498/6, Lampson to Simon, April 25, 1924.
 54. Hussein, *Imani*, 60–61.
 55. Hussein's writings, even from the beginning of his activism, make it clear that he expected complete independence (*istiqlal tam*) to require violence.
 56. The other two books that came out in 1934 were a translation of Father Andrews' books on Gandhi and a biography of Gandhi by Salama Musa. Isma'il Mazhar's translation of the books Father Andrews had edited with Gandhi in 1930 and 1931 begins with the famous poem Shawqi wrote for the psuedo visit of three years before, and calls Gandhi "the Apostle of the twentieth century" (*basher al-qarn al-'ashreen*). Isma'il Mazhar (trans.), *Mahatma Ghandi, siratahu kama katabaha bi-qalamih*, (Cairo: 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1934). See also Appendix B.
 57. Fathi Radwan, *al-Mahatma Ghandi: Hayatuhu wa Jihaduh*, (Cairo: Matba'at al-Majalla al-Jadida, 1934), 5–6.
 58. Fathi Radwan, *al-Mahatma Ghandi*, 8.
 59. *Ibid.*, 7.
 60. Fathi Ridwan, *Asr wa Rijjal*, Vol.1, (Cairo: al-Haya al-'amma li-Qusur al-Thaqafa, 2003), 251. Salama Musa (1887–1958): see Appendix A.
 61. *Ibid.*, 263–266.
 62. Salama Musa, *Ghandi wa al-Haraka al-Hindiyya*, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Mustaqbal, reprint of 1934 edition).
 63. *Ibid.*, 7.
 64. *Ibid.*, 13 and 27.
 65. *Ibid.*, 90.

66. Salama Musa, "Hayat Ghandi wa moutuh," *al-Katib al-Misri*, Vol. 8 Issue 3 (March 1948).
67. Ibid.
68. Indeed, Gandhi is mentioned in Musa's book, *Haula 'Alimuni [These (men) taught me]*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1985), 207–217.
69. *Al-Balagh al-'Usbu'i*, March 20, 1929.
70. TNA: FO 141/497/3. Letter from Government of India to Hugh MacGregor, India Office, December 4, 1933.
71. TNA: FO 141/497/3. Letter from Miles Lampson to John Simon, January 14, 1934.
72. Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a, *Hayat al-Sharq: Dulwaluhu wa Shau'ubuh wa Maadihu wa Hadiruhu*. (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1932).
73. Goma'a, *Hayat al-Sharq*, 12. It is unclear to what leadership role Goma'a was referring. Abul Kalam Azad had been president of the Special Session of the INC in 1923, and would serve as president again in 1940. Another Muslim, whom Goma'a had more likely met, Dr. Ansari, had been president in 1927 in Madras.
74. Ibid., 16.
75. Musa, *Ghandi wa al-Haraka al-Hindiyya*, 40–42.
76. Goma'a, *Hayat al-Sharq*, 193.
77. Ibid., 197. Goma'a was correct in identifying Mayo's goals; despite claiming to have worked independently, she was indeed working for colonial authorities. *Mother India* remains one of the major texts in twentieth-century imperial *apologia*. For more information, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
78. His son, Rabeh Lutfi Goma'a indicated during an interview in 1999 that Goma'a had lost many papers when his home was raided during World War I, so anything from the days of the Sphinx Societies is gone. Rabeh Lutfi Goma'a did publish those letters he found interesting in *Haula al-'Alam*, but there seem to be no letters between his father and Indians during the inter-war period. The elder Goma'a did, however, indicate real sorrow and admiration in his article marking the death of Madame Cama, in whose salon he had spent many hours as a youth. See "Wataniyyat al-barci wa man takoon Madame Kama," in *al-Rabeta al-'Arabiyya*, October 6, 1936.
79. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Toward Freedom: The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru* (Boston: Beacon, 1967), 364.
80. Ibid.
81. Al-Nahhas' personal secretary, Mohammad Kamil al-Banna, collected a set of diary-like entries attributed to al-Nahhas which were published in 2000. Al-Banna claimed he would write as al-Nahhas dictated; and al-Nahhas kept the originals, of which there is no copy. Al-Banna claimed to have written from memory in the margins of religious books in the library in order to keep them safe from the police and political enemies when his house was searched. He then recollected them in 1972, and compared what he had preserved to a notebook of al-Nahhas from 1932 which he had found. Finding them

completely the same, he spent eleven years confirming the notes with the people mentioned in them and thus felt confident publishing them. However, the “memoirs” contain multiple inconsistencies in addition to the Nehru issue, and are not a reliable source in my opinion.

