

The Usual Suspect: Turkey's Former PM Hüseyin Rauf Orbay's Journey to India in 1933

Gizemli Yolcu: Hüseyin Rauf Orbay'ın Hindistan Seyahati (1933)

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey Hüseyin Rauf Orbay's journey to India in 1933 during his period of exile. This study seeks to explore how and why Orbay chose to travel to India, with a specific emphasis on whether the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' fears that Orbay sought to re-establish the Caliphate in some form within India were merited. This study primarily relies upon the relevant correspondence documents from the State Archives in Turkey and concludes that the worries of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs were much ado about nothing insofar as this study found no evidence that Orbay had made any statements either against Turkey's leader at the time, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, or in favor of resurrecting the Caliphate in any form.

Keywords: Hüseyin Rauf Orbay, Opposition, Caliphate, Indian Muslims, India

ÖZ

XX. yüzyıl Türkiye tarihinin en önemli askeri ve politik karakterlerinden biri Hamidiye Kahramanı olarak tanınan Hüseyin Rauf Orbay'dır. Başarılı bir asker ve devlet adamı olan Orbay, Milli Mücadele döneminde Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın en yakın çalışma arkadaşlarından biri idi. Ancak bu birliktelik kısa bir süre sonra saltanatın kaldırılması tartışmaları nedeniyle sonlandı ve akabinde Orbay için İngiltere, Fransa ve Mısır'da geçen "sürgün" günleri başladı. Bu çalışma Hüseyin Rauf Orbay'ın sürgündeki yaşam öyküsünü hilafet ve saltanat tartışmaları etrafında ele alan bir kesiti ele almaktadır. 1933 yılında gerçekleştirdiği Hindistan gezisinin nasıl, neden ve hangi amaçlarla düzenlendiği, Hindistan'da kimlerle temasta bulunduğu, hilafetin yeniden tesis edilmesine uğraşılıp uğraşılmadığı yanıt aranan sorulardır. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi'nde konu ile ilgili yazışmaların temel kaynak olarak kullanıldığı bu araştırma, dönemin Hariciye Nezaretindeki endişe ve kaygıların yersiz olduğunu, Rauf Orbay'ın Mustafa Kemal Paşa ile yollarının ayrılmasına rağmen ne onun ne de rejimin aleyhinde herhangi bir eylem ve ifadede bulunmadığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hüseyin Rauf Orbay, Muhalefet, Halifelik, Hindistan Müslümanları, Hindistan

Introduction

On February 10, 1933, standing on the deck of the PVVSB Kelmuvan Ferry while it approached the Port of Bombay, a passenger waited impatiently and was, in turn, curiously awaited by many Muslims in India. This was none other than the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, a so-called fugitive abroad at that time, the famous Hamidiye Hero of the Balkan Wars, and, perhaps most importantly in the context of this study, a man who greatly worried about the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Hüseyin Rauf Orbay.¹

While Orbay's motivations for traveling to India are matters of debate, the reasons for the anxiety in Ankara and London are clear: Orbay's extensive political career in the Ottoman Empire and the fragility of the British Raj. Orbay was born in 1880 in İstanbul and would later find his calling as a military man.² After graduating from Trablus Military High School and the Heybeliada Naval School at the age of 19, Orbay joined the Ottoman Navy with the rank of lieutenant. During the First World War, Orbay served as the Chief of Naval Affairs and Naval Minister, which was followed by his service as the Chief Executive Officer at the armistice negotiations in Mondros at the end of the Great War.³ After that, Orbay went to Anatolia to participate in the ongoing War of Turkish Independence, also known as the National Struggle; however, he would be arrested by the British during the last meeting of the Ottoman Parliament and subsequently exiled to Malta. Orbay, who was welcomed with cheers in Ankara when he returned from his exile in Malta following the hard-won victory of the Turks for independence, started his duty in the Grand National Assembly as the deputy representing the city of Sivas. Defying what would become standard convention, Orbay held the aforementioned public office without having to stand in any elections because he was a deputy official in the last Ottoman Assembly, a sort of spiritual and structural predecessor to the Grand National Assembly. Orbay served as the Deputy of Public Works in the First Assembly, the Deputy Chairman of the Assembly, and the Chairman

1 For biographical studies conducted about Orbay, see Feridun Kandemir, *Rauf Orbay*, İstanbul, Sinan Matbaası, 1965; Kâzım Çavdar, *Hamidiye Kahramanı Rauf Orbay*, İzmir, Sobe Matbaası, 1973; Cemal Kutay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Yüzyılımızda Bir İnsanımız Hüseyin Rauf Orbay*, Vol.V, İstanbul, Kazancı Kitap, 1992; Süleyman Ataseven, *Rauf Orbay, Biyografisi*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İzmir, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1997 .

2 In an interview given by Orbay to Ahmet Emin Bey in the *Vakit* newspaper dated January 17, 1922, Orbay told the story of his life from his childhood up to 1922. For the full text of the interview, see Mustafa Çulcu, *Ayrıntılarda Saklı Tarih*, İstanbul, E Yayınları, 2006.

3 Mustafa Alkan, "Hüseyin Rauf Orbay'ın Hayatı (1880-1964)", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol.XX, No.59, July 2004, p. 597.

of Deputy Board.⁴ Critically, contemporaries at the time regarded Orbay as a rare figure in this period of Turkish politics, as he was able to mediate conflicts between the dominant coterie of Mustafa Kemal and the various opposition interest groups.⁵

However, Orbay's role as mediator was not to last forever. In Akşin's term, as a member of "*Amasya Military Organizastion*"⁶ Orbay began to clash with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his policies. Mustafa Kemal's decision to abolish the Ottoman Sultanate as opposed to transitioning it into some sort of figurehead role, the tensions during the Lausanne negotiations following the conclusion of the War of Independence, the proclamation of the new Turkish state as a republic, and finally the abolition of the Caliphate as opposed to its reformation were the main leading issues that caused Orbay to break from Mustafa Kemal and his dominant faction.

After a military victory was achieved in the National Struggle, Ahmet Tevfik Pasha's Government's participation in the peace conference with the Allied Powers gave Mustafa Kemal the impetus and opportunity to formally abolish the Sultanate, which he believed needed be abolished "at the appropriate time and first chance."⁷ Also, Mustafa Kemal's dominance over and unwillingness to compromise with the Grand National Assembly also resulted in friction with the more conservative elements of the revolution.⁸ In particular, Mustafa Kemal's inclusion of the statement the "Dynasty Âli Osman no longer exists and has been imbedded in history" in the draft text for the abolition of Sultanate to be presented to the Assembly was the first turning point in Rauf Orbay's relationship with Mustafa Kemal. Kazım Karabekir recalled that, when Orbay saw this draft, he thought that Mustafa Kemal was trying to gather the powers of Sultanate and Caliphate into his own hands, which Orbay notably marked by loudly shouting, "What is happening? Where are we going?" This outburst reflected the sentiments of the minority, non-Kemalist opinion that abolishing the Ottoman Sultanate should not necessarily require the abolition of the Ottoman dynasty as a line of Caliphs.

