**Foundational Texts**

The Libyan War and Student Panislamism**: The Edinburgh Declaration of 1911**

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In November 1911 half a dozen international students gathered at the Edinburgh University Student Union to write a letter to the Muslims of the world. The resulting Edinburgh Declaration called on "our Muslim brothers" to organize charitable collections in aid of the Ottoman Navy League as part of their celebration of Eid al-Adha. The Declaration presented Italy's September 1911 invasion of Ottoman territory in north Africa as an assault "not only against the Ottomans or against a single Islamic government" but as an attack on Islam itself.[[1]](#footnote-1)

The Declaration was signed by six young men who are otherwise not notables, except in terms of class: sending sons to study abroad was not cheap, and was only possible for parents who had already invested large sums in their sons' prior education at schools and college. None were political exiles or intellectuals. None (so far as we can discover) went on to attempt any other political act of note, hold any significant public office or publish anything else.

While one gave Istanbul as his hometown, the rest hailed from across what Isa Blumi has dubbed "the Ottoman proximate world": from Alexandria, Cairo, Heraklion, Hyderabad and Kabul.[[2]](#footnote-2) All these areas were under some sort of British control, which may have motivated their decision to study in Britain rather than another European country. But what did they think they were doing? And were their aims different from the exiles, clerics and intellectuals historians have traditionally focused on when discussing Panislamism and "Muslim cosmopolitanism" in this era?[[3]](#footnote-3)

Founded in 1909, the Ottoman Navy League collected funds inside and outside the Empire to pay for much-needed renewal of the Ottoman fleet, particularly dreadnoughts similar to those the Hellenic, Russian and other navies already possessed. Although the League printed the Declaration in its own periodical, *Donanma* (Navy), hailing the students' patriotism, there is nothing to suggest that this initiative came from the League or the ruling Unionist regime, who also printed it on the front page of their newspaper, *Tanin* (Echo).[[4]](#footnote-4)

As an example of "organized spontaneity," the League has drawn attention from a number of scholars interested in late Ottoman history and pre-WWI efforts to mobilize public opinion.[[5]](#footnote-5) Although recent research indicates that the sums raised were small, the fact remains that the League was a highly successful exercise in public relations: by 1911 there were 122 branches worldwide.[[6]](#footnote-6) The only precedent was the Ottoman campaign to fund the Hijaz railway (1900-08) linking Damascus and Medina.[[7]](#footnote-7)

The Declaration's rhetoric resembles that of other Ottoman- as well as English- and Arab-language appeals issued during the Italo-Turkish war, a conflict which ended in Ottoman defeat in 1912.[[8]](#footnote-8) But it refused to join in the pessimism of Muhammad Iqbal's famous April 1911 poem *Shikwa* ( Complaint to God) or follow the Islamic reformer Rashid Rida in speaking of a new crusade.[[9]](#footnote-9) As Feroz Ahmad notes, *Tanin*'s editor feared that official Ottoman support of such Panislamist rhetoric might alienate Britain, with whom grand vizier Said Paşa sought an alliance.[[10]](#footnote-10) Ottoman diplomats nonetheless used the spectre of ructions in "le monde musulman" to lobby for British intervention on their side (hinting at unrest among Indian Muslims).[[11]](#footnote-11)

In calling for the faithful to make donations for Ottoman rearmament as Bairam sacrifice, however, the Declaration was more unusual, if not controversial. Almost all other campaigns of late 1911 called for donations to the Red Cross/Red Crescent Society.[[12]](#footnote-12) The Ottoman Ulema Association (Cemiyet-i İlmiye, situated in Istanbul) had opposed the idea of Navy League donations as Bairam sacrifice when proposed by the Islamic modernist and Sufi intellectual Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi in 1910.[[13]](#footnote-13) The resulting controversy ran into early 1911, culminating in şeyhülislam Musa Kâzım issuing a *fetva* against the initiative.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Finding information on the Declaration's six authors is a challenge, rendered easier by the coincidence that 1911 was a census year, giving us a demographic snapshot of the night of Sunday April 2, 1911. The records of the University of Edinburgh as well as the city's medical colleges were also checked.[[15]](#footnote-15) Even making allowances for alternative transliterations of their names, no trace could be found of Mirza Zamir Bey (of Kabul) or Halil Ali (Istanbul).