82. Mustapha al-Nahas, *Muzakirat Mustapha al-Nahas: Rub' Qarn min al-Siyyasa fi Misr, 1927–1952*. 2 Vol. Editor Ahmed 'Izaddin (Cairo: Al'Usur al-Jadida, 2000), 117, 237–238, 324.
83. Rifat Saeed, *Mustapha al-Nahas al-Siyyasi wa al-Za'eem al-Munadel* (Beirut: Dar al-Qadaya, 1976), 117. He writes; “In the late thirties al-Nahas agreed that some of the Egyptian leftist would arrange a meeting between him and Nehru to discuss the issue of resisting the British occupation and Krishna Menon and the Union of Supporters of Peace (Itihad Ansar al-Salam) in Egypt were the ones who were in charge of that.”
84. Sonia Gandhi, ed., *Freedom's Daughter: Letters Between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1922–1939*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), 408–409.
85. Salah al-Shahid, *Zikrayati fi 'Ahdain* (Cairo: Al-Haya Misriyya al-'Amma lil Kitab, 1972), 53. Apparently, al-Nahas gave his notes on his meeting with Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Nehru at that short meeting, which was on June 18, 1953.
86. TNA: FO 371/21949, 321.
87. TNA: FO 371/23363, 234–236. Miles Lampson to Foreign Office, February 13, 1939. See also Krása, “Relations,” 232.
88. TNA: FO 371/23363, 230. Miles Lampson to Foreign Office, February 25, 1939.
89. TNA: FO 371/23363, 237. City of Cairo Police Report, April 19, 1939.
90. TNA: FO 371/23363, 247. Miles Lampson to Foreign Office, May 30, 1939.
91. India, land of mysteries or strange things. This is the second most common response this author has experienced when Egyptians learn of her Indian origin. The most common response is “Do you know Amitabh Bachchan?”
92. TNA: FO 371/23363, 239. City of Cairo Police Report, April 19, 1939. In this our spy was expressing the same sentiments expressed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and others from the pre-Gandhi days of the INC.
93. *Ibid.*, 241. They also dined with Dr. Ansari, an old friend to the Egyptian movement.
94. TNA: FO 371/23363, 243. City of Cairo Police Report, April 19, 1939.
95. Ahmad Qasim Gouda, *Marid min al-Sharq*, (Cairo: Matba'at Jaridat al-Misri, 1950).
96. *Ibid.*, 9.
97. *Ibid.*, 14. Some of this awareness must surely be the result of hindsight, however, as the book is written after the Partition.
98. TNA: FO 371/23363, 244. Miles Lampson to Foreign Office, May 8, 1939.
99. TNA: FO 371/23363, 248–250. Foreign Office to British Embassy, Cairo, May 15, 1939.

100. TNA: FO 141/497/3, Draft of letter from Miles Lampson to John Simon, January 14, 1934.
101. Gouda, *Marid min al-Sharq*, 47–48, and TNA: FO 371/23363, 241. City of Cairo Police Report, April 19, 1939.
102. *Ibid.*, 40.
103. TNA: FO 371/23363, 248–250. Foreign Office to British Embassy, Cairo, May 15, 1939, and Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, 293–294 and 312–313.
104. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Redefining*, 37.

CONCLUSION

1. Muhammad Lutfi Goma'a, *Hayat as-Sharq: Duwaluhu wa Shau'bah wa Maadihu wa Hadiruhu*, (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1932), 12.
2. Anderson, *Imagined Communités*, 6.
3. *Ibid.*, 7.
4. The Umma party group might not have agreed with the Watani understanding of the Ottoman role in Egypt, and many Africans could have disabused the Watanists of their faith in Germany's noncolonial intentions.
5. Indeed, Anwar Sadat wrote in his autobiography that he had been so enamored of Gandhi in his teens that he went to the roof of his house to protest and fast. His father convinced him to come in when he was sufficiently cold and hungry. Anwar Sadat, *In Search of Identity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 23.

EPILOGUE

1. NAI: Foreign, Secret E, October 1906, #239–264. Letter from C. Bayley to Sir Louis Dane, March 2, 1906.

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Index

Note: 'N' following a page number indicates an endnote.

- 'Abbas Hilmi, Khedive (Abbas II)
ambitions of, 21
assassination attempt on, 71
and Bolo affair, 193n99
British removal of, from power, 73
and Kitchener, 177n26, 189n25
and the press, 22–23
waning power of, pre-WWI, 64–66
during WWI, 78–79
- 'Abd al-Nour, Fakhri, 94, 139, 196n18
- 'Abd al-Raziq, 'Ali, 105, 198n65
- 'Abd al-Raziq, Hasan, 27
- Abdel Hamid II, Sultan, 58
- Abdel-Nasser, Gamal, 125, 128,
129, 132
- 'Abduh, Muhammad, 8, 21
disciples of, 25, 27
- Abtal al-Wataniyya* (Nationalist
Heroes) (Rida), 112
- Abul-Fath, Mahmud, 108,
114–15, 125
- Abu Nadhara Zarga'* (He of the
Blue Glasses), 21, 177n21
- Acharya, M.P.T., 49, 77, 81, 83
- al-Afghani, Jamaladdin, 18–19
- Afghanistan, 77–78
- African Times and Orient Review*, 70
- al-Ahram* (the Pyramids), 22, 96, 104,
108–9, 114–15
- al-Alaily, Hamid, 48, 50, 64, 186n99
- al-Alam al-Islami* (The Islamic
World), 24, 52, 64
- Aldred, Guy, 37, 181n25
- Ali, Duse Mohamed, 70
- Ali, Muhammad (of India), 68, 76,
90–91, 106, 192n80, 195n8
- Ali, Shaukat, 106
- 'Ali Yusuf, Shaykh, 22–23
- Allenby, Edmund, 94–95
- 'Alluba, Muhammad 'Ali, 98–99, 105,
128, 202n4
- Ammar, 'Abd al-Hamid, 63, 99,
189n21
- Anderson, Benedict, 6, 50–51,
129–30
- Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship
and Alliance (1936), 117
- Ansari, M.A., 68–69, 76, 90–91, 103,
105, 107–8, 129, 190n47,
195n8, 203n73, 204n93
- anticolonialism, 2, 25, 72
- anti-imperialism, definition of, 3
- al-'Aqqad, 'Abbas Mahmoud, 12, 112–13,
115, 130, 199n81, 200n7
- Arab nationalism, 61–62, 188n2
- Arab Revolt (of Palestine), 117
- Arab Revolt (of Sharif Husayn), 82,
189n30
- assassinations
attempt on 'Abbas Hilmi, 71
attempt on Wahba, 184n72
of Curzon-Wylie, 35–40
of Ghali, 42–46
of Stack, 95

- Atatürk (Mustafa Kemal), 89, 102, 112, 175n22
- Azad, Abul Kalam, 76, 91, 123, 203n73
- 'Azzam, 'Abd al-Rahman, 70, 72, 82, 97–98, 99, 105–6, 108, 128, 190n55, 197n36
- Badr-al-Din, 71
- Baghdad-Hejaz Railway, 60
- al-Balagh*, 96, 104, 108–9, 112–13, 115, 122
- Bande Mataram*, 45, 47, 51–53, 185n79
- al-Banna, Hasan, 201n38
- Barakatullah, Abdul Hafiz
 Muhammad, 47–48, 71, 77, 92, 107, 194n20
- Baring, Evelyn, *see* Cromer, 1st Earl of (Evelyn Baring)
- Beiberstein, Marschall von, 60
- Benevolent Islamic Society, 69
- Bengal, partition of, 14, 190n42
- Berlin, 47, 74, 76–78, 80–85, 91, 96–97, 99, 183n49, 197n34, 198nn70–71
- Bernhardi, Friedrich von, 60
- Bhattacharji, Vasudev, 37, 181n27
- Bhattacharya, Abinashchandra, 81, 192n84
- Blunt, Wilfred Scawen, 29, 48, 51, 67–68
- Bolo affair, 99, 193n99
- Le Bosphore Egyptien*, 22, 177n28
- Boy Scouts, 77, 118, 197n52
- Britain
 and Indian nationalism's split during WWI, 76
 support of Arab nationalism, 61–62
 Umma Party as WWI supporters of, 75
 WWI response to Pan-Islamism, 61–62
- British Occupation
 and Dinshaway, 25–26
 newspaper/journal criticism of, 21–25
 overview of, 16–19
- British Protectorate, 73, 75, 95, 176n16, 178n39, 196n15
- caliphate
 and “Arab Revolt,” 189–90n30
 “caliphate crisis” vs. Khilafat Movement, 174n22
 history of, 57–58
 and Islamic identity, 104–7
 post-WWI abolishment of, 89–90
see also Pan-Islamism
- Cama, Bhikaji Rustom, 37–38, 41, 46–49, 64, 77–78, 123, 185n79, 186n105, 203n78
- Capitulations, 16–17, 176n5, 183n48
- editorship, 50–52, 73, 76, 178n38
- Chattopadhyaya, Virendranath
 and communism, 92, 195n9,10, 198n70
 and Dhingra, 35–36
 in Germany, 198–99n71
 and Indian Independence Committee, 77
 and League Against Imperialism, 106
 and Pan-Islamism vs. nationalism, 83
 and *Talvar*, 47
 during WWI, 81
 and Young Egyptian Congress (1910), 50
- Chiang Kai-Chek, 106, 123
- Chinese nationalism, 199n82
- Chirol, Valentine, 174n15
- “Clash of Civilizations” theory, 8–9
- Club des Patriotes Egyptiens*, 67
- Colonization Society, 69
- colonized peoples
 and aid to Egyptian/Indian nationalists, 47–48

- connections in Europe, 46
 “Easternism” of, 110
 international community
 of, 3–4, 132
 interwar era congresses, 106
 Committee of Union and Progress
 (CUP)
 and Farid, 78–80
 and Jawish, 66
 and Ottoman Empire, 58–59
 statement of intent (1915), 80
 and WWI, 72
 communism/communists, 3, 11, 22,
 88–89, 91–92, 198n70, 171, 72
Comrade, 68
 Condominium Agreement (1899), 15
 Congress Against Colonial Oppression
 and Imperialism (1927), 106
 Constantinople/Istanbul, 40, 43, 50,
 63–66, 68–71, 73, 75, 78, 81,
 83, 85, 96–97, 102, 190n55
 as the capital of the Ottoman
 Empire, 29, 60, 62, 72, 74–75,
 89, 179n59, 188n2, 192n89
 Constitutional Reform Party, 28
 Copts, 15, 24–25, 27–28, 40–41,
 43–44, 93, 113, 121, 178n37,
 179n54
 Crane, Charles, 102
 Cromer, 1st Earl of (Evelyn Baring), 7,
 20–21, 26–27, 37, 85, 174n15,
 177n26, 181n26
 Curzon of Kedleston, 1st Marquess
 (George Curzon), 14, 36, 184n58
 Curzon-Wylie, William, 35
 Curzon-Wylie assassination, 33–40
 see also Dhingra, Madanlal
- Dardiri, Yahya, 97, 101
 Datta, P.N., 78
 Dawn, C. Ernest, 105
 Declaration of Independence (1922),
 95
 Defence of India Act, 76, 91
- de Rocheburne, Aziza, 48, 70, 81,
 193n105
 de Valera, Éamon, 122, 123
 Dhingra, Madanlal, 30–31, 33–38,
 40–42, 45, 49–51, 71, 181n20,
 181n27, 182n35
al-Di‘ā’a, 115
 Dillon, John (MP), 26, 50
 Dinshaway, 25–26
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 17
 Dryhurst, Nannie Florence, 48, 50
 Dubois, W.E.B., 190n54
- “Easternism,” 2, 7–8, 100, 110, 127,
 130
 economic system, 17
effendiya (educated middle class), 15,
 178n33
Egypt, 48, 51, 67
 Egypt and Egyptians
 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of
 Friendship and Alliance
 (1936), 117
 Constitution (1923), 95–96, 99,
 110, 111–12, 116
 suspension of, 111
 and constitutional reform, 23–24,
 28–29, 45, 58, 63, 72, 78, 84,
 95–96, 99, 110
 Cromer’s governance of, 20–21
 and Curzon-Wylie assassination,
 38–39
 Declaration of Independence
 (1922), 95
 elections of 1930–1, 111
 foreign population of, 15–16
 freedom of the press, 96
 and Gandhi’s visit to, 1, 112,
 114–16
 and Hindu religion, 122
 identity construction of, 5
 interest in Indian nationalism
 during 1920s, 107–9
 interwar politics of, 116–17

- Egypt and Egyptians—*Continued*
 languages, 16, 175n1, 175n3
 legal status of, 176–77n16
 1930s demographics of, 15–16
 1930s youth movement, 117–20
 political parties after
 “independence,” 95–96
 and WWI, 72–74
see also British Occupation; British Protectorate
- Egyptian Gazette*, 22, 42–43, 55, 114
- Egyptian nationalism
 and colonialism/imperialism, 3, 130
 Constantinople as WWI hub of,
 63–65
 and constitution supported by
 Watani and Umma parties, 28
 and Curzon-Wylie assassination,
 40–41
 and Dinshaway, 25–26
 effect of India’s example on, 4, 113–14
 Europe, post-WWI, 96–98
 Europe as hub of, 52–54
 and Irish nationalism, 47–48, 67, 94
 Mazzini as hero to, 45
 Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt),
 118–20, 201n40
 and Ottoman Empire, 28–29
 vs. Ottomanism, 65–66, 130–31
 vs. Pan-Islam, during WWI,
 80–82, 84–86
 political parties and, 27–29
 and the press, 46–47, 66–68
 Revolution of 1919, 92–94
 secularism of, 5–6, 11
 WWI German support of, 60–61,
 74–75, 80–81
 Young Egyptian Congress (1910),
 48–50
see also Farid, Muhammad; Jawish, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz
- Egyptian Students Club, 66
- Egyptian Students Conference
 (1914), 72
- Einstein, Albert, 106
- English language, 175n1
- Entente Cordiale* (1904), 23
- Enver, Ismail, 59, 69–70, 77–79,
 82–85, 96, 190n47, 191n68,
 192n79, 193n93
- European metropolises, 52–54
- Fadli, Ahmad, 47
- Fahmi, Muhammad, 65, 97, 197n45
- Farid, Muhammad
 and break with Turkish-German
 support, 82–84
 and Committee of Union and
 Progress (CUP), 78–80
 and CUP’s statement of intent
 (1915), 80
 and Egyptian nationalism vs.
 Ottomanism, 65–66, 130–31
 and European metropole, 54
 and Germany during WWI, 78–79
 motive for war-time decisions of, 70
 and Nationalist clubs in Europe,
 66–67
 post-WWI activities of, 96
 rejection of, by Wafd Party, 98–99
 and Wardani, 46
 and Watani Party decline, 62
 and Young Egyptian Congress
 (1910), 49–50
see also Watani Party
- Farouk, Prince, 116
- fascism, 119
- fellahbeen* (peasants), 15, 20
- Fouad, Ahmad, 42, 64, 69, 70–71, 80,
 108, 190n47
- Freeman, George, 48, 59
- French language, 16, 175n3
- Fu’ad, King Ahmad, 95, 111, 116
- Gaelic American*, 47–48, 51, 67
- Gandhi, Mahatma
 as anti-imperial hero, 123
 al-‘Aqqad on, 113

- Egyptian visit of (1931), 1, 112, 114–16
 Goma'a on, 123
 and Jerusalem Congress (1931), 106
 and Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt), 119–21
 Musa on, 121–22
 and Round Table Conference (1931), 13
 Geneva, 47, 51–52, 66–67, 71–72, 76–79, 96, 182n41, 186nn98–99, 188n143, 189n23, 197nn45–46
 Germany, 60, 74–75, 77–78
 Gershoni, Israel, 7, 104, 127–28, 130
 Ghadr Party, 70–71, 182n28
 Ghali, Boutros, 26, 40, 42–44
 al-Ghayati, 'Ali, 39–40, 182n41
 Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 14
 Goldschmidt, Arthur, 49, 63, 75, 84
 Goma'a, Muhammad Lutfi, 48–50, 104, 123–24, 128, 129, 186n105, 201n25, 203nn73/77–78
 Gorst, Eldon, 20, 27, 44, 64, 179n51
 Gouda, Ahmad Qasim, 125–27
 Grey, Sir Edward, 26, 61

 Halim, Mehmed Sa'id, 19, 69–71, 78–80, 82
 Hamza, 'Abd al-Malik, 82, 99, 189n21
 Hamza, 'Abd al-Qadir, 96, 108, 143
 Har Dayal, Lala
 on "Pan-Islamic project," 194n120
 and Pan-Islamism vs. nationalism, 81–83
 post-WWI activities of, 92
 pre-WWI nationalist activities of, 70–72
 at UC-Berkeley, 191n60
 during WWI, 77–78
 and Young Egyptian Congress (1910), 49–50
 Higher Schools Club, 117
al-Hilal, 22, 118

al-Hilal al-Uthmani (The Ottoman Crescent), 64
 al-Hilbawi, Ibrahim, 26
 Hilmi, Ahmad, 80
 Hindus/Hinduism, 1, 6, 13–14, 30, 45–46, 70, 77–78, 83, 90–91, 106–7, 120–23, 126, 130, 183n54
 Horsely, Arthur, 37, 181n25
 Husayn, Taha, 105, 198n65, 199n81, 201n32
 Husayn ibn 'Ali (Sharif Husayn), 61, 102, 189n30
 Husni, Isma'il, 66
 Hussein, Ahmed, 118–20, 202n43, 202n48, 202n55

 "imagined communities," 6
 INC, *see* Indian National Congress (INC)
 India and Indians
 and constitutional reform, 111
 and Curzon-Wylie assassination, 38
 and international community of colonized peoples, 3–4
 Kamil's encounters with, in London, 29–30
 1930s demographics of, 13–14
 and Ottomanism, 68
 WWI pro- and anti-British activities, 75–76
 India House, 30, 34–36
 Indian Home Rule Society, 29–30
 Indian Independence Committee, 77–78
 Indian Muslim Medical Mission, 68–70
 Indian National Congress (INC), 13–14, 90–91, 125–27
 Indian nationalism
 and Cama, 37–38
 and Curzon-Wylie assassination, 35–37
 Europe as hub of, 52–54

- Indian nationalism—*Continued*
 German support for,
 during WWI, 77
 Khilafat Movement, 90–91
 and Krishnavarma, 34, 37
 Mazzini as hero to, 45
 and Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt),
 120–21
 vs. Pan-Islamism, during WWI, 83
 post-WWI, 90–92
 vs. religion, 45–46
 and Savarkar, 34–36
 and Society of the Eastern Bond, 103
Indian Sociologist, 30, 33, 35, 37, 45,
 47, 51–52, 67, 92, 180n64,
 181n25, 187n130, 187n138
India under Ripon (Blunt), 51
 Indo-Egyptian Association, 50
 Irish nationalism, 47–48, 50, 67, 94,
 196n19, 196n23
 Islamic Congresses of 1930s, 105–7
Islamic Fraternity, 71
 Isma'il, Khedive, 17, 176n7
 Ittihad (Unity) Party, 95, 111, 196n29
- al-Jami'ah*, 22
 Jankowski, James, 7, 103–4, 118, 119,
 127–28, 130
 Japan, 24
al-Jarida (The Journal), 27, 41, 52,
 73–74
Jaridat al-Watan (The Homeland), 24
 Jawish, 'Abd al-'Aziz
 and Benevolent Islamic Society, 69
 and Committee of Union and
 Progress (CUP), 66
 and Curzon-Wylie assassination, 39
 and Indian Muslims, 41
 and Ottoman Empire, 27, 64–65
 and Pan-Islamism, 131
 post-revolution return to Egypt,
 100–1
 post-WWI activities of, 96–97
 prosecution of, 40
 and Watani Party decline, 62
Jehan-i-Islam, 69, 78, 82–83
 Jemal, Ahmet, 59, 78–80, 192n79,
 193n93, 193n108
John Bull's Other Island (Shaw), 26
 Joshi, S.L., 48
Justice, 47, 51
- Kamil, Husayn (Sultan), 73, 95, 137,
 193n94
 Kamil, Isma'il, 99
 Kamil, Mustapha, 23–24, 27,
 29–30, 117
 Keir Hardie, James (MP), 46, 50,
 182n35
 Ker, James C., 51
 Khan, Aga (III), 76, 190n42
 Khan, Hakim Ajmal, 91, 102, 105,
 107
 Khan, Zafar Ali, 68–70, 90, 103–4
 Khankhoje, Pandurang Sadashiva,
 70, 78
 al-Khashin, Muhammad Kamal, 66
 Khilafat Movement, 90–91,
 174–75n22
 see also caliphate
 Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, 54, 62,
 64, 177n26, 189n25
 Krishnavarma, Shyamaji, 30, 34–35,
 37, 40, 46–47, 49, 52–53, 67,
 77, 92, 129
- Labib, Isma'il, 81, 97–98, 100
 Lal-Bal-Pal group, 174n20
 Lampson, Miles, 122–23, 125,
 201n31
 Lausanne, 42, 79
 League Against Imperialism, 106–7,
 124, 199n72, 199n73
 Lee-Warner, William, 37
L'Humanite, 51
 Liberal Constitutionalists, 29, 75, 86,
 95–96, 111–12
 Liberal Union, 58

- Libya (aka Tripolitania), 64, 68,
69, 82, 97–98, 100, 105–6,
189n25, 197n36
- Life of the East: Its Countries, People,
Past and Present* (Goma'a), 123
- al-Liwa* (The Standard), 23–24, 27,
29, 38–39, 51–52
- al-Liwa al-Tarabulsi*, 98
- London, 13, 29, 30, 34–38, 42, 45,
50, 52, 63, 69–70, 183n46,
184n58, 188n143, 190n54,
191n55
as capital of Britain, 12–14,
17, 26, 39, 40, 53, 93–95, 112,
173n2, 192n76
- Longuet, Jean, 51
- Lorraine, Percy, 112, 116
- Lowther, Gerald, 61
- Mahendra Pratap, 77, 92
- Maher, 'Ali, 116
- Mahmoud, Muhammad, 116
- al-Makabati, 'Abd al-Latif, 80,
189n21, 195n14
- al-Manar* (The Lighthouse), 25
- Mansur, Shafiq, 43, 66, 184n64,
190n35
- Marid min al-sharq* (Giant from the
East), 126
- al-Masri, Aziz, 62
- Mayo, Katherine, 123–24, 203n77
- Mazhar, Mahmud, 71–72
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 45, 55
- Mehmed V, 58
- Mehmet VI Vahdettin, 89
- metropolises, European, 52–54
- Mishki, Mirza Mahdi Rafi', 102
- Misr* (Egypt), 24, 115, 178n39
- Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt),
118–20
- Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 91
- Montreux Convention (1937), 117,
176n5, 196n27
- Mors, Robert, 79
- Mother India* (Mayo), 123
- al-Muayyad* (The Supporter), 22–23,
28, 51
- Muhammad Ali (of Egypt), 16–17
- Muharram, Mahmud Labib, 74
- Mukhtar, Ahmad, 66
- al-Muqattam* (The Heights), 22
- al-Muqtataf*, 22
- Musa, Nabawiyya, 108
- Musa, Salama, 118, 121–23, 202n56
- Muslim Brotherhood, 25, 100, 118,
201n38
- Muslim League (All India), 5, 13, 39,
76, 90–91, 126–27, 190n42,
200n5
- Muslims
cooperation with Hindus, 91, 130
and Egyptian identity, 23–24
in India during WWI, 75–76
Indian supporters of Ottoman
Empire, 68
and Pan-Islamism, 8–9
repudiation of, by Turkish
Republic, 89
and *Salafiyya* (Forefathers')
movement, 25
Sunnis, 57–58
see also caliphate; Pan-Islamism
- Mutiny Ceremonies, 180n5
- Nadim, 'Abdullah, 21
- al-Nahhas, Mustapha, 93, 99, 108,
111, 114–16, 124–25, 127, 129,
203n81, 204n83, 204n85
- Naidu, Sarojini, 49, 144, 186n102,
200n5, 205n12
- “nail of Goha,” 17, 176n6
- Nandy, Ashis, 5, 53
- Napoleon, 16
- “Nasik Conspiracy,” 34–35
- Nasim, Tawfik, 116
- Nassar, Ahmad Fouad, 42, 50,
183n53, 184n58, 186n117
- nation, definition of, 129

- nationalism
 al-'Aqqad on, 112–13
 definitions of, 2, 6
 transnational cooperation of
 Egyptian/Indian, 129–30
 Nationalist Party (*al-Hizb al-Watani*), 27
 National Reform Party, 98
 Nehru, Indira, 124
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 12, 91, 106–7,
 124–25, 127, 128, 129, 132,
 186n102, 198n71, 204n81,
 204n83, 204n85
 Nehru, Motilal, 103, 108, 124, 141
 newspapers and journals, *see* the press
 Nicholson, Arthur, 61
 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 5, 8,
 128, 132
 Noncooperation Movement, *see*
 Khilafat Movement
- Obeid, William Makram, 94, 125
 October Revolution (1917), 83, 88
 O'Donnell, Frank Hugh, 48
On Pre-Islamic Poetry (Husayn), 105
 Oppenheim, Max von, 60, 77, 80–81,
 103–4
 “Oriental Union,” *see* Society of the
 Eastern Bond
- Ottoman Empire
 Committee of Union and Progress
 (CUP), 58–59
 Egyptian loyalty to, 24
 and Egyptian nationalism, 28–29
 Indian Muslim supporters of, 68
 Jewish's support for, 64–65
 legacy of, in Egypt, 16–17, 19
 and Turkish Republic, 89
 and WWI, 72–73
 see also caliphate
- Pal, Bipin Chandra, 174n20, 185n79
 Pan-Arabism, 105
PanIslam: Ideology and Organization
 (Landau), 8
- Pan-Islamism
 British fears of, 174n15
 vs. Egyptianism, 80, 81–82
 and Khilafat Movement, 91
 and native opposition to British
 Occupation (1882), 18–19
 scholars on, 8–9
 as secondary motive for nationalists'
 anti-British behavior, 84–86,
 132–33
 al-Urwa al-Wuthqa (The
 Unbreakable Bond), 177n24
 use of term, 9, 174n18
 during WWI, 59–61
 see also caliphate; Jewish, 'Abd
 al-'Aziz
- Paris, 6, 21, 30, 34, 37, 42, 48–52,
 63, 65, 99, 181n25, 184n58,
 188n143, 193n99
 Paris Peace Conference, 92–93
La Patrie Egyptienne, 67, 71–72
 People's Party (*Hizb al-Umma*), *see*
 Umma Party
- political parties, 27–29, 200n2
 the press
 and 'Abbas Hilmi, 22–23
 and anti-British propaganda, 77–78
 British censorship of, 50–52
 criticism of British Occupation,
 21–25
 Egyptian reporting on India during
 1920s, 107–9
 freedom of, after Egyptian
 “independence,” 96
 and Gandhi's visit to Egypt,
 114–15
 and nationalism, 46–47, 66–68
 and pro-Ottoman propaganda,
 69–70
 *see also specific newspapers and
 journals*
- Press Law Act (1881), 40–41
Progres de l'Islam (*Terreki Islam*),
 67–68

- Provisional Government of India, 77,
91, 192n89
- Prüfer, Curt, 79
- al-Qasas*, 66
- Radwan, Fathi, 118, 120–21
- al-Rafai'i, Amin, 99–100
- Rai, Lala Lajpat, 34, 91, 174n20
- Ramadan, Muhammad Hafiz,
100, 106–7
- Reserved Points, 95, 196n27
- Revolution of 1881 ('Urabi), 18–19, 23
- Revolution of 1908 (Young Turk),
29, 58
- Revolution of 1919 (Egypt), 9, 75, 81,
92–94, 98, 100, 109, 178n39,
178n54
- rhetoric of anti-colonialism, 72
- Rida, Muhammad Rashid, 25, 60
- Rifa'at, Mansour, 50, 52, 65, 66–67,
71, 92, 183n49
- Robertson, John (MP), 26
- Rome, 97–98
- Rothstein, Theodore, 48
- Round Table Conference, 13–14,
112
- Rowlatt Bills, 91
- Rowlatt Committee Report, 48,
185n96
- Russia, 48, 88, 91–92
- Russo-Japanese War, 24
- Ryan, Frederick, 48, 185n89
- Sadat, Anwar, 205n5
- Sa'id, Abd al-Hamid, 48, 65, 97–98,
100–1, 103, 105, 108, 129,
184n58
- Salafiyya* (Forefathers') movement, 25
- Sanua' Yaqub, 21
- Al-Sarkha*, 201n40
- Savarkar, Vinayek Damodar, 34–36,
181nn15–16
- Sayyad, Abu, 69
- al-Sayyid, Ahmad Lutfi, 26–28, 75,
179n55, 183nn47–48
- “self-determination” philosophy, 87
- Sevket, Mahmud, 59
- al-Sha'ab*, 52
- Sha'ab (People's) Party, 111
- Shafiq, Ahmad, 102–3, 108
- al-Shams al-Mashriqa* (The Rising
Sun) (Kamil), 24
- Shamsi, 'Ali, 24, 97, 99, 196n23,
197n46
- Shatwan, Yusuf, 69
- Shaw, George Bernard, 26, 48
- Shubra Plot, 66, 189n27
- Sidqi, Isma'il, 93, 111, 113, 115, 116,
201n33
- Silk Letter Plot, 77–78, 195n8
- Sinn Fein, 47, 94, 185n87, 194n130
see also Irish nationalism
- al-Siyyasa*, 96, 112, 118
- socialism/socialists, 23, 29, 36, 46–48,
83, 88, 91–92, 121, 124,
191n60
- Society for the Progress of Islam, 67
- Society of Fraternal Solidarity, 43
- Society of the Eastern Bond,
100–4, 108
- Society of Vengeance, 20
- Spencer, Herbert, 180n63
- Sphinx Societies, 66
- Stack, Lee, 95, 184n64
- Stevenson-Moore, C.J., 37
- Storrs, Ronald, 60
- Sudan, 15
- Suez Canal, 17, 79–80, 184n59
- Suhrawardy, Abdallah, 29–30
- Suleiman, Mahmud, 27
- supranationalism, 1–2, 104–5
- “Taba Incident,” 28
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 103, 108, 122,
199n81
- Talat, Mehmet, 59, 84, 148, 193n93
- Talvar*, 47, 51, 187n131