4 İlhan Haçın, "Hüseyin Rauf Orbay ve I. TBMM'deki Faaliyetleri", *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.12, No.23, Spring 2016, p. 7.

5 Süleyman Ataseven, "Başvekil Rauf Orbay", *Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.8, 1999, p. 226.

6 Sina Akşin, *Türkiye'nin Yakın Tarihi*, Ankara, İmaj Yayınları, 2001, p. 116.

7 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1997, p. 464.

8 Although Rauf Orbay expressed his views on the Sultanate and the Caliphate by stating "*I am conscientiously and emotionally devoted to the Sultanate's authority and that of the Caliphate because my father was brought up with the blessing of the Sultan, and he passed the order of the request of the Ottoman Empire. I have the same genetic codes in my blood as well. I am not ungrateful, and I cannot be such a man. This is my loyalty to the Sultan. My merit to the caliphate is necessary for my decency.*" in a conversation taking place in the house of Refet Pasha in Keçiören, also witnessed by Ali Fuat Pasha, Mustafa Kemal was surprised by the defense of the abolition of the Sultanate by him at the assembly chair. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*..., p. 455.

Mustafa Kemal and his coterie backed off for the time being,⁹ and the various factions reached an uneasy agreement that the Caliphate would remain in the hands of the Ottoman dynasty.¹⁰

The second issue to grow the rift between Mustafa Kemal and Rauf Orbay was borne out of the Lausanne Conference. During the peace negotiations, İsmet Pasha and Rauf Orbay had problems communicating with one another, especially regarding compensation for the war with Greece. This misunderstanding reflected poorly upon and was indirectly attributed to Mustafa Kemal, as İsmet Pasha was a leading figure in the Kemalist group. According to Mustafa Kemal, the communication problem stemmed from “spiritual and emotional reasons,” but he thought the main issue in the relationship was that İsmet Pasha had been elected chief negotiator of the conference over Orbay.¹¹ As a result of these discussions during the Lausanne process, Orbay withdrew from the Prime Ministry, returning initially to Sivas before continuing to İzmir.¹² Ultimately, Mustafa Kemal’s support of İsmet Pasha over Orbay added a practical rift to the already present ideological gap between the two.

After this series of minor rifts, the connection between Rauf Orbay and Mustafa Kemal seemed to have entered into, in the words of Osman Selim Kocahanoglu, “a period of convalescence,” but any such reconciliation was destroyed once Mustafa Kemal proclaimed the nascent Turkish state as a republic. In his statements to the press, Mustafa Kemal argued that, because the proclamation of the republic was on a tight timetable and consequently had not been presented to the Assembly for a vote, Orbay and other critics of his ilk had thought it was insidious; however the primary reason was because they had not been asked for their opinion on the matter.¹³ In spite of the speculations regarding Orbay’s opposition, the schism over the issue of the declaration of the republic galvanized him as a figure standing in contrast to the Kemalist regime. Orbay was subjected to serious criticism within the newly-formed

9 Mustafa Kemal stated his strategic step in *Nutuk* as follows: “*The masters, probably Rauf Bey had done his duty in a number of pleasures for others. So, I acted from my public and historical duty, as I explained the stage of that day. But I never hesitated when it was necessary to perform and apply the actual point ordered by my general duty.*” Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk...*, p. 456.

10 Kazım Karabekir, *Paşaların Kavgası*, prepared by Faruk Özerengin, İstanbul, Emre Yayınları, 1994, p. 96–106.

11 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk...*, p. 511–527.

12 Nurer Uğurlu, *Rauf Orbay İsmet İnönü Kavgası 1. Perde 1922*, İstanbul, Örgün Yayınevi, 2005, p. 31.

13 Osman Selim Kocahanoglu, *Atatürk-Rauf Orbay Kavgası*, İstanbul, Temel Yayınevi, 2018, p. 471. Atatürk replied to the statements of Rauf Orbay by mentioning that “*However, in the meantime, although they were not present in Ankara, they considered the proclamation of the republic as insidious and miserable because they were not informed about it and were not asked for their opinions.*” Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk...*, p. 533–534.

People's Party, later renamed the Republican People's Party, which eventually forced Orbay into participating in the Progressive Republican Party, the first real attempt at a multi-party competition to the Kemalist faction in the new republic.¹⁴

In reality, no real competition had the sort of political sway Mustafa Kemal held. As one of the founders of the Progressive Republican Party and a dissident, Orbay ended up being sentenced to 10 years in prison as a result of the infamously politicized Izmir Assassination Case, which was used as a vehicle to silence and crush opposition to the Kemalists. However, Orbay was abroad at the time of his sentencing due to health problems, and this self-imposed exile would last until 1935. For their part, the Kemalists viewed this so-called exile as little more than an excuse for desertion. During his years abroad, Orbay lived in France, England, and Egypt. After his journey to British India, the main subject of this study, Orbay went to China where upon he visited Shanghai, Beijing, and Nanjing before returning again to London.¹⁵ Although pardoned by the general amnesty issued in 1933 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, Orbay did not return to his homeland until 1935. Orbay's request for a retrial was denied, but within the framework of his amnesty, he was allowed to return to politics as a deputy in Parliament, ironically for the very party that had once sought his political downfall—the Republican People's Party.¹⁶ Orbay went on to serve as the Ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1942-1944.¹⁷ Rauf Orbay died as a respected soldier and statesman in 1964.¹⁸

14 Mustafa Alkan, "Hüseyin Rauf Orbay'in..." p. 620–621.

15 Rauf Orbay, *Cehennem Deđirmeni Siyasi Hatıralarım 2*, İstanbul, Emre Yayınları, 2004, p. 235-236.

16 After returning to Turkey, Orbay's attempts at a retrial and restoration of honor became a hope to other families. In a campaign launched in 1956, the demands of restoration of honor and retrial of the prisoners thought to have been victims within the scope of the İzmir Assassination Case came to the agenda again. According to the statements made by the lawyers of the period, according to the legislation in force, the applications made to the government had no meaning, and the Ministry of Justice Chief Public Prosecutor and the court that made the decision should be applied to change the present decision. Ahmet Mehmetefendiođlu-Necip Gürel, "İzmir Suikastı Mahkûmları İçin 1956 Yılında Yapılan Bir İade-i İtibar Girişimi", *Çađdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.XII, No.25, Fall 2012, p. 233.

17 For Orbay's activities as an ambassador in London, see Akın Nur Özmel, *Rauf Orbay'ın Londra Büyükelçiliđi*, İstanbul, Bağlam Yayınları, 2009.

18 *Milliyet*, July 7, 1964.

The Journey to India¹⁹

The Muslims of the British Raj held intense sympathy for the Ottoman Empire in particular and the Turks by extension. This sympathy and interest manifested several times during the Ottoman Empire's period of descent. For instance, during the 1877-78 Russian-Turkish War, the Balkan Wars, the First World War, and even the National Struggle, the Muslims in India provided moral and spiritual support to the Turks. In addition to the medical groups they sent to İstanbul, Muslims in British India sent various forms of financial support sourced from donation campaigns throughout the country. Furthermore, Muslims in the British Raj also used the press to compel their overlords to support the Ottoman Empire to varying degrees of success.²⁰ Of interest to this study, the affinity Indian Muslims had for the Ottoman Empire grew in direct proportion to their weakening ties with the British Empire. The British policy of colonial suppression, which aimed to prevent Indian Muslims from taking part in the local government, ended up sparking pushes for independence and strengthening solidarity for this cause among Muslim groups. In addition to the British policies focused on India, the British support for Greece in the Turkish-Greek War of 1897 and partitioning of Iran in 1907 in relation to the British-Russian agreement caused Indian Muslims to stiffen their attitudes towards the British. On top of the aforementioned developments, Bengal's separation from India and the Muslim University's establishment being prevented in Aligar also exacerbated the opposition many Muslims and Muslim groups in India had toward the British government.²¹

Rauf Orbay's journey to India coincided with Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign, which had resumed in 1932.²² The developments within the Congress Party, the negotiations on the London-Delhi route, the indecisive position of Muslims in terms of unity and separation with Hindus, and the Caliphate Movement were the main agenda items of the period. In such a complex process, the arrival of a famous Turk such as Orbay attracted much attention.

19 This issue has been evaluated by many researchers before who've considered its different aspects. While this study agrees with the main arguments of Duman, Özer-Erbaş and Çelik, it approaches this visit from a different perspective. The attempt is made to clarify the main reasons for the visit by highlighting the data that could not be found in the British and Indian archives and the attitudes of other visitors.

20 Tuncay Ercan Sepetçioğlu, "The Image of Turks among Indian Muslims: The Case of Balkan Wars", *Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.2, March 2015, p. 61.

21 Abdulhameed Al-Musharraf, *Great Britain and The Nationalist Movements in Egypt and India, 1900-1939: A Comparative Study*, PhD Dissertation, Denver, University of Denver, 1989, p. 229.

22 Herman Kulke-Dietmar Rothermund, *Hindistan Tarihi*, trans. Müfit Günay, Ankara, İmge Yayınları, 2001, p. 418.

Orbay's journey to India in 1933 had paradoxically begun far earlier; the foundations of this trip were laid during the Balkan Wars, the milestone of Hüseyin Rauf Orbay's career. Orbay, who became famous because of his victories with the Hamidiye Cruiser, first crossed paths with Indian Muslims during this war.²³ Specifically, Orbay met the Indian medical delegations to the Ottoman Army.²⁴ Some voluntary medical groups had begun coming to Turkey following the activities of the Aid Committee (the India Red Crescent Society) with the Ottoman Hilal-i Ahmer Society, which was founded in Calcutta in 1911 during the Tripoli War. An article aimed at supporting the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars and written by Şevket Ali, the leader of the Indian Caliphate Committee, for the *Comrade* newspaper also swayed more conservative elements to commit aid to the Turks. These medical groups helped the wounded soldiers and refugees in the hospitals established in Kadirga, Ömerli, and Gallipoli.²⁵

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- 23 Even though it was not known to have been due to the relations with aid groups from India at the beginning of the First World War, a detachment was established by the instructions of Enver Pasha to lay the foundations for the establishment of an army in Afghanistan and to make attempts to disturb the British in India. At the end of his yearlong adventure, Rauf Bey and his detachment, who'd been assigned to go to the region with German Consul of Iran, Von Van Muss, were disbanded because they were unsuccessful due to the problems with the Germans, the clashes with the tribes in Iran, and the progress of the British and Russians. İsrail Kurtcephe-Mustafa Balcıođlu, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Başlarında Romantik Bir Türk-Alman Projesi: Rauf Bey Müfrezesi", *OTAM*, Vol.3, January 1992, p. 247-269; Mete Tunçay, "Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa'nın İran Macerasına Bir Alman Tanıklığı", *Toplumsal Tarih*, December 1999, p. 72.
- 24 Three separate medical delegations arrived from India to Turkey during this period. For detailed information about who was involved in these delegations from India as well as which institutions, organizations, associations and individuals, and how much assistance was sent, see also; Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, "1911-1913 Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Salnamesine Göre Balkan Savaşları Sırasında Hint Müslüman Halkının Osmanlı'ya Yardımları", *Journal of History and Future*, Vol.1, 2015, p. 99-171; Ömer Telliöđlu, "Hindistan Müslümanlarının Osmanlı Devleti'ne Bağlılığının Sembolü: Trablusgarp ve Balkan Savaşları Sırasında Gönderilen Yardımlar", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi*, Vol.24, 2015, p.791-808. For the reflection of the aid to the Turkish and British press, see also; Hasan Taner Kerimođlu, "Trablusgarp ve Balkan Savaşlarında Hint Müslümanlarının Osmanlı Devleti'ne Yaptıkları Yardımlar", *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Vol.XII/2, 2012, p. 161-181. For the activities of these delegations, the efforts of Indian Muslims to help the Ottoman Empire, and their reflections in both India and England see also; Azmi Özcan, "Pan-İslamizm Osmanlı Devleti Hindistan Müslümanları ve İngiltere 1877-1914", İstanbul, *TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları*, 1992, p. 213-224.
- 25 Arzu Süren Çiftsüren, "93 Harbinden Sonra Hindistan-Pakistan Alt-Kıtası'nda Urduca ve Farsça Şiirde Türkiye ve Türkler", PhD Dissertation, İstanbul, İstanbul University, 2013, p. 35-36.

The friendship Dr. Ahmet Muhtar Ensari,²⁶ the head of one of these aid delegations,²⁷ established with Rauf Bey continued after the wars. The Balkan Wars were a turning point in the political careers of both. Whereas Rauf Bey had made a name for himself with his achievements during this war, Dr. Ensari became a well-known name in his own country through the articles and observations he sent to the Indian press that covered the war. In the following years, Ensari became one of the leaders of the Caliphate Movement in India, though he ultimately left the movement in 1926 after a shift in his political philosophy. In 1927, Ensari was elected as President of the National Congress of India, due in no small part to his emphasis on the viability of a Muslim-Hindu union. Ensari's outlook on the matter also went on to inspire the political philosophies of Gandhi and others of his ilk.²⁸

As a result of their friendship from the war, Rauf Orbay went on a two-month journey to India in 1933 to give lectures and tour the country upon the invitation of Muhtar Ahmet Ensari, a member of the medical delegations in Turkey and one of the most prominent figures among Indian Muslims.²⁹ Orbay stated in his memoirs that the travel expenses of this journey, which was quite long and costly, were paid for by his old friends who owned the ship and that he only paid for his meals.³⁰

Although Orbay viewed his journey to India as a visit to old friends and an opportunity to see new places, his former friends in Ankara were more suspicious. In fact, many were suspicious that Orbay was attempting to establish an organization, with

26 Dr. Muhtar Ahmed Ensari was a Turkish friend, philanthropist, and a statesman who worked for the independence of India between 1880-1936. After completing his primary and secondary education in Gazipur and Allahabad, he was sent to England to study medicine. As the first Indian physician to work in prestigious hospitals in London, Ensari returned to India in 1910 to work for the independence of his country. He worked with famous figures such as Gandhi, Nehru, Ecmel Khan, Muhammad Ali, and Sevket Ali Khan. Ensari defended the thesis that India should gain its independence without losing its unity and was arrested by the British. Ensari was defined as the squeeze of Gandhi and helped Turkey during the First World War, the National Struggle years, and in the Balkan Wars. His impressions of his travels in Anatolia appeared in newspapers in India. Zuhul Özeydin, "The Indian Muslim Red Crescent Society's Aid to the Ottoman State During the Balkan War in 1912", *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine*, Vol.2, 2003, p. 13; Syed Tanvir Wasti, "The Indian Red Crescent Mission to the Balkan Wars", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.45, No.3 2009, p. 401.

27 Ensari and his friends came to Turkey in January 1913 and stayed for nearly seven months. They helped the patients, wounded soldiers, and refugees. *Osmanlı Kızılay Cemiyeti 1911-1913 Yıllığı*, prepared by Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, Ramazan Tuğ, Ankara, Türk Kızılayı Yayınları, 2013, p. 133-135. For the activities of Dr. Ensari and his friends, see Burak Akçapar, *People's Mission to the Ottoman Empire: M.A. Ansari and the Indian Medical Mission*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2014.

28 Rebekah Mc Callum, "Altered Allegiances: Indian Soldiers, Non-Combatants and Revolutionaries During the Balkan and First World Wars", *IOWC Working Paper Series*, Vol.3, January 2017, p. 17.

29 *Archives of the Republic of Turkey/Presidency of State Archives (BCA)*, 030.10.016.692.7.1.

30 Rauf Orbay, *Cehennem Değirmeni...*, p. 235.

the assent and inclusion of Indian Muslim groups that sought the reinstatement of the Caliphate. The authorities in Ankara were not the only ones who were suspicious about the motives for Orbay's trip to India. The Turkish Embassy in Cairo also speculated about Orbay's journey, recommending that the Turkish officials in London look into the possibility of Orbay's recruitment as an agent of the Crown.³¹

Another reason for being suspicious of the timing of this journey was India's increasing demand for independence and the common dissatisfaction with the British at the time. Orbay's journey did seem to take place under auspicious or suspiciously convenient circumstances, as evidenced both by the presence of the Huseyni, Mufti of Jerusalem in India and by the news that a Caliphate Congress would be held in Hyderabad.³²

For his part, Orbay was seemingly unaware of the storm winds gathering around him as he was welcomed by Ensari and his other friends at the port. The echoes of his arrival immediately began to reverberate in the Indian press. One newspaper, *Istisin Min*, called Orbay the "The Dismissed Minister of Turkey" in its issue published in Lahore on February 12, 1933. Another newspaper, *Kronikel*, published in Bombay, announced to its readers that Orbay would stay in Bombay for a few days and give conferences in Darülfünun.³³ Orbay played his role in the press circus as well, perhaps most evident in his visits to many newspapers in Bombay that were sympathetic to Islamist political ideals—particularly regarding the issue of the reconstruction of the Caliphate. One paper wrote:

They embraced one another as brothers who had lived apart for a long time and had reached each other. The glorious son of Turkey was embracing the people there so longingly that the friendship and brotherhood of Islam were reflected in this scene, which was worth witnessing.³⁴

31 *BCA*, 030.10.016.692.10.45. The document also states that the media organs opposing the British administration published some issues criticizing Rauf Bey. However, the connections, interviews, and statements in the press carried out with all the segments of society during the journey show that this claim is exaggerated.

32 At the heart of these concerns was the activities of Şevket Ali, one of the leading politicians of Indian Muslims with whom Rauf Bey was in contact. Şevket Ali was effective in the organization of the Pan-Islamic Congress in Jerusalem in 1931 and had organized this event with the Mufti of Jerusalem, Al-Hajj al-Amin Hussein. According to the reflections in the American documents, the hidden purposes of this meeting in Jerusalem included the restoration of the caliphate and the proclamation of Abdülmecid Efendi as the caliph. Therefore, the presence of both there at the same time as Mr. Rauf may have caused the question marks. *Political Affairs 1931-1935*. On the other hand, according to American documents, Şevket Ali stated that he would meet with Abdülmecid Efendi in Nice to conduct the election of the Egyptian King Fuad I as Caliph. *Political Affairs, Feb 1, 1930-October 28, 1934*. The intensification of the steps taken and speculation regarding the caliphate in this period may also be considered to have caused the Turkish Foreign Affairs to be sensitive toward the proceedings on this issue.

33 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.34.

34 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.35.

After meeting in Bombay, Dr. Ensari and Rauf Orbay agreed to meet again in Delhi, and then Orbay continued on to make his first trip to Hyderabad. His travel to Hyderabad had special importance for Ankara,³⁵ as Hyderabad was also to play host to a gathering of the Caliphate Congress. Perhaps even more than Orbay himself, the presence of Hüseyin Bey, the Secretary of the former Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi, in Hyderabad concerned the capital of the new Turkey much more. To add more fuel to the fire, the daughter of Abdülmecid Efendi had married the son of a prominent minister from Hyderabad, who also happened to be one of the richest people in India. Taken together, the events in Hyderabad were too much for Ankara to ignore.³⁶ While these events were, at least on the surface, cause for concern, the truth of their concatenation happened to be much more banal. For instance, reports from Cairo indicated that Hüseyin Efendi was visiting India for medical treatment because of a broken leg.³⁷ In a similar vein, the report sent by the Consulate of Jerusalem, which oversaw investigating whether a Caliphate Congress would be held, stressed that they were under the impression that the Caliphate Congress would not be held in Hyderabad. The Consulate's report also stated that Şevket Ali, the leader of the Indian Caliphate Committee, had come to Jerusalem in early April³⁸ and made no mention of such a congress in Hyderabad in all the meetings and speeches he'd held.³⁹ The Turkish Embassy in London sent a report that corroborated the claims of the report from Jerusalem. According to this report, he was there to raise money for the Islamic Conference that the Mufti was considering to hold in Jerusalem. In addition, it was reported that "Rauf Bey did not comment on old Turkey and that he was concerned about the continuation of ... the new Turkey."⁴⁰ Taken together, the concerns about the overly auspicious nature of Orbay's visit can be chalked up to odd

35 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.33.

36 Mustafa Balcıoğlu, *Muhaliif*, Ankara, Erguvan Yayınları, 2014, p. 265.

37 *BCA*, 030.10.016.692.10.45.

38 The correspondence sent to Ankara by the Consulate of Jerusalem on April 13, 1933 is seen to have reported the activities of Şevket Ali. According to this report, Şevket Ali advised the Arabs not to sell their land to the Jews during the conference he gave near Bethlehem and the Masjid al-Aqsa. Melik Fuat said that he was talking to his brother, the Mufti of Jerusalem, and Emir Abdullah in Amman for the forthcoming Muslim Congress and that they would work to solve all the issues in this congress. The commentary of the Consulate in the last part of the correspondence is interesting: "In short, as before, the Mufti and only a few people listened to him, even though he wanted to console the Arabs with such bullshit, deceive them and give them a great Islamist appearance. The fact that he married a British wife gave the Arabs the feeling of English (unread) in the guise of Muslim." *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.8.

39 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.7.

40 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.2.

coincidence.⁴¹ However, Ankara was still worried about whether Orbay would criticize the republic and the Kemalist regime.

Rauf Orbay in Delhi

Having journeyed around the northern states of India for about a month, Rauf Orbay came to Delhi on March 8, 1933 and met with the awaiting Dr. Ensari. His plans in Delhi were announced by the press as follows: Orbay was to be officially greeted in a reception by Ensari on March 9th. Such conferences as the *Ottoman-Turkish Ground and the Beginning of Change* on March 10th, *Struggle among Nationalism, Pan Turkism, and Pan Islamism* on March 12th, *Turkey and the World War* on March 14th, and *Turkey at Present and Future Facilities* on March 16th were to be organized.⁴²

Rauf Orbay was greeted with cheers at Delhi station and as soon as he arrived at the city center, he made the following statement to a reporter of *The National Call* newspaper:

I came here to offer my respects to our friends who helped us in the Balkan War and to make new missions. My friend Dr. Zakir Hussain⁴³ from Camia-ı Milliye was invited to say a few words about the new Turkey. First of all, I want you to know that I did not come here for political purposes. I am not going to talk about the politics of my country today.

India, as was evidenced by the volume of questions from the journalists, seemed to be following the events in Turkey quite closely. One reporter asked Orbay to comment on the cultural and political reforms being carried out in Turkey, and Orbay gave the following response:

I am not AN orator, and my real profession is maritime. I am going to tell you exactly what I think about it. I will choose the issues that have invaded my hometown in the last 30 years. The difficulties encountered by Turkey are more important and complicated than the ones of the other European countries. Because we live next door to Europe, we are a nation that has been forced to live under the influence of both the West and the East and tried to find a ground of harmony between the West and East.⁴⁴

41 In fact, an intelligence report indicating that these concerns were groundless was sent to Ankara on August 19, 1932. According to this report, Abdülmecid Efendi and Rauf Bey were resentful, and that the group of 3s, Rahmi Bey, Adnan Bey and Rauf Bey had disintegrated due to various conflicts. Transferred from BCA 121.10.0.0.1.3.1. Mustafa Balciođlu, *Muhelif...*, p. 255.

42 BCA, 030.10.016.692.7. 3.

43 19 years after the journey of Rauf Bey, Ahmet Emin Yalman came to Delhi in 1952 with a delegation of Turkish journalists and visited the Camia-i Milliye-i İslamiye. He emphasized that he met Zakir Hüseyin and that Rauf Bey had praised Dr. Ensari and his institution in his private conversations. Ahmed Emin Yalman, "Camiai Milliyei İslamiye Bütün Bir Yeni Alemdir", *Hindistan'da Gördüklerimiz*, İstanbul, Türkiye Matbaacılık, 1953, p. 82.

44 BCA, 030.10.016.692.7.2.

In this same interview, a journalist asked Rauf Orbay to compare the social and cultural issues in Turkey and India, and he signaled that he would frustrate the fears and concerns of Ankara about himself in his first statement to the Indian press by stating:

India is not a country but a continent. Is it possible to understand the issues that occupied it in a few days? I would like to see your big hometown here, and I came here to meet my Muslim friends like Dr. Ensari. These people have helped us as our brothers ... Turkey at present may concern you, but I did not come here to talk about it. If you wish, I can talk about the history and policies of Turkey that I left six years ago. I am extremely glad to be welcomed like this.⁴⁵

The *Inkılâp Newspaper* on March 11, 1933 stated that there were some changes made to Orbay's lecture schedule in Delhi and shared the detailed conference program with its readers as follows:

*Âli Osman and the Beginning of the Revolution at 7:30 p.m. on March 10th,
Nationalism, Pan Turkism, and Pan Islamism at 7:30 p.m. on March 13th,
Turkey and the World War at 7:30 p.m. on March 14th,
Turkey at Present and Future Facilities at 7:30 p.m. on March 16th.*

The newspaper also reported that the conferences were ticketed, that the chairman of the first conference would be Dr. Ahmet Ensari, and that Surçiş Behadır Sipru and Cenk Bahadır Seyid Ras Mesut would chair the other sessions.⁴⁶ This intensive program included a dinner invitation given by the General Governor of India to a large group that included Rauf Orbay.⁴⁷

Rauf Orbay gave his first conference in Delhi on the evening of March 10th at the Camia-i Milliye-i Islamiye building. During his lecture, Orbay gave the audience some historical information about the establishment, development, and destruction of the Ottoman Empire. The conference, which was chaired by Dr. Ensari, was attended by many college principals, professors, students, Parliament members, leaders of the city of Delhi, government representatives, and journalists.

Orbay's lectures appealed both to the crowd as well as to the media covering the event. This media interest in Orbay's speeches manifested in a variety of ways. For instance, the *Medina Newspaper*, published in the town of Becenour, devoted much space in their March 21st issue to covering the details of Orbay's speech,⁴⁸ whereas the

45 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.39.

46 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.39.

47 "Socialand Personel", *The Times of India*, March 3, 1933, p. 8.

48 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.26-29.

Inkılâp Newspaper in Lahore in its March 16th issue shared more general details of the conferences. In the first meeting chaired by Allama Doctor Iqbal, Orbay touched upon the reform movements and the general reforms in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, Orbay catalogued the important events of the Balkan Wars, one by one, paying particular to the contributions of the Indian Medical Committee. Orbay also discussed Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism, ultimately deciding that both approaches were unrealistic insofar as such movements reduced the influence of the Turks and damaged their political unity.⁴⁹

Rauf Orbay, in accordance with his invitation⁵⁰ and with a host of nearly 150 people, attended the third conference organized by the President of Camia-i Milliye-yi İslamiye on the evening of March 13th. Orbay, who explained why the Ottomans had joined WWI on the side of the Central Powers, summarized the events that took place leading up to the Treaty of Berlin. Emphasizing that Turkey remaining neutral was impossible, Orbay stated that the Ottoman Empire had received no offer from Entente to enter a military alliance and that the alliance offered by Germany was immediately accepted to protect against Russia. Referring superficially to the developments during the war, Orbay also explained the Sultan's efforts after the Armistice of Mondros to form "a despotic government" and to control the "politics" of the National Struggle in Anatolia. Finally, Orbay started to talk about Mustafa Kemal, stating: "Fortunately, there was a commander called Mustafa Kemal with a strong personality who could undertake the supreme military command of the Turkish Army." Despite his de facto exile, Orbay was careful not to strongly criticize Mustafa Kemal and his regime, which seemed to surprise the crowd.⁵¹

Orbay's careful, conciliatory approach to matters of national politics even reached Egypt. While he was giving some information about the content of his conferences to the readers of *El-Belağ* newspaper in Cairo, he especially reflected the issues related to the new Turkey's views on Islam, which was also a controversial issue for themselves. The newspaper⁵² emphasized that Rauf Bey had spoken of the praise of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal and his friends who'd saved the Turks from slavery and of the people of the country and underlined that this statement about Ghazi aroused astonishment in the public. He was asked a question about Ankara compelling Turks to read the translation

49 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.22; *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.25.

