

***Empire and War:  
Turkish and Indian Experiences and Remembrance  
of the First World War***

Burcu Çevik-Compiègne

A thesis submitted in the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

2016

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

University of Technology Sydney

## CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Student:

Date:

## PUBLICATIONS FROM THIS THESIS

Cevik-Compiegne, B. 2015, 'From Gallipoli (1915) to the War of Independence (1919-1922): Modernisation of Turkish Womanhood', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 102-15.

## Acknowledgements

This thesis has been completed with the support of the UTS International Research Scholarship and UTS Presidents Scholarship. I am also indebted to the Indian Ocean and South Asia Research Network for their support. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor A/Prof Devleena Ghosh for her mentoring and intellectual guidance throughout my candidature. Her friendly approach and kindness made a huge difference for me in settling in this new country as well as in managing my research project. I would also like to acknowledge a number of other scholars at UTS, starting with my second supervisor Prof Heather Goodall for her encouragement and enthusiasm about my research. I also appreciated the insightful and pertinent comments of Dr Christina Ho and Prof Hilary Yerbury at different stages of my candidature assessments. I also would like to acknowledge A/Prof Matthew Graves from Aix-Marseille University for offering me his supervision during my Masters Research Degree and for having faith in my work.

There is one person without whom none of this would be possible. I owe my deepest gratitude to my husband Irwin Compiègne for always putting my achievement before his and adapting to all the challenges along the way. I would not be able to complete this thesis on time if it was not for his dedication to our son Samuel who was born and grew with this thesis. I also acknowledge my mother Emine Kanburoğlu for helping me during my fieldwork in Turkey and in the UK, and both of my parents for fulfilling my never-ending demands for books.

I am also thankful to Sevil Sadıkoğlu from Marmara University, Istanbul for transliterating the Ottoman language documents, and Lorraine Shannon for copy editing my thesis. Their competences and meticulous work made this thesis richer and more readable.

I was lucky to have an excellent support network among the fellow PhD students at UTS. I would like to acknowledge Dr Jesica Kinya Mwithia, Katharine Sands, Dr Mehal Krayem, Dr Emma Cannen, Chrisanthi Giotis, Nandita Das, Dr Judith Betts and Zeynep Polat for their kindness and friendship.

Last but not least, I am thankful to my respondents who shared their thoughts and sometimes very personal memories with me. I have been very anxious to give them a voice and not to cause any offence through my critical engagement with their comments. I cannot possibly list all the people who helped me organise my fieldwork but I certainly have to mention Vandana Ram, Muzaffer Orel, Aytuner Akbaş, Victoria Harbutt and Ajmer Singh for their invaluable support.

To Irwin and Samuel

## **Table of contents**

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>VII</b>
<b>TABLE OF FIGURES</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>X</b>
<b><u>INTRODUCTION</u></b>	<b><u>1</u></b>
<b><u>PART I – IDEAS</u></b>	<b><u>10</u></b>
<b>CHAPTER 1 - EMERGENCE OF PAN-ISLAM</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2 - ENTERING THE WAR</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3 – GLOBAL JIHAD AND THE ANTI-COLONIAL MOVEMENT</b>	<b>45</b>
<b><u>PART II - SUBALTERN</u></b>	<b><u>67</u></b>
<b>CHAPTER 4 – PRE-NATIONAL ARMIES</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5 – BODIES AND MINDS: ESCAPING THE WAR</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6 - TRANS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7 - WOMEN AND WAR:</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>'HOW DIFFERENT ARE THE IDEAS SUGGESTED BY THE ABOVE TWO WORDS!'</b>	<b>142</b>
<b><u>PART III – REMEMBERING</u></b>	<b><u>162</u></b>
<b>CHAPTER 8 - WRITING GALLIPOLI</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>CHAPTER 9 - POSTCOLONIAL SITES OF MEMORY</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>CHAPTER 10 - FROM NATIONAL TO TRANSNATIONAL: ANZAC DAY</b>	<b>230</b>
<b>CHAPTER 11 - MULTICULTURAL ANZAC DAY</b>	<b>252</b>
<b><u>CONCLUSION</u></b>	<b><u>272</u></b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>276</b>

## Table of Figures

Figure 1 - An Ottoman soldier in rags, apparently a common sight (Imperial War Museum).....	104
Figure 2 - Frostbitten Gurkha soldiers in Gallipoli (Australian War Memorial)....	108
Figure 3 - Sikh troops guarding Ottoman prisoners, Sannaiyat 1917 (Imperial War Museum).....	121
Figure 4 - An Australian and an Indian soldier, Gallipoli 1915 (Australian War Memorial).....	134
Figure 5 - An Indian Kut prisoner who was released during an exchange of prisoners (Imperial War Museum) .....	137
Figure 6 - A headstone that belongs to a Muslim mule driver, Anzac Beach Cemetery, Gallipoli. All three mule drivers died in 1918. This might explain the exceptional treatment that they received (author's own).....	195
Figure 7 - Local labourers clearing the ground for a cemetery, Gallipoli (Imperial War Museum).....	202
Figure 8 - Çanakkale Martyrs Memorial (authors own).....	205
Figure 9 - 57th Regiment Cemetery (author's own).....	209
Figure 10 - Kesikdere Cemetery showing name, age and circumscription of the soldiers (author's own) .....	210
Figure 11 - New Zealand National Memorial and Atatürk Memorial at Chunuk Bair (author's own).....	212
Figure 12 - India Gate with King George's canopy at the background, and a close caption of Kipling's dedication (author's own).....	221
Figure 13 - Amar Jawan Jyoti (author's own).....	225
Figure 14 - Atatürk Memorial next to Anzac Memorial, Hyde Park, Sydney (author's own) .....	243



Figure 15 - Aubrun War Memorial and Wall of Friendship, Sydney (author's own)

..... 245

## **Abstract**

Although the 1914-18 war is commonly known as the First World War, historiographically it has been conceived as a European War. Non-Europeans appeared to have been sucked into the war, the Ottoman Empire because of its geographic location and India because of its colonial submission to the British. However there has emerged in various disciplines together with trans-disciplinary studies an interest in what made the war truly global. In the last few decades, several works highlighted the military, political and social experiences of the war at micro, macro and subaltern levels in non-Western countries. This study goes one step further and explores non-European experiences of the war and its memorialisation from a transnational perspective. Focusing on colonial and post-independence India and the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, this study not only draws parallels between these two contexts but also examines the connections between them. A wide range of published and non-published sources is used in order to highlight the impact of the war on the emerging nationalisms, everyday politics and identities not only of the elites but also of subaltern people previously marginalised in history writing. Memorialisation process of the war in India and in Turkey are observed alongside commemorative practