CHAPTER - VI

TURKEY AT WAR:
INDIAN MUSLIMS’ DEMAND FOR DECLARATION OF
ALLIED WAR AIMS (1914-1917)

The impact of Pan-Islamic Movement on Indian Muslims was at its height before the outbreak of World War I due to the involvement of Turkey. It is interesting to note that the Indian Muslims had completely ignored the Ottoman caliphate for more than three centuries. It was perhaps for the first time that the caliphate was at stake due to the attack on Turkey. Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his supporters did not support Pan-Islamic theory saying that it was not beneficial for Indian Muslims. They were completely against the Pan-Islamic ideology as preached by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamid II.\(^1\) But Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s appeal did not attract Indian Muslim intelligentsia due to the deep rooted influence of Pan-Islamism.\(^2\)

Gradual increase of Pan-Islamic sentiments among the members of Turkish Government and the masses as well can be seen at the outbreak of the War.\(^3\) Indian Muslims were

\(^1\) Foreign Department, External Branch, October 1906, No. 339, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

\(^2\) Y.D. Prasad, The Indian Muslims and World War I, New Delhi, 1985, p. 22.

\(^3\) The Indian Muslims were keenly interested in Armenian, Greeko-Turkish war of 1897, the Hejaz Railway Project, the Macedonian Crisis, the Turko-Egyptian dispute of
very much excited over the troubles that had befallen the Muslim World. In 1911, Italy had forcefully captured Tripoli which was a Turkish territory. Seeing this troubled situation, the Balkan States in Europe waged a war of independence against Turkey. At that juncture Turkey was badly preoccupied in defending Tripoli. The Indian Muslims were aggrieved and hence, the Turko-Italian war greatly disturbed them. As soon as the news of Italian invasion of Tripoli came to notice, a wave of unrest was felt among the Muslim masses. Immediately, a mass meeting was held at Calcutta to protest against the iniquitous outrage on international morality perpetrated by Italy in Tripoli and to express active sympathy with the Ottoman Empire. In that emergency meeting a resolution was passed which was telegraphed to the Grand Wazir of the Ottoman Government which runs as follows:

Heart of Islam throbs in sympathy with the Ottomans and expects Turkey to defend Islamic honour and prestige.  

1907, Italian invasion and the Balkan Wars. The Indian Muslims' concern for these crises in the Ottoman Empire went beyond the sending of subscriptions, the occasional enlistment of recruits and the holding of protest meetings. The Indian Red Crescent Society and Anjuman-i Khuddam Kaba were founded with the sole purpose of extending moral and material support to Turkey. In this way all those were the direct manifestation of their Pan-Islamic sentiments.


5. Ibid.
Another telegram was sent to the British Foreign Secretary requesting him to intervene in the war on the side of Turkey. The Indian Muslims requested the British Government to protect Turkey as the issue was related to their religious sentiments. The Council of Indian Muslim League held an extra-ordinary meeting on October 7th, 1911 and in this meeting a number of resolutions were passed in favour of Turkey.  

The crisis in the Balkans occurred due to the policy of Turkification adopted by the Ottoman government regarding its Christian subjects of the Balkan States, particularly Macedonia. The Christian nations of Europe extended whole-hearted support to the Balkan States. Taking advantage of a harassed and weakened Turkey and also due to the support of Christian countries, the four Balkan States: Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro; forgetting their differences, formed a league and organised an armed rebellion against Turkey. Turkey had to appeal to the big powers for their support. The feelings of Indian Muslims ran very high against the British at the beginning of the Balkan Wars.

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6. For a detailed study see, The Comrade, 14th. October, 1911
The Pan-Islamic Movement developed in the years 1912 and 1913. The wounds of Italian invasion were yet to be cured that Turkey was attacked by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. The war popularly known as the first Balkan War started in October 1912 and continued upto May, 1913 and resulted in the defeat and loss of Turkish territory. It was due to the quarrels among the victors themselves that Turks remained in Europe. The demand of Bulgaria (one of the victors) for all Macedonia, did not please her allies who attacked Bulgaria and found willing helpers in the Turks. In this Second Balkan War (June - July 1913) fought by Bulgaria against Greece, Serbia, Romania and Turkey, the Turks recovered Adrianople.\(^7\) The neutral policy of Great Britain throughout the war caused resentment amongst the Muslims against the British rule and widened the scope of Pan-Islamism in India. The Indian Muslims were anxious about the Balkan Wars which convinced the Muslims of the Machiavellian trait in British diplomacy and they were led to think that the British were insincere as far as the friendship was concerned. The Indian Muslims believed that these existed a sinister conspiracy amongst the Western


countries to undermine the Turkish territorial integrity as the conquest of Morocco by France, the seizure of Bosnia-Hiszogovina by Austria, the Italian invasion of Tripoli and the Balkan Wars were evidences of the same. The Indian Muslims began to think that the Europeans were determined to destroy the Ottoman Empire and the caliphate. The anti-European feelings among the Indian Muslims developed due to their love for Turkey. They watched anxiously the unfortunate events in the Balkan States.