- Tawfik, Khedive, 18–19
- Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 14, 174n20
- Treaty of Lausanne (1923), 89
- Treaty of Sevres (1920), 89
- Turkish-Italian War (1911–12), 60
- Turkish War of Independence (1919–23), 89
- 'umal* (urban working class), 15
- Umma Party
 founding of, 27
 non-violent stance of, 27–28
 as supporters of Britain during WWI, 75
 as supporters of Egyptian self-rule, 29
 and Wafd Party, 174n19
- Umran, 'Abd al-Aziz, 81
- Unity Party, *see* Ittihad (Unity) Party
- 'Urabi, Ahmed, 18, 21
- al-Urwa al-Wuthqa* (The Unbreakable Bond), 177n24
- al-Ustadh* (The Teacher), 21
- violence
 Hussein on, 202n55
 Krishnavarma on, 53–54
 Lal-Bal-Pal group, 174n20
 and Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt), 119
see also assassinations
- von Wangenheim, Hans, 78–79, 192n89
- Wafd Party
 and *al-Balagh* newspaper, 96
 call for boycotts/passive resistance, 113–14
 and Coptic community, 179n54
 and Indian National Congress (1939), 125–26
 involvement in Egyptian government, 95, 116–17
 and 1931 elections, 111
 and Paris Peace Conference, 93–94
 rejection of Farid, 98–99
 and Society of the Eastern Bond, 104
 and Umma Party, 75, 174n19
- Wahba, Yusef, 184n72
- Waked, Imam, 64
- Wardani, Ibrahim Nassif
 and European metropole, 54
 and motives for Ghali assassination, 42–44
 nationalism of, 44–45
 and Society of Fraternal Solidarity, 43
 and Watani Party in Europe, 46
- Watani Party
 in exile during WWI, 78
 founding of, 24
 German support of, 75
 and Islamic Congresses of 1930s, 105
 under Kitchener regime, 62
 members' post-revolution return to Egypt, 98–100
 and Misr al-Fataa (Young Egypt), 119
 official newspapers of, 52
 resentment toward Wafd Party, 99
 and Society of Fraternal Solidarity, 43
 and Society of the Eastern Bond, 102–3
 as supporters of Ottoman Empire, 29
 and Wardani, 46
 WWI internal struggles of, 62–63
 WWI raid on members of, 74
 Young Egyptian Congress (1910), 48–50
 and Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA), 101
- Wataniyati* (My Patriotism) (al-Ghayati), 39
- Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 59, 85
- Wilson, Woodrow, 87, 102, 196n15

- Wingate, Reginald, 92, 195n14
- World War I
- 'Abbas Hilmi during, 78–79
 - and Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), 72
 - Constantinople as hub of nationalism during, 63–65
 - and Farid, 78–79
 - German Pan-Islamic Program, 60
 - German support of Egyptian nationalism during, 60–61, 74–75, 78, 80–81
 - German support of Indian nationalism during, 77
 - and Indians, 75–76
 - and Ottoman Empire, 58–59, 72–73
 - and Pan-Islamism, 59–62, 80–86
 - and Umma Party, 75
 - and Watani Party, 62–63, 74, 78
- Yehya, 'Abd al-Fattah, 116, 201n33
- Young Egyptian Congress (1910), 48–50
- Young Hindustan Association of Constantinople, 78, 83
- Young India (*Abhinav Bharat*) society, 45
- Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 101, 118
- Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA), 25, 100–1, 118–20, 131, 197n52
- Zaghlul, Ahmad Fathy, 26
- Zaghlul, Sa'ad, 21, 93–95, 98–99, 107, 112, 115, 122, 175n3, 177n17, 190n53, 195n14, 196n17
- see also* Wafd Party
- Zimmerman, Arthur, 60, 80, 82