50 *The Times of India*, March 13, 1933, p. 11.

51 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.30-32.

52 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.46.

of the Qur'an, and Rauf Bey gave important messages to both Ankara and the Muslims who followed him both in India and Egypt by saying, "I see no harm in this. Since the people who cannot read the Qur'an in Arabic are happy to read the translation, I approve the movement of Ankara Government in this way."⁵³ As such, these statements can be concluded to have contributed to eliminating the worries in Ankara following Rauf Bey's journey to India.

This reporting is indicative of both the Islamic world's interest in following Turkish politics and the manner in which the Mustafa Kemal-Rauf Bey conflict was being reported in various Indian news sources. According to the reports sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the *Hind-i Cedid* newspaper criticized Rauf Orbay based on the statements of Mustafa Kemal, and the *Inkılâp* newspaper published a sympathetic piece. Later, however, considering that a prolongation of the discussion could harm Rauf Bey, the newspaper ended the polemics with the following statements:

*The speech, which was given by Mustafa Kemal twice, was accepted as conclusive evidence. For the recourse of the cases we wrote in the answers we gave, we also retained that speech. The speech of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal may be accepted as a heavenly page that came down from the sky in the 14th century according to the perspective of the Hind-i Cedid newspaper, but it is not an obligation for each person to agree with him. The deputy of Turkey during the Lausanne Conference was Ghazi Rauf Bey, and we could have given more detailed answers to the Hind-i-Cedid, but we did not consider it appropriate to take Ghazi Rauf Bey at stake in this matter personally.*⁵⁴

Rauf Orbay gave his fourth and last conference in Lahore in the Camia-yı Milliye-yi Islamiye building. Members of the tribes, the members of the assembly, the managers of the newspapers, the ladies, the Ulama, the nationalist Muslim leaders, the politicians, the professors, and the students of both Delhi University and Aligar Muslim Darülfünun attended the conference.⁵⁵ In his speech, Orbay talked about what had happened during the London Conference, explaining that the Greek army had received reinforcements when they lost. For that reason, the Greek Army decided to avoid further controversy until the end of the war. Orbay explained the conditions under which Mustafa Kemal had been given the powers of Commander in Chief and that, because the Turkish army was reorganized, they had won a great victory in Sakarya.⁵⁶ Emphasizing that "the Sultan had been nothing more than a puppet under the control of the Entente States and

53 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.44.

54 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.40.

55 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.16.

56 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.17.

the Greek State,” Orbay detailed the following events and how the Sultan had left the country.⁵⁷ Orbay also touched upon the issue of the Caliphate, which interested Indian Muslims, and reiterated his statements at other conferences by saying that “The caliphate is not a task that only concerns Turks. Moreover, the choice and protection of this belong to all Muslims.” However, he explained that they did not have the opportunity to convene a conference in the face of the subsequent political developments. Stating that the ideas referring to Turks being strangers and distant to Islam were incorrect, he underlined that Pan Turanism and Pan Islamism had failed in Turkey, which is surrounded by countries based on nationalism on all four sides, and that only nationalism had succeeded.

*The Turks who maintained the holy Caliphate for centuries cannot abandon Islam. The Turks have faith in the God and the prophet Muhammad Rasulallah. The idea that the Turks abandoned their religion after nationalism is wrong. Turks are Muslims. How can it be possible for any Turk who has provided the safety, salvation, and spiritual mercy in this world and who has the right to forgive a better life than the apocalypse. The separation of Turks from Islam is irrevocable.*⁵⁸

Rauf Bey in Lahore

Following Rauf Bey’s contacts and conferences in Delhi, his next destination was Lahore, one of the most important centers for Indian Muslims. On the way to Lahore, Orbay stopped at Aligar⁵⁹ station. At the station, Orbay was welcomed by professors and about 1,000 students from the local university, Muslim Darülfünun. Figures such as Mehmet Enver, Mahatma Gandhi, King George V of England, and Dr. Ikbal were in the welcome delegation and recommended Orbay receive honorary membership in their delegation if he so wished. This recommendation showed the importance Indian Muslims and the British literati had attached to Turkey. Orbay did not refuse the request and celebrated his newfound honorary membership with a speech.⁶⁰

Orbay visited Aligar Muslim Girls College on March 19th and was greeted by the college secretary Cihan Abdullah Hanım due to the principal being in Lucknow at the time. The youngest of the female students in the welcoming delegation greeted Orbay by hanging a welcome flower around his neck. The school secretary presented him to the students as the Hero of Hamidiye, the companion of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha,

57 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.18.

58 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.19.

59 Aligar is a suburban neighborhood within the boundaries of Lahore at present. It is about 20 km from the city center.

60 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.21.

and one of the elders of the Turkish nation who'd miraculously revived the dead. Mentioning the importance of educating girls in his speech, Orbay stated the following:

You should know that a nation cannot succeed in the world unless it educates the women. In this way, the nations that have educated their women will gain respect and prosperity in the world, and those who are ignorant will be deprived of respect and prosperity. The population of Muslims in India is so high that no other Islamic country has such a population. If the sense of progress of the Muslims here is awakened, I will first attach this success to the education and wisdom of women, and I will say that you should educate your daughters in order to make them know everything. All my words about me have been given to me thanks to my dear mother. When you are older, you should advise your children that no business can succeed in the world without sacrifice.⁶¹

An exuberant crowd greeted Rauf Bey, who'd arrived in Lahore by way of the Calcutta Express on Thursday, March 23, 1933. Among those who welcomed him were the leading figures of the city: Sir Allam Iqbal, Melek Firuz Khan Nun, Sir Abdulkadir, Haji Shamseddin, Professor Seyit Abdulkadir Shah, Professor Doctor Abdulkhak, Mevlana Muhiddin, Ahmet Kusuri, Mevlana Muhammad Abdullah Kusuri, Seyit Inayet Shah from *Political Newspaper*, and the managers of *Inkılâp* newspaper.⁶²

Upon being welcomed with chants of “Long live Ghazi Rauf Bey” and “Allahu Akbar,” Rauf Bey passed to the house of Melek Firuz Han Nun, the Minister of Education of Punjab Province for accommodations. Rauf Bey welcomed hundreds of people who came home to welcome him that day and went to the Assembly in the afternoon to meet Shah Dere and then to follow the session of the Punjab Assembly. There, he met with Sir Iskender Hayat Khan, Nevap Ahmet Yar Khan, Mustak Ahmet Bekir Mani, Chedheri Zaferullah Khan, and Serdar Sporseningler. Later, he attended a tea feast organized in honor of Rauf Bey by the Risterc Institute of Islam. The high judicial officers in Lahore, attorneys, managers, commanders, city council members, and college professors were also present at this feast.⁶³

After the evening prayer, Rauf Bey made a speech in Habibiye Hall of the Islamic College in Lahore. He talked about the victories of the Turks, the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, the reasons for the weakening of the state, Turks' participation in the First World War, the defeat, and how they'd been reborn under the leadership of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. At the end of his speech, Rauf Bey, who'd met with great interest

61 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.10; *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.11.

62 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.12.

63 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.13.

from the participants, was very pleased by this.⁶⁴ Doctor Ras Mesud, the manager of Aligar Muslim Darulfunun, moderated Rauf Bey's speech and stated that the slanders told about Turkey were an example of black propaganda and that the mosques were fuller than ever. He also emphasized the importance of nationalism by adding, "No nation can practice the correct paths and steps of nationality unless a nation is trained and educated on national procedures and instructed in its own language."⁶⁵

After this conference in Lahore, Rauf Bey attended the tea feast organized by the Encümen-i İslamiye in Bagbanpura on Friday, March 24th, then went to Peshawar for two days.⁶⁶ Passing through Lahore on March 27, Rauf Bey set out for Calcutta by expressing his gratitude to the people that greeted him.⁶⁷

Rauf Bey did not forget to visit the important cities along the way from Lahore to Calcutta (1,858 km). He also gave a lecture in the city of Lucknow, home to Nedvetü'lulema, one of the most important educational centers for Indian Muslims. On April 2, 1933, Rauf Bey talked about how to eliminate the disputes between Islam and the Ulama after making an introduction that Islam does not prevent progress in a conference in Nedvetü'lulema Darululumumi, in which Minister of Nedvetü'lulema Dr. Seyit Abdül-Ali, Minister Seyit Zuhur Ahmet, Darul'ulum Director Şeyhülhadis Mevlana Haydar Hassan Han, Mevlevi Mehmet Selim, Doctor Ensari, Şifaülmülk Doctor Abdülhamit, Mevlana Kutbiddin Abdülveli Halikül Zaman, Mevlana Sıfatünnah İhtiram Ali, Minister Mehmet Vesim, Şems'ül Hasan, and Kari Mehmet Münir Efendi were in attendance.⁶⁸ Mentioning the issue of the caliphate, Rauf Bey stated that the Turks had carried this position on their shoulders for a long time, but after a while it had become a burden and that the Caliph had presented a submissive attitude instead of resistance in the post-war events in Turkey, dragging the country into a civil war.⁶⁹ Emphasizing that they thought the issue should be solved there by organizing a conference of Muslims from all over the world at that time, Rauf Bey said that the

64 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.14.

65 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.15.

66 Abdurrahman Bey from Peshawar was one of the volunteers from the medical delegation to Turkey that included Dr. Ensari and did not return to his own country but continued to live under the auspices of Rauf Bey. After taking part in the Rauf Bey detachment, Abdurrahman Bey went to Ankara to participate in the National Struggle after the occupation of İstanbul. Abdurrahman Bey, the first Turkish ambassador to Afghanistan, died in 1925 after an assassination in İstanbul. This visit may have been arranged to see the relatives of Abdurrahman Bey in Peshawar. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/45610633.pdf>. For more information about the life of Abdurrahman Bey, see A.S. Jihanpuri, *Gazi Abdurrahman Shaheed Peshawareri*, Karachi, North Western Hotel, 1970.

67 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.14.

68 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.3.

69 *BCA*, 030.10.00.106.692.10.4.

Caliphate was a common thing not only for Turks but for all Muslims. He also mentioned the Turkish-izing of the Qur'an and salat. He said that the Qur'an has been translated into many languages such as Urdu and English, asked what is the harm of this being in Turkish, and emphasized that the important thing is that everyone should know the meaning of it.⁷⁰ In his interview with the journalist Ahmed Emin Yalman on the matter of the adhan, he explained that he'd responded to the Muslims of India with the following statements:

You commit a sin by thinking that God understands only Arabic. You are entering a temptation to think that God understands Arabic alone. If you value Arabic so much, why do a group of Muslims speak to each other in English? Atatürk is not against religion, but against bigotry and taassub [fanaticism]. Thirty years later, he will see respect and understanding from Muslims in his capacity as a pioneer who tries to keep his noble high spirit by freeing Islam from superstition.⁷¹

With his last conference in Nedvetü'l Ulema, Rauf Bey came to the end of his busy and lively two-month journey to India, going to Calcutta on April 8, 1933 and Behupal on April 9. At the end of his travels, Rauf Bey⁷² had lunch with the Governor of Bombay on April 28, 1933 and then left India for Cairo, where he stayed for several days before going to France on May 16, 1933.⁷³

The instructions from Ankara to the Foreign Service about Rauf Bey's journey to India was clear: It was to learn whether Rauf Bey was pursuing the caliphate in India and whether he was working against the government in Turkey. In this direction, the representatives from London, Cairo, Jerusalem, and India tried to gather the information that Ankara wanted to learn, whereas the Kabil Embassy was the center of the proceedings. As a result of all the proceedings and investigations, the final opinion of the Kabil Embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was delivered to the prime ministry and the Secretariat General of Presidency on October 9, 1933. According to this report, whoever Rauf Bey contacted in India did not work against the government; he always declared phrases praising Turkey, and he recommended that the entire Islamic world should take Turkey as an example.⁷⁴ The observations of Niyazi Berkes, who'd visit India 25 years after Rauf Orbey's journey, indicate that Rauf Bey had not acted against Atatürk or Turkey. He stated that an Indian he met in Trichin had been very impressed by Mr. Rauf, saying:

70 BCA, 030.10.00.106.692.10.5.

71 Ahmed Emin Yalman, "Büyük Vatansever Rauf Orbay", *Milliyet*, July 24, 1964, p. 3.

72 "Socialand Personel", *The Times of India*, April 29, 1933, p. 12.