The Muslims of North India eagerly watched every development in the Balkans and every reference of British politicians to the subject. The Balkan Wars created intense reaction, especially in articulate sections of the Muslim community. The dismemberment of Turkey and the fate of Muslim States and the treatment meted out to them by Europe made the deepest and most painful impression on every mind. The war came to be known as "the ultimatum of Europe's temporal

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11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
aggression".\textsuperscript{14} The Indian Muslims were much excited by the "life and death struggle between the leading Asiatic power and four minor kingdoms of Eastern Europe".\textsuperscript{15} Meetings were held to pass resolutions denouncing the Balkan States. People prayed for the speedy recovery of the Porte.\textsuperscript{16} According to Jawaharlal Nehru "the Balkan Wars roused an astonishing wave of sympathy in the Muslims of India and all Indians felt that anxiety and sympathy".\textsuperscript{17}

The apparent indifference of Great Britain throughout the war bitterly annoyed them and certain utterances of the British statesmen were interpreted as indicating that Great Britain favoured a combined opposition against Turkey. This created great suspicions in the minds of the Indian Muslims against the British Government as the latter at the initial stage of the hostilities had declared that "in no case would the Powers permit any alteration in the status quo (in the Balkans)".\textsuperscript{18} Prime Minister Asquith was soon to declare in the course of a speech at the Guild Hall on 9 November 1912:

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\item[\textsuperscript{14}] Mohammad Ali, \textit{My Life: A Fragment}, 1942, p. 57.
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] \textit{The Indian Review}, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 833.
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] \textit{Ibid}.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Jawaharlal Nehru, \textit{The Discovery of India}, p. 10.
\item[\textsuperscript{18}] \textit{Parliamentary Debates} (House of Commons), Vol. LVI, 1913, p. 2311 quoted in Y.D. Prasad, p. 11.
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....Things can never be again as they were and it is the business of statesmen everywhere to recognize and accept the accomplished fact.... The map of Eastern Europe was to be recast... that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear. 19

Commenting upon Asquith's aforesaid declaration a prominent Indian newspaper The Musalman wrote:

This most emphatically shows that England has thrown overboard the policy of Lord Beaconsfield and regards herself on the side of the foes of the Ottoman Empire. She has entirely disregarded the feelings of millions of her Mohamedan subjects in India and other parts of the Empire. 20

The Indian National Congress also shared the sorrows of the Muslim brethren in India and expressed its concern over the fate of Turkey and emphasised the need for the peaceful settlement of the disputes. Mazhar-ul Haq, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the twenty-seventh session of the Indian National Congress, declared that the Balkan War was not a war against the Turks but a war to turn Muslims out of Europe, a war between the Cross and Crescent and a war between the Asiatics and the Europeans. 21 He

further criticised the British policy of indifference to the Muslim cause and pointed out that this attitude of the British Ministers had deeply offended the sentiments of the seventy million Muslims of India. Rao Bahadur R.N. Mudholker, the President of the twenty-seventh session of Indian National Congress, expressed profound sorrow and sympathy which the Hindus and all non-Muslim Indians felt for their Muslim brethren in the great misfortune that had overtaken the caliphate. He further said that as a subject of Great Britain which was neutral in the war, it was not proper for him to take sides between the belligerents but "as staunch believers in the supremacy of the moral law and upholders of the principle of peaceful evolution, this much I believe is permissible to us to say that it is possible to satisfy the just and the legitimate aspiration of the Christian provinces of the Turkish Empire without destroying the existence of the importance of Turkey or subjecting her to the humiliating condition of powerlessness." Nawab Syed Muhammad, the President of the Twenty-Eight Session of the Indian National Congress also pointed out that the disastrous results caused by the Balkan War had unnerved the Indian Muslims. The dismemberment of Turkey by depriving

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22. Ibid.
her to her European provinces had evoked a wide-spread protest in which non-Muslims also took part. He further declared that the defeat of Turkey, while it had caused intense grief and depression to the Islamic world, had at the same time brought Muslims closer together in a way that nothing else was capable of doing. The intense heat of Pan-Islamic tendency led the Agha Khan to write in 1914:

For more than two years past the Moslems of India, in common with their co-religionists in other countries, have been going through the most painful experience. The Turkish loss of sovereignty in Northern Africa and in the Balkans, the continued disintegration of Persia, the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and certain matters of Indian administration, have all deeply affected Indian Muslims. The Mohammedans of India, newly awakened to national consciousness by the education in England has given them, not limited in their gaze by the vast ramparts of the Himalayas or by the waters of the Indian Ocean. There is between them and their fellow-believers in other lands essential unity, which breaks through differences of the sect and country, for it is not based on religious ground only. They share the glorious heritage not only of the Koran ... but of the History and Philosophy of Arabia, the incomparable poetry of Persia, the

romances and legends of Egypt and Morocco and Spain drinking from these imperishable springs, Moslems, whether Turks, Persian, Arabi or Indians, and whether or not they have also come to the Western walls of knowledge, are bound together by a certain unity of thought of Sentiment, and of Expression. 25

The Muslim Organisations came forward for every kind of help as they did earlier during the Turko-Italian War. Everywhere in the country innumerable meetings were held, resolutions expressing sympathy with Turkey were passed and general appeals were made for collection of funds for war victims. The policy and attitude of British Government was strongly condemned by the All India Muslim League in its meeting held in Lucknow towards the end of 1912. In that meeting the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

All India Muslim League desires to draw the attention of the British Government in England to the cumulative evidence from disinterested sources appearing in the Press of neutral countries bearing on the Macedonian butcheries, and demands in the name of all that is true and honest in the life of the English nation, which owes duty to its fellow subjects of other creeds, that the British Foreign Office should take such action with regard to the wholesale massacres and outrages

that have been perpetrated by the Balkan invaders amongst the Mussalman population of Macedonia as would do credit to its sense of justice and humanity. That the League deplores the unjust war declared by the Allies against the Turkish people, and deeply regrets the attitude of Christian Europe, which means the destruction of Mussalman power in Europe and of the integrity and honour of the Ottoman Empire. That the League views with great dissatisfaction the open expression of sympathy by responsible Ministers of the Crown with the Balkan States in their unrighteous war on Turkey. 26

The Balkan States' wars against Turkey were given religious colour. The Muslims considered it a religious war between Islam and Christianity. 27 The Muslim intellectuals played a very vital role in awakening the Muslims. Newspapers proved very strong media to support Muslim voices in favour of Turkey. Muhammad Ali, Abu'l Kalam Azad and Zafar Ali Khan reminded the Muslims of Islamic brotherhood through their papers. 28 Muhammad 'Ali announced that the


27. An Islamic Power in Europe is an eye sore to the Christian nations of that continent and accordingly they are determined to dismember the Empire and humiliate it in every possible way, The Mussalman, 11th October, 1912.

defeat of Turkey was not the defeat of Turkey alone but in real sense it was the defeat of Islam and what Islam expects from its co-religionists was the united action against the British at this critical juncture. The sufferings of their coreligionists in Turkey caused considerable uneasiness to the Indian Muslims. In order to ameliorate their condition, funds were raised throughout the country and branches of Red Crescent Society were opened. Agha Khan also advised his co-religionists to donate liberally for the Turkish Red Crescent Fund. In 1912, Zafar Ali Khan, after collecting subscriptions for the Turkish Red Crescent Society visited Constantinople personally to present the amount to the Grand Vizir and to see the conditions of Turkish Muslims with his own eyes.

Pan-Islamic propaganda in India got a new momentum after the formation of the Indian Red Crescent Societies. The first Indian Red Crescent Mission which visited Turkey at the time of the fall of Kamil Pasha’s cabinet and the return of the Unionist to power in Turkey was accorded a warm reception by the Unionists who had the sympathies of

every member of the Mission.\textsuperscript{31} The second and most significant Red Crescent Mission visited Constantinople under the most popular and well known Pan-Islamic leader Dr. M.A. Ansari in December 1912. It was of the same nature which carried the message of deep sympathy and good will to the Muslims of Turkey from their Indian co-religionists of India.\textsuperscript{32}

Another organisation through which the Indian Muslims gave vent to their Pan-Islamic and anti-British feelings was \textit{Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Ka'ba} or the Society of the Servants of Ka'ba. It owed its origin to the Tripolitan and Balkan Wars.\textsuperscript{33} Basically it was a religio-political organisation. It appealed to religious sentiments of the Muslims because by doing this it could both escape the hostility of the British Government and achieve its purpose smoothly. Shawkat Ali publicly announced for the first time the aims and objectives of the society in his speech at Amritsar on 31st March 1913. He declared that it was the bounded duty of every Muslim to join hands together for

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\textsuperscript{31} Political Branch, Deposit Proceedings, No. 33, January 1916, p. 4, National Archives of India (NAI)

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{The Comrade}, 14th December, 1912.

\textsuperscript{33} H.D. Political A. January 1919, No. 206 and K.W.S. NAI.
protecting the holy places of Islam against the non-Muslim aggression. The manifesto of *Anjuman-i Khuddam-i Ka'ba* became very popular and helped a great deal in uniting Muslims on the religious basis.\textsuperscript{34}

The defeat of Turkey in the Balkan Wars shocked the Muslim community which viewed it as a natural calamity. It made the Muslims conscious of their religious brotherhood which provided a base for the later day Pan-Islamic fervour. Even Turkey was influenced by the growth of Pan-Islamic Movement in India. After the Balkan Wars and before the outbreak of World War I, Turkey sent many emissaries to fan Pan-Islamic and anti-British sentiments amongst the Muslims. Hafiz Wahabi was an important Turkish emissary who visited India before the War. Turkey was greatly obliged by the immense sympathy and support expressed by the Indian Muslims. Early in 1914 Khalid Beg, the Turkish Consul-General, visited Lahore and presented to the Badshahi Mosque a carpet, sent by the Sultan of Turkey, as a token of his gratitude to the Indian Muslims. Soon after two Turkish doctors of the Red Crescent Society visited Punjab and succeeded in drawing the Indians to the Turkish side.\textsuperscript{35}

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\textsuperscript{34} H.D. Political A January 1919, No. 206 and K.W.S., N.A.I.

\textsuperscript{35} V.P.S. Raghuvansh, *Indian Nationalist Movement and Thought*, 1951, p. 140.
The All India Medical Mission which visited Constantinople in 1912 under the headship of Dr. Ansari, had a practical significance for Turkey. Turkish subjects and Government considered Indian Muslims as their real sympathisers. In response to the services rendered by the Medical Mission to Turkey, a number of Turks visited India to make the Indian Muslims aware of the prevailing conditions in Turkey. The first two persons from Turkey who visited India in February 1914, were Kemal Umar Beg and Adnan Bey. The Turkish Government had sent them as representatives of Turkish Red Crescent Society for paying thanks of the Turkish Government to the Indian Muslims for their assistance they had received during the Balkan War.\footnote{Proceedings of Home Political Deposit, February 1918, No. 31, Part II, pp. 115-116, NAI.} There were indications that Turkey was endeavouring to spread Pro-Turk and Pan-Islamic ideas in India through its press. The avowed object of the Turkish weekly \textit{Jehan-i Islam}, published in Arabic, Turkish and Urdu, and edited by an Indian Muslim was to promote intercourse between Muslims and to encourage trade with Muslim countries.\footnote{Ibid., p. 116.} The Turkish official team was very much impressed by the Indian Muslims. They gained the impression that the elite and leading Muslims in India had great sympathy with the Turkish cause.
However it was soon realised that this sympathy had no practical effect. Now efforts were made to stimulate it to action. This was the time when Germany herself was preparing for war and she naturally found that Turkey was an aggrieved and a dependable ally which was a staunch supporter of Germany.

In the beginning of 1914 when it appeared that a war would break out in Europe, Indian Muslims began to review their attitude in case of a war between Turkey and Britain. Muhammad 'Ali thought that in the event of a war between Britain and Turkey, he and his followers would have to take sides and that they would certainly support Turkey. When the World War I started and Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 the Muslims of India found themselves in a dilemma. On 31 August 1914 Muhammad Ali sent a telegram to the Sultan of Turkey in which he urged the Sultan either to support Britain or to remain neutral in this war. 38 Turkey joined Germany against Britain on 4 November 1914. The Muslims became puzzled and what to do was the problem before them. Muhammad Ali and his followers ranged themselves with Turkey against the British Government. In May, 1915, Muhammad Ali and his brother Shawkat Ali were arrested for openly justifying Turkey's

entry into the war against Britain and Mawlana Abu’l Kalam Azad was also placed under surveillance at Ranchi for his pro-Turkish activities.39

In June 1914 World War I broke out. Great Britain France, Italy, Russia, Japan and the United States of America made a joint front against Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. The entry of Turkey into the War on the German side placed a strain on orthodox Muslim loyalty because the Turkish Sultan was recognised as the caliph in India.40 Soon after, the Russia, Britain and France declared war on Turkey and attacked her in 1914. Unlike the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, this was not forced on Turkey.41 The consequences of the War had disastrous affect, and Turkey was forced to sign a treaty on 10 August 1920 known as the Treaty of Sevres.42 The harsh terms of the treaty and

42. The terms of a treaty to be imposed upon Turkey were handed over to Tevfik Pasha in May 1920, and the Treaty of Sevres, which embodied them, was signed on 10th August. Constantinople was to remain under Turkish sovereignty, but, except for a strip of territory assigned to the Turks for the defence of the capital city, Turkey in Europe ceased to exist. The zone of the straits and their navigation were to be controlled by an international commission, and contiguous areas were to be demilitarized. Western Thrace and Eastern
The pro-Turkish feelings of the Indian Muslims during the Tripolitan and Balkan wars had obvious religious and Pan-Islamic overtones. But on the eve of the war some

Thrace up to the Chatalja lines were, as already indicated, assigned to Greece, which was also to have Imbros and Tenedos, and other islands. The Dodecanese were assigned to Italy, but Italy had already agreed to cede them to Greece, with the exception of Rhodes, which was to be retained by Italy, as long as Great Britain retained Cyprus. The city of Smyrna, with the Ionian hinterland, was to be under Greek administration for five years, at the end of which their future was to be decided by a plebiscite. Armenia and Kurdistan were to be independent; and the Turks were to renounce all their rights over Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Cyprus, Tripoli, Tunis and Morocco. In Arabia the King of the Hejaz was recognized as independent and to have the custody of the Holy Places. It had already been arranged (May 1920) that France should receive the mandate for the Syria and Great Britain for Palestine and Mesopotamia. The Treaty recognized the rights of the two principal allies over Egypt, Sudan, the Suez Canal, Cyprus, Tunisa, and Morocco respectively. The Turkish Navy and Air Forces were virtually abolished and the army reduced to 50,000 men, while Turkish taxes were to be controlled by a Commission of Great Britain, France, and Italy. J.A.R. Marriot, *The Eastern Question*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 526-527, see also S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, London, 1967, Vol. II, p. 356.

other considerations were also influencing their sympathy for Turkey, since Russia, considered by the Muslims the traditional enemy of Islam, was now an ally of the British. The Muslims suspected Britain's policy as her intention was doubtful. On the other hand they had great reverence for Germany as she was considered a faithful and true friend of Turkey. Germany had supported Turkey through thick and thin and for future the Muslims had built some hope on Germany.\textsuperscript{44} The Indian Muslims genuinely felt for Turkey's safety and well-being during the War. It was the concern for Turkey that moulded and shaped their mood, attitude and responses even before Turkey joined the War in November 1914. Many Pan-Islamists believed that Turkey would seize the opportunity, offered by the involvement of Great Powers in the War, for regaining the tracts that were wrested from her in the preceding years. They still tried to allay the fear that Turkey would abandon her neutrality and fight Britain in the conflict. A contemporary intellectual Mawlana Mazhar-ul-Haq said at a public meeting of local Muslims of Bankipur (Patna) on 5 September 1914 that Turkey was in search of peace.\textsuperscript{45} He argued:

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\textsuperscript{44.} Memorandum on the Policy of British Government towards Turkey and the position of the Muslims of India by Theodore Morrison, 16th March, 1915, Cabinet Paper No. 137/12618, p. 2.
.... Turkish nation is fully alive to her Islamic obligations. They feel the responsibility of being the guardians of Islam and our holy places. And this is just what binds us most to them. Rest assured that they thoroughly understand that the sympathy of the whole Muslim World is with them as long as they perform Muslim obligations in Islamic spirit. Personally I have no fears. At present the reins of the Government are in remarkably capable hands. They know full well that it was Austria who tore the Treaty of Berlin by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina and paved the way for the distintegration of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Surely, surely they cannot but see that all their ports in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea are at the mercy of the guns of ships of the Triple Entente, and that the Turks are not in a position to defend these ports. I myself tremble to think of the day when the ports leading to Mecca and Medina will fall into non-Muslim hands and the conflagration that it will lead to. If such a day ever comes, no one but the Turks, who are at present in possession, will be blamed for bungling and incompetency. By whatever side I look, I am firmly convinced that the Turkish Government will never burn her fingers in this world-wide conflagration.

Although Mazhar al-Haq publicly exhorted his co-religionists to "rally as a man and stand by the side our gracious sovereign", it appears from Government records that

45. Y.D. Prasad, op.cit., p. 46.
he had been endeavouring to impress and inspire with the belief that the interests of Turkey were bound up with the fortunes of Germany and that the sympathies of Islam should be with the latter. 47

The Entente had provided Turkey with assurance for the safeguarding of her neutrality and for the presentation of her territorial boundaries during and after the struggle. 48 But the interest of each of the Entente powers was opposed to the interests of Turkey. At that time Algeria and Morocco were under the direct control of France. France was well aware of the fact that a strong Turkey would be a menace to her African possessions. On the other hand Russia was the eternal enemy of Turkey. Her sole desire was to have an open port on the Mediterranean. So she did not want to see Turkey as a strong power. Similarly a strong Turkey would also have endangered the British possessions in Egypt and the Suez Canal, and would serve as a rallying point for the Muslims all over the world. Obviously, the only choice left to Turkey was Germany. That was the reason why Turkey developed friendship with Germany. Then Turkish Empire would direct attack on Russia and Britain as both

46. Quoted in Y.D. Prasad op.cit., pp. 46-47
were the enemies of Germany. In this way Turkey would create a diversion in favour of Germany. 49

Britain declared war on Turkey by simply extending order-in-Council to cover the Ottoman Empire. It was signed by George V. on 5 November 1914, 50 but local Governments in India had been informed that war had broken out on 1 November 1914. Britain made a public announcement on 2 November 1914 and declared that the shrines of Mesopotamia, port of Jeddah and all holy places will be out of attack by naval and military forces of Great Britain, France and Russia provided Indian pilgrims do not interfere into the matter. 51 The entire British administrative machinery in India was geared up to forestall any hostile public opinion by securing a prompt declaration from the leading Muslim associations, and individuals in support of the Government. Assurance of loyalty to the British from Muslim public bodies issued by the British poured in abundance when war was declared between Britain and Turkey. The prominent Muslim leader Agha Khan gave whole-hearted support to Britain during the Anglo-Turkish War. The Nizam of

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Hyderabad also impressed upon all Muslims that they should give their unreserved support to Great Britain. He issued the following proclamation.

In view of the present aspect of war in Europe let it be generally known, that at the critical juncture it is bounden duty of the Mohammadans of India to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government especially when there is no Moslem or non-Moslem 'Power in the world under which they enjoy such personal and religious liberty as they do in India and when moreover they are assured by the British Government that as it has in the past always stood as best friend of Islam so will it continue to be Islam's best friend and will always protect and cherish its Moslem subjects. I repeat and reiterate that the crisis before us the Mohommedan inhabitants of India, especially the subjects of this state, should, if they care for their own welfare and prosperity, remain firm and wholehearted in their loyalty and obedience and swerve not hair's breadth from their devotion to British Government whose cause I am convinced is just and right, keep sacred the tie which binds the subject people to their rulers, and lastly that they should in no case allow themselves to be beguiled by the wiles of anyone into a course of open or secret sedition against the British Government. Finally I give expression to hope that as I, following traditions of

51. F.D. Secret War, May 1914, Proceeding No. 486, N.A.I.
my ancestors, hold myself ever ready
to devote my own person and all the
resources of my State and all that I
possess to services of Great Britain,
so will all Mohamedans of India,
especially my beloved subjects, hold
themselves wholeheartedly ready in
the same way. 52

Many more prominent Muslim elites made similar
declarations and requested their co-religionists to keep
themselves away from hostile influences and also requested
them to be loyal to the British Crown. We find various
references of this nature. For example, the Begum of Bhopal
addressed her people on 9 November 1914 in a public Durbar
that Britain was unwillingly drawn into the War just to
protect a small state against the rapacity of Germany. She
expressed her earnest desire that all the Muslims should be
staunch supporters of the Crown as they were earlier.53 A
similar statement was made by the Nawab of Tonk. He
expressed regret that Turkey should have embarked upon that
war ignoring both the innumerable favours received from
Great Britain, and the fact that vast numbers of her co-
religionists enjoyed full religious freedom and passed their
lives in peace under the protection of Great Britain. He

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52. Cited from Amrita Bazar Patrika in Library Digest, 13
also declared that it was the bounden duty of all the Muslims in India to be loyal and faithful to the British Empire and to leave nothing undone to prove their loyalty. The Nawab of Rampur, in a proclamation issued to his subjects, pointed out that war was not sought by the British Government and that the British cause was a just one. He, therefore, enjoined his subjects and invited all Muslims in India to remain steadfast in their loyalty at that crisis, and to do everything in their power to further the British cause, which was also the Indian cause.\textsuperscript{54}

A number of meetings were organised by the loyalists and keeping in view the British interest, many resolutions were passed in which they assured the British Crown of their loyalty.\textsuperscript{55} The Indians assured their loyalty in favour of British Government but it was unspontaneous and insincere. Pro-British Muslim leaders did not command much influence among the general Muslims of India. Even the Nizam of Hyderabad issued his manifesto under the pressure from the British authorities. In fact the Nizam had a soft corner for Turkey. The Indian Muslims also realised their

\textsuperscript{53} H.D. Political A. December, 1914, Nos. 256-370, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{55} The following resolutions were passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League:
helplessness and they were bound to suppress their actual feelings. Many prominent loyalists had begged for relief for Turkey just a few months ago before the outbreak of the War. A staunch Pan-Islamist, Mawlana Mazhar al-Haq advised his coreligionists to look into their own interests. He was of the view that the care of the interests of Islam in their own country was most important. He observed the real strength of Islam was in India as this country had about 70 million Muslim population. Mawlana Abu’l Kalam Azad the

"Firstly: That the Council of the All India Moslem League gives expression once more to the deep rooted loyalty and sincere devotion of Musalmans of India to the British Crown and assures His Excellency the Viceroy that participation of Turkey in the present war does not and cannot affect that loyalty in the least degree and the Council is confident that no Musulman in India will swerve even a hair’s breadth from his paramount duty to his sovereign.

Secondly: That the Council of All India Moslem League expresses its deep gratitude to the British Government for the assurances given to its Moslem subjects as to the immunity of holy places of Islam in Arabia and other places from attack or molestation and for obtaining similar assurances from its allies"., Cf. Y.D. Prasad, op.cit., pp 51-2

56. H.D. Political. A, December 1914, No. 80, p. 31, NAI.

57. Musalmans of India will act with coolness, keep up their dignity and self control, will not be unruffled by any untoward events, will not be affected by any of the hostile or unjust criticism which are so plentiful in these days and will most assuredly rally to man by the side of their king Emperor for the defence of the Empire. Their lives and all their resources will be at the service of their sovereign. H.D. Political, A. December, 1914, No. 8a, p. 31.
most prominent Muslim figure gave similar statements. It was however, very difficult even for the British Government to believe the wordings of Abu'l Kalam Azad.\(^\text{58}\)

That our efforts to maintain peace and tranquility in India will meet the same success that it has always done. The Government may rest assured that the Mussalmans will under no circumstances disturb the peace of India. They will prove to the hilt that they are the most peace-loving and law-abiding people in India.

Muhammad Ali, Hasan Nizami, Dr. Ansari and many other leaders pointed out that the Turko-British war was exclusively politically motivated and it had nothing to do with religion.

On the other hand, the Shaikhy al-Islam of Turkey made an appeal to their co-religionists living in all parts of the world for jihad and expressed that it was obligatory on the part of every Muslim to support Turkey in all respects. However, this call flopped as many Muslims doubted the co-religious motives of war.\(^\text{59}\)

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\(^{58}\) H.D. Political, A, December, 1914, No. 81, p. 35 and Nos. 256-310, p. 167.

The results of the War I proved favourable for England and her allies and it excited the jealousies of other nations against England. Even the allies of England were not pleased with her due to her growing strength. The conflict between America and Japan became inevitable, in which the involvement of England was sure. The shameful defeat of Germany had compelled her for preparing future war against her enemies. The Bolsheviks declared England to be their arch enemy. The future world war will be fought on Asian soil as it seemed. England will perhaps be involved in it in a deadlier form than she was during the last struggle. With what materials will England go to fight her next war? Will she fight her numerous enemies with discontented India and antagonised Islam? She will need the resources of India and Islam, especially their manpower. A friendly Turkey and grateful India would be a match to any combination of powers against England. The Turks had been humiliated. The Persians were in a state of disorganization, and Egypt, Morocco and Tripoli were dominated by European influence, but Islam was still a living force. The ruler of Afghanistan expressed himself in these terms:

I have written to the British Government that no Mussalman under any circumstances, can tolerate any kind of interference in the matter of Khilafat or see his Khalifa under any control. If they pay no heed to the friendship of Afghanistan in the
matter of Khilafat, they endanger the solidarity of their own Empire. Amanullah is ready to sacrifice his life in the path of Islam. 60

The Nizam of Hyderabad had also written to the Secretary of State for India about the question of Khilafat. On the other hand Muslim organisations like Mujtahids of Najaf and Karbala had issued a fatwa (decree) that every Muslim should resist the dismemberment of Islam and the passing of the Jazirat al-Arab or its portion into the hands of non-Muslims whether through mandate or otherwise.61 The Khilafat of Turkish Sultan was recognised by the occupied Mesopotamian people in no ambiguous words. They were of the opinion that Islam did not allow anybody to the dismemberment of the Islamic Khilafat. If the Indian Muslims believed that the war with Turkey was being prosecuted in a crusading spirit, the Prime Minister of England was to blame himself. It will be remembered that he had hailed Lord Allenby as the hero who had achieved what the combined might of Christendom had failed to achieve during the struggle of centuries. A similar kind of statement was made by Mr. Churchill who had said that the War


was a crusade against the Turks. And the Lord Mayor of London had declared that the Holy Land had been conquered from the infidels. W.S. Blunt wrote:

We fail because we are no longer honest, no longer just, no longer gentlemen... Our government is a mob, not a body endowed with sense and supported by the sense of nation. It was only by immense industry, immense sense and immense honour that we gained our position in the world, and now that these are gone we find our natural level. For a hundred years we did good in the world, for a hundred we shall have done evil and the world will hear of us no more. 62

England could not afford to disregard for long the feelings and the sentiments of the eighty million of her Muslim subjects.63 It had generally been recognised that the institution of Khilafat was the oldest and most important institution of Islam which could not be trifled with. It had raised the emotions of the Muslims. As Sayyid Mahmud remarked:

The emotions of men are stirred more quickly than their intelligence. The aims of statesmanship should be to reckon with the people as they exist and their national peculiarities. 64

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The foundation of the backbone of Islam, he said, was based on sentimental ideals as it was the belief of Western people. It carried the idea of God's direct rulership. This great and true 'idea' made of Islam a faith and a social and political system potent to achieve great things. For it entailed the observance by all Muslims of the moral law in all activities of life-religious, political and social. It was advisable for England that if it took up the idea of making common cause with Islam and India, her future glory was assumed. She would live in history through the succeeding ages when her empire had gone and all her might had disappeared. Sayyid Mahmud wrote:

Thrace and Smyrna be restored to their rightful owners, particularly Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria. These countries including Hejaz may be granted self-Government if they so wish under the effective sovereignty of the Khalifa... Turkey should be allowed to have an honest existence. 65

But there was no indication that the British Government was to join any such thing. In fact, the British Prime Minister strongly opposed any modifications and revisions in the Treaty of Sevres. 66 It was understood

65. Ibid., pp. 138-39.

66. Such an attitude was termed by Sayyid Mahmud as unfortunate for both Turkey and England. He wrote:
that consequently, no pledge whatsoever was given " to Turkey, India or any other country."

In the House of Commons on 26 February 1920 the British Prime Minister summarised his policies as follows:

1. Nothing will be done by us or by our allies in this war, which is likely to injure their (Mussalmans') religious feelings and sentiments.

2. The Holy places of Islam shall remain immune from molestation. 67

3. No operation will be conducted against the sacred seat of Muslim Khilafat. 68

4. But I think we might go so far as to give them (Mussalmans) some sort of assurance that we recognise that caliph should be not only a Muslim but a Muslim of such position as to be independent of any European pressure of any kind or sort (Lord Cromer in the House of Lords).

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It was understood that the Premier will not succeed in his present anti-Islamic policy. He is ultimately bound to fail. He may occupy and exploit all the Muslim countries, but hardly knows what impetus he had given by his anti-Islamic attitude, to the Progress of Islam. He has undoubtedly succeeded in uniting the entire Muslim World, in fact the entire East with the possible exception of Japan against England.

67. The Times, 7 August 1920.

5. Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renouned lands of Asia-Minor and Thrace, which are dominently Turkish in race (Mr. Lloyd George).

But inspite of these words what England did cannot be better summarized than what Lord Chelmsford said:

And one, not even a Muslim, could have have shown more dislike than I to the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty. 69

During the course of Pan-Islamic development in India, issues like the caliphate, the Sultan, the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Places were often mixed up, the focus of concerning primarily security of Holy Places. This was all the more so after Sultan Abdul Hamid’s deposition in 1909. Thus when the British guaranteed the protection and security of the Holy Places including Shrines, there was much less anxiety among the Indian Muslims about the course of events. The Indo-Muslim Pan-Islamism had always been of a non-aggressive character and a defensive measure aimed at the defense of Muslim countries through mutual understanding and collaboration.