The youngest of the signatories, medical student Hussein Nosrat (Cairo) matriculated at the university in 1909 aged just 16, having previously attended Bromsgrove, a public (i.e. fee-paying) school in Worcestershire. He would leave the university in 1912 without a degree. The next oldest, twenty-year old engineering student Hassan Mustafa Ibadi had been born in Alexandria, where he attended Ras al Tin Government Secondary School. He had also attended school in England. Ibadi matriculated at Edinburgh in 1908 and would graduate BSc (Eng) in 1913. Although he gave an address in Alexandria to the university authorities, he signed the Declaration as a resident of Heraklion.[[16]](#footnote-16) By 1919 he was working as an irrigation engineer for the Egyptian Public Works Department.

Twenty-four year old medical student Mustafa Mahir was also from Alexandria, where he took his Egyptian Secondary Certificate exams in 1907. He may have already known Ibadi, as a "H. M. Ibadi" (Hassan's father?) of the "Ministry of the Public Works, Cairo" is listed as his guardian. Fellow medical student Abdullatif Sayeed had matriculated at Madras University in 1902, studying Persian and Urdu before switching to medicine. He matriculated at Edinburgh in 1907 and graduated in 1915.

All students must have felt the weight of parental investment in their studies. The son of the Assistant Revenue Secretary in Hyderabad, in 1911 Sayeed was going through something of a crisis. He had failed a number of exams and was struggling with stress brought on by imagining the effect any report of his performance would have on his father's "extremely sensitive nature." As he noted in an appeal to the Dean of the Medical School, "my whole future is at stake and with the ruin of career will come the ruin of my whole life, besides destroying the happiness of a whole family at home." The case drew the attention of famed orientalist T. W. Arnold, then acting as London-based Educational Adviser to Indian Students. Making a bad situation worse, in July 1911 Sayeed was discovered smuggling notes into an exam, narrowly avoiding a term's suspension.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Establishing how integrated these students were in the student community at Edinburgh is difficult. Although the University had several distinguished orientalists on the faculty, not least the brothers William and John Muir, reforms intended to attract candidates for the Indian Civil Service faltered in the 1890s.[[18]](#footnote-18) An unofficial "colour bar" excluding "non-whites" from Edinburgh restaurants and dance halls was well-established in 1927, but it is unclear if this existed in 1911.[[19]](#footnote-19) Those captured by the census were all in boarding houses rather than student halls, but that was traditional at Edinburgh, a non-residential university (at least for male students).[[20]](#footnote-20) Ibadi was one of three lodgers at 23 Gillespie Crescent, alongside a single female of similar age, recorded as "companion" to the third lodger, a widow. A handful of female medical students attended the same medical courses as Nosrat, Ibadi and Maher. Muslim students in Edwardian Britain were overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, male.[[21]](#footnote-21)

Once numbers achieved critical mass foreign-born students could and did form their own societies, such as Edinburgh's Indian Association, founded in 1883. By 1907 it had 84 members, 74 of whom were studying medicine, and was fundraising to build its own "habitation" (which never appeared). Its members, who likely included Sayeed, were also complaining of obstacles to participation in the University Volunteers.[[22]](#footnote-22) By 1911 the Edinburgh union had affiliated societies catering to "Australasian," Irish, French, German and South African students, too.

Opened in 1889 as the first purpose-built student union building in the United Kingdom, Teviot Row House had been extended in 1905 and was architecturally imposing, housing a library, debating hall, dining hall and refreshment rooms. The Declaration's four matriculated signatories were proud of their union, preferring to list it as their address on university forms (rather than their lodgings) and using its letterhead on personal correspondence. Yet their Declaration went unnoticed by the Student Representative Council.[[23]](#footnote-23) Edinburgh students were far from disengaged politically: the Union-affiliated Celtic and Philomathic Societies took a lively interest in current affairs.[[24]](#footnote-24) The Declaration signatories wrote on union letterhead but not, it would seem, on behalf or even with the knowledge of their fellow non-Muslim students.

Whereas a similar protest by a group of Ottoman students at Lausanne University was titled "Un Appel à l'Opinion Publique Européene" and distributed to the editors of European newspapers, the Edinburgh Declaration was directed at Muslim opinion.[[25]](#footnote-25) Although the British government had investigated reports of anti-British sentiment among students attending British universities from the Indian subcontinent in 1907, there is no evidence that the British authorities took notice of the Declaration.[[26]](#footnote-26) There is no evidence that the initiative was reported in the mainstream British press, either, compounding the difficulty of dating it. A report in the London weekly *The Near East* provides us with a *terminus post quem*: Wednesday, November 8, 1911. Assuming the meeting at the Student Union was held a few days before, it came several weeks after groups of Muslims, international lawyers, pacifists (including the campaigning editor W. T. Stead) and socialists had mobilized elsewhere, organizing meetings and subscriptions.[[27]](#footnote-27) The earliest London meetings were convened on 5 and 7 October 1911, the first by the National Peace Committee, the second by "Orientals residing in England, professing various creeds." President of the Egyptian Nationalist Party Muhammad Farid was among those to address the latter, who collectively called on Sultan and Caliph to "uphold the prestige of Islam and the dignity of the East."[[28]](#footnote-28) Such meetings were also reported by Ottoman newspapers: like the Unionist government, so the Istanbul newspaper *İkdam*'s hopes of foreign intervention against Italy were pinned on Britain.[[29]](#footnote-29)

Ottoman diplomats covertly supported similar protests across Europe and the British Empire.[[30]](#footnote-30) At mosques from Mauritius and Zanzibar to Johannesburg and Durban the Ottoman consul general (an Armenian Christian) "played on their religious sentiments and their attachment to the caliphate," organizing collections for the Red Crescent as well as telegrams to London urging British intervention - taking care all the while to maintain a facade of complete detachment.[[31]](#footnote-31) At the London embassy the conseiller financier, another Ottoman Armenian (Calouste Gulbenkian) paid for the distribution of a pamphlet denouncing Italian war crimes.[[32]](#footnote-32)

"Their scheme undoubtedly denotes sincerity of purpose," *Near East* remarked of the Declaration signatories, "and its details show considerable forethought and organising ability."[[33]](#footnote-33) Other issues of *Near East* reported on resolutions deploring "the savage and inhuman atrocities committed by the Italian troops in Tripoli" passed by "the Moslem Members of Cambridge University," as well as a protest meeting held at Whitefield's Tabernacle (London) on 7 November 1911.

*Near East* readers were of two minds about such protests. Some, including Mark Sykes (who wrote into the paper), warned that modern communications had given "compact, yet international" Islam, "always...liable to sudden simultaneous movements," a means of international coordination. The Declaration thus seemed to support a vision of imminent "terrible catastrophe," similar to that which would provide the pretense behind John Buchan's wartime thriller *Greenmantle* (1916).[[34]](#footnote-34) Behind to such visions lay a profound misunderstanding of the meaning of *jihad*, such as those declared by Ahmed Sharif as-Senussi and Shaykh al-Shariah Isfahani in early 1912.[[35]](#footnote-35) Appeals for donations to the Ottoman cause in Cairo and other Egyptian cities were dismissed by the *Near East* as having "nothing to do with the Egyptian people": the organizers' rhetoric of a new crusade dismissed as being in poor taste.[[36]](#footnote-36)

The Declaration supports the view that, though "today largely forgotten", the Italo-Turkish War "disturbed the European and international system in significant ways," as Christopher Clark has noted.[[37]](#footnote-37) It represented the point at which educated Ottoman opinion finally achieved consensus on the hypocrisy of international law and humanitarianism. Here was a situation that, had the positions been reversed, might have justified multilateral humanitarian interventionism of the western European powers, of the sort surveyed by Ozan Ozavcı and Davide Rodogno.[[38]](#footnote-38) Instead Italy was allowed to proceed largely unchallenged.

The Declaration suggests that, for educated non-intellectuals across the Empire and beyond, patriotic and religious duties sat easily together. Though intellectually baggy, in Edinburgh in 1911, the Declaration's vision of a glorious Islamic past, of manly duty, as well as of a crudely Darwinistic model of international relations offered something six students drawn from across the Muslim world could unite behind. Their reluctance to invoke language of caliphate, crusade, jihad or even anti-colonialism suggests that they understood this global struggle as one in which Muslims had to use the tools of "civilization" to retain honour and influence.[[39]](#footnote-39)

**The Text**

To all our Muslim brothers

These lines are addressed to you at a time of great peril. Today's portent could precipitate our destruction tomorrow.

There is no time to lose. Consider the importance of these lines and do not waste your time. Muslims all over the world are trying to help the troubled and endangered Ottoman government as much as they can. We Muslims of different countries make this humble proposal to you. Pay no mind to the signatures on it, for this text is no matter of opinion, but rather a vital request which any Muslim would ask of his Muslim brothers.

The task is very simple but, if we but consider the consequences, of vital importance. If we perform it well the world will once again know that Islam is neither a shadow nor a lifeless body, but remains a real and a potent force. Our proposal and request is for every mosque in the world to give to "Ottoman Navy Kurban Bayramı Aid” on the upcoming Kurban Bayramı. This won’t be confined to Turkey. This letter has been translated into different languages and sent to newspapers in India, Egypt, Iran and many other places. May the newspaper owners to whom we could not send this letter forgive us and do us the favour of dedicating a small part of their newspaper to our cause just as soon as they hear the news.

To ensure an orderly subscription we draw attention to the following points:

Three or four people should be chosen in every mosque to collect contributions [*iane*], in consultation with the imam and congregation. This committee should take a collection from the congregation after prayers on the day of the feast. The total collected should then be announced to the congregation. A document giving the mosques' street addresses, city and province, as well as the names of the collection committees, imams, and witnesses etc. should be drawn up in triplicate. The first copy should be sent to one of the region’s leading newspapers, the second to the Ottoman Navy League in Istanbul and the third to our society.

All that remains to do is to spare no effort in bringing this scheme to fruition. Don’t perform this duty indifferently, as if throwing a few coins to a beggar in the street. Give! Because this donation will save your life, your honour (which is more sacred) and, most important of all, Islam! All are in danger now. A dishonourable life is not worth living. Our sole aim in accosting you with these threats and impending disasters is to remind you to perform your duty.

Today, many Islamic countries are in the hands of foreign states [*ecnebi devletlerin elinde*]. We hear those Muslims are respected and well treated. But you can be sure that they are respected, not because they are Muslims, but because their co-religionists are among the states that rule the world.

If Islamic governments [*İslâm hükümetleri*] are wiped off the face of the earth we will be consigned to the ranks of nations once great, but now fallen and silenced.

Turkey could not retaliate against Italy’s unfair and brutal attacks because it did not have a strong navy. Witness the truth one German newspaper recorded: “the course of the war would have been different if the Ottomans had had six dreadnoughts”.

Enough! Don’t allow this weakness to continue. Italy is persecuting us today. Even if its plan miscarries today, tomorrow some other state will persecute us, for as long as we remain as we are. As *Tanin* said: “treaties are concocted by European powers to mislead and cheat, to be torn up and jettisoned whenever necessary”.

The Ottomans are trying to strengthen their government [*hükümet*]. The Istanbul correspondent of an English newspaper has noted the outstanding patriotism shown by Turkish women. Many of them donate their jewellery and valuables to help the navy. In an open letter one of the most influential Turkish women writers addresses her sisters in a deeply patriotic spirit: “your menfolk make haste and leap into the fire [*ateşlere atılıyorlar*] to defend the homeland. Why not work to defend our homeland here at home? It is better to die under enemy fire than see our sacred homeland trampled by enemy feet.” The same sentiment is found all across Turkey.

Oh Islam! The present threat is not only against the Ottomans or against a single Islamic government. It is against Islam, which has existed for centuries. The life of the Ottomans is the life of Islam and its decline would mean the decline and disappearance of Islam.

Do you want your children to be killed, your family and every holy thing be trampled under foreigners’ feet, your country devastated and Islam extinguished forever? And then, to top it all, for the blood-soaked fringes of a foreign flag to fly above every holy place [*mahall*]?! No! Always no! Surely the Ottomans will rise and Islam will rise with them too, because the soul of Islam cannot and will not ignore these threats against all of us. Conviction of this truth spurred us to write these lines.

Give! Always give, so that Islam may exist forever.

Organizers of the League:

Abdüllatif Said (Hydarabad, Deccan- India)

Halil Ali (Istanbul)

Hasan İbadi (Heraklion/Crete)

Mustafa Tahir (Alexandria)

Hüseyin Nusret (Cairo)

Mirza Zamir Bey (Kabul/Afghanistan)

University Union, Edinburgh, Scotland

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1. A transcript of the Declaration was published by Selahittin Özçelik as an appendix to his 2000 study of the Ottoman Navy League: this Ottoman text is among the League records held by the Historical Institute of the Turkish Revolution (Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Arşivi, or TITEA). Selahittin Özçelik, *Donanma-yi Osmani Muavenet-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Isa Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878-1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Seema Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals Across Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Amit Bein, “A ‘Young Turk’ Islamic Intellectual: Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi and the Diverse Intellectual Legacies of the Late Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39, no. 4 (2007): 607–25. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *Tanin*, 19 November 1911; *Donanma* *Mecmuası*, 29 July 1912, 202. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Mehmet Beşikçi, *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), ch. 1. See also E**yal** Ginio, “War, Civic Mobilization and the Ottoman Home-Front during the Balkan Wars” in Dominik Geppert et al. (eds), *The Wars Before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics Before the Outbreak of the First World War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 92–113; Feroz Ahmad, “War and Society under the Young Turks,” *Review of the Fernand Braudel Center* 11 (1988): 265-86; N**adir** Özbek,”Defining the Public Sphere during the Late Ottoman Empire: War, Mass Mobilization and the Young TurkRegime,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43, **no. 5** (2007): 795–809. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Özçelik, *Donanma* and S. Güvenç, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı’na Giden Yolda Osmanlıların Drednot Düşleri Ciltli* (Istanbul: Türkiye İs Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009). Contrast Jonathan Conlin, “’Our Dear *Resadiye*’: The Legend and the Loans behind Ottoman Naval Rearmament, 1908-1919,” *International History Review* (2021), DOI: 10.1080/07075332.2021.1938634. See also Semih Gökatalay, “Economic Nationalism of the Committee of Union and Progress Revisited: The Case of the Society for the Ottoman Navy,” *Nationalities Papers* 48 (2020): 942–56. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Jacob M. Landau, *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage: A Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017); William L. Ochsenwald, “The Financing of the Hejaz Railroad,” *Die Welt des Islams*, 14, no. 1 (1973): 129–49; Syed Tanvir Wasti, “Muhammad Inshaullah and the Hijaz Railway,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 3, no. 2 (1998): 60–72; Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (Istanbul: Eren, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For a survey, see Orhan Koloǧlu, *The Islamic Public Opinion During the Libyan War, 1911-12* (Tripoli**, LIBYA**: GSPLAJ, 1988); Jonathan McCollum, "The Anti-Colonial Empire: Ottoman Mobilization and Resistance in the Italo-Turkish War, 1911-1912" (DPhil diss. UCLA, 2018), xvii-xviii. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Koloǧlu, *Libyan War*, 36-37, 86, 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Feroz Ahmad, “Great Britain's Relations with the Young Turks, 1908-1914” in Ahmad, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (2 vols., Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2008), 1: 141-72. See also Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (London: University of California Press, 1997), 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Tevfik Pasha to Hakki Pacha, 28 Sept. 1911. Kuneralp, ed., *Turco-Italian War,* Letter 219. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. McCollum, "Italo-Turkish War," vi. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Bein, "Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi," 612 and 623 (note 43). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Musa Kazım (1858-1920) was far from a conservative, advocating reform of *kalām* (Islamic theology) by the application of modern philosophyand insisting that the 1876 Constitution and "Islamic political theory" were in lockstep. See Kevin Reinhart, “Musa Kâzım: From ʾIlm to Polemics,’ *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 281-306; and Ahmet Şeyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), ch. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. University of Edinburgh, Centre for Research Collections (hereafter EUA) IN1 ADS/STA/2, /4 and /8. Records of non-graduates in Medicine were also checked. EUA IN1 ADS/ STA/8N. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Given the collusion of the Powers with its takeover by the Greeks, one wonders if Ibadi was hereby expressing solidarity with Cretan Muslims, whom the Ottomans had sought to settle in Cyrenaica. Fredrick Walter Lorenz, “The ‘Second Egypt’: Cretan Refugees, Agricultural Development, and Frontier Expansion in Ottoman Cyrenaica, 1897–1904,”,*International Journal of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 1 (2021): 89-105. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. A. L. Sayeed to Harvey Littlejohn, 5 May 1911; T. W. Arnold to Littlejohn, 1 May 1911; L. J. Grant to Littlejohn, 14 Nov. 1911. EUA IN1 ADS/STA/8. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Avril A. Powell, *Scottish Orientalists: the Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 268. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Sumita Mukherjee, *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities: The England-returned* (London: Routledge, 2010)*,* 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Roy M. Pinkerton, “Of Chambers and Communities: Student Residence at the University of Edinburgh, 1583-1983,” in Gordon Donaldson ed., *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1983), 116-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. For the Ismaili Atiya Fyzee (1877-1967), who did her teacher training at Maria Grey College in London in 1906-7, see Siobhan Lambert-Hurley and Sunil Sharma, eds., *Atiya's Journeys: A Muslim Woman from Colonial Bombay to Edwardian Britain* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *Report on Indian Students*, p. 79. Sayeed proposed the Secretary of the Indian Association, Gopal Rao, as witness in one letter to the Dean. A. L. Sayeed to Littlejohn, 5 May 1911. UA IN1 ADS/STA/8. K. G. Rao is identified as Secretary of the Indian Association in the Student Representative Council's list of Officials for 1911-12. EUA ESRC Minute Book 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. EUA, EUSRC, Minutes Book 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Donaldson, ed., *Four Centuries*, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Koloǧlu, *Libyan War*, 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. “Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India in 1907 to inquire into the position of Indian students in the United Kingdom,” published as an appendix to *Report of the Committee on Indian Students 1921-2* (London: HMSO, 1922),71-105. See also Mukherjee, *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities****.*** [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. McCollum, 'Italo-Turkish War', 42-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Tevfik Pacha to Said Pacha, 6 Oct. 1911, in Kuneralp, ed., *Turco-Italian War*, Letter 333; Koloǧlu, *Libyan War,* p. 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. ‘English - Italians,’ *İkdam,* 9 Nov. 1911, 5. The following day *İkdam* reported Bombay protests against Italian ‘atrocities,’ warning that ‘Indian Muslims will turn away from Britain’ if the latter did not intervene. ‘Indian Muslims,’, *İkdam,* 10 Nov. 1911, p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Kuneralp, ed., *Turco-Italian War.* See also Shamshad Ali, ‘Turko-Italian War and its Impact on Indian Politics,’ *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 53 (1992): 571-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ohannès Effendi (Johannesburg) to Haridjié, 23 Oct. 1911 and Tevfik Pacha to Assim Bey, 12 Dec. 1911. Kuneralp, ed., *Turco-Italian War,* Letters 447 and 891 (quote). See also McCollum, "Italo-Turkish War", 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Tevfik Pacha to Assim Bey, 1 Dec. 1911. Kuneralp, ed., *Turco-Italian War,* Letter 853. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. ‘Eed-Ud-Duha Turkish Navy Fund,’ *The Near East* 5.63 (8 Nov. 1911), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. For context see John Ferris, ‘"The Internationalisation of Islam": The British Perception of a Muslim Menace, 1840-1951,’ *Intelligence and National Security*, 24.1 (2009): 57-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Koloǧlu, *Libyan War*, p. 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Mark Sykes to Editor, 11 Nov. 1911; C. D. Brunton to Editor, 16 Dec. 1911. *The Near East* 5.68 (13 Dec. 1911) and 5.69 (20 Dec. 1911),166 and 193. For Cairo, see *Near East* 4.62 (1 Nov. 1911), 636 (‘taste’); 5.63 (8 Nov. 1911), 4 (‘people’). See also Koloǧlu, *Libyan War,* pp. 141-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 249. See also Sean McMeekin, *Ottoman Endgame: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Modern Middle East, 1908-1923* (New York: Penguin), p. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Ozan Ozavcı, *Dangerous Gifts: Imperialism, Security, and Civil Wars in the Levant, 1798-1864* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2021); Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire (1815-1914)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Koloǧlu, *Libyan War,* 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)