73 BCA, 030.10.016.692.11.

74 BCA, 030.10.258.736.12.

He started from the old Abdülhamid and spoke until the time when Rauf Bey arrived in India. I noted that he did not talk about the abolition of the caliphate and Mustafa Kemal. Indeed, someone listening to this story will think that there are only Rauf Bey and a caliphate in Turkey.⁷⁵

As Duman stated, Rauf Bey's trip to India had a positive impact on improving Turkish-Indian relations, which had deteriorated after the abolition of the caliphate.⁷⁶

Among the followers of the conferences of Rauf Bey in India was Ayub Khan, who would later become President of Pakistan.⁷⁷ Ayub Khan visited Turkey twice in July, 1964⁷⁸ and shared his regret upon learning that Orbay had lost his life at the time between these two visits. This is proof that the traces of Rauf Bey had not been erased despite the passing of years:

If I had known, I would have come running to that great man that day to do my last loyalty. Rauf Bey was not only yours but also our eldest. He was an exceptional figure in the creation that mankind could boast of. When he came to Pakistan, we knew everything and looked up to Rauf Bey. The British took thousands of Pakistanis under custody because he was coming. And we, like you in those days, were in a struggle for independence. However, the position of Rauf Bey, the best friend of Mustafa Kemal Pasha during the independence struggle of Turkey, was very important for us. We were gathered around him with curiosity and excitement. If Rauf Bey had spoken against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, many of us would not only have been against Mustafa Kemal Pasha due to the great love and respect we'd attached to Rauf Bey since the Hamidiye heroism, but also to those who are the leaders of our own independence struggle. However, Rauf Bey did not say a single negative word against Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He admired that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a national hero and leader by saying sincere statements, and he fervently defended the revolutions he'd made while also advocating revolution. While addressing the youth at the conferences he gave everywhere and especially at universities, as in private conversations, Rauf Bey always removed all our doubts in our minds with such sincere speeches. He also strengthened our love, respect, and commitment to Turkey and Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In addition, he showed the right way by illuminating our leaders and how we should be connected to each other in our own struggles for independence.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Hüseyin Rauf Orbay's trip to India had different meanings for everyone interested in the subject. Although there were many questions about this trip for Ankara, Cairo, and

75 Niyazi Berkes, *Asya Mektupları*, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, p. 137.

76 Selçuk Duman, "Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-Hindistan İlişkileri", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.9/4, Spring 2014, p. 397.

77 Feridun Kandemir, *Hatıraları ve Söyleyemedikleriyle Rauf Orbay*, İstanbul, Sinan Matbaası, 1965, p. 6-7.

78 The first one was on July 3-4, and the second visit was on July 20. *Milliyet*, July 3, 1964; *Milliyet*, July 20, 1964.

79 *Milliyet*, July 20, 1964; Feridun Kandemir, *Hatıraları ve Söyleyemedikleriyle...*, p. 7-8; Recep Çelik, "Hüseyin Rauf Bey'in Hindistan Seyahati ve Faaliyetleri", *Mavi Atlas*, Vol.7/2, 2019, p. 261.

London, for Orbay, it was more than just a visit to old friends. The years he spent abroad as an oppositional fugitive of sorts and the limited knowledge of his activities there were the main reasons for the speculations about Rauf Orbay. During this period, his life and contacts in France, England, and Egypt were closely monitored by the government in Ankara. As explained above, the approaches put forward and information pollution they caused were seen to be unrequited in the political world of Rauf Bey. From the perspective of Rauf Bey and his other opposing friends, they were deeply afraid and concerned about the increasing influence, power, and authority of Mustafa Kemal and were understandably concerned that the outcome of this could lead to a dictatorship. The main reason he did not speak against the regime or Ghazi everywhere he went was in India was due to the differences in practices and methods on certain issues such as the proclamation of the republic and the abolition of the caliphate rather than the anti-regime between them.⁸⁰ As Cemil Kocak stated, Rauf Bey had “internalized the basic principles of the regime.”⁸¹ Therefore, the reason why he refrained from criticizing Mustafa Kemal and the regime during the travels lies here. A similar approach can be seen in Adnan Adıvar, Halide Edib Adıvar, and Mehmet Akif Ersoy, who were also among the leading opposition figures of that period.

When considering that all the information and documents collected about this journey to India were forwarded to the Secretariat General of the Presidency, Mustafa Kemal Pasha cannot be reckoned to have not known what Rauf Bey had said about him or the regime. In this context, the style Rauf Bey presented in his conferences and the attitude of the statesman he adopted can be assumed to have been the instruments to break the ice between them. Some of the reasons why mediators were sent to meet with Rauf Bey after he returned to Turkey in 1935 and insisted, he be elected as a member of parliament could be considered as compensation for all these misconceptions.

Rauf Bey's journey to India could be said to be a precursor for Halide Edip Adıvar's journey as another important figure who would visit there in 1935. Dr. Ahmet Muhtar Ensari was also a prominent person in organizing his travels as well.⁸² There is a big difference between the impressions in the book *Inside India* by Halide Edib, who'd

80 Sevilay Özer-Ramazan Baş, “1933 Yılında H. Rauf (Orbay) Bey'in Hint Müslümanlarına Verdiği Konferanslara Dair”, *Uluslararası Bilimsel Araştırmalar Kongresi Bildirileri*, Vol.II, Ankara, Berikan Yayınevi, 2018, p. 826.

81 Cemil Koçak, *Tek Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler*; İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2015, p. 24.

82 Halide Edip described his days there and his views and thoughts about India in his book “*Inside India*”, which he published when he returned to England. In addition, his observations of India were published as a series in the *Tan* newspaper in 1938 and in *Yeni Sabah* newspaper in 1940-41. Ali Fuat Bilkan, “Halide Edip Adıvar'ın ‘Inside India’ Adlı Eseri ve Hindistan Ziyareti”, *Bilgi*, Vol.33, Spring 2005, p. 121–123.

visited India like Rauf Bey then published his impressions of India as soon as he returned to London, and those in the memoirs of Rauf Bey. In just one paragraph, Rauf Bey explained how, for what purpose, and with whom he'd gone to India as well as what he'd explained in his conferences in India. This difference can be evaluated as follows. Rauf Bey had not traveled in order to write a book, unlike Halide Edib, and Rauf Bey assumed his contacts and speeches were insignificant during this trip. If the speculation about this journey is found to be unwarranted, to defend the idea that Rauf Bey was following such a way with the intention of hiding something would be an even more inadequate argument. On the other hand, the section devoted to his travels in China in his memories is worth noting to be no different than his memoirs of India.

As another point to be mentioned here, the fact that the transfer of the intelligence gathered about Rauf Bey to the decision-making authorities in Ankara had taken as much as two months indicates that this proceeding had not been conducted efficiently. The time difference between the transfer of the information about Rauf Bey by the informers to the acting ambassador, consulate, or embassy and the transfer of these instructions to the Internal and External Supervisions can also be concluded to have caused the information to become outdated and to have prevented the relevant authorities from drawing accurate plans or making sound determinations.

This article has attempted to answer the question of whether Rauf Bey had had a hidden agenda using Turkish archives. Meanwhile, I need to underline that the research conducted in the British archives, which is another aspect of the subject, did not reveal any satisfactory information about this journey. The documents obtained in the National Archives catalogs are generally limited to Rauf Bey's Embassy period in London. No data related to this journey was accessible in the India Office Records and Private Papers catalog found in the British Library. Also important to note is that any findings related to this trip could not be found during the online research conducted in the National Archives of India (<http://www.abhilekh-patal.in/jspui/>). The fact that no documents are found on this subject in either the Indian or British archives makes this journey more interesting. This study is based only on the information provided by the Turkish archives and needs new findings from other archives. The newly obtained data will serve to remove the question marks about this visit.

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84 Further information about the periodicals used in this study is provided in the footnotes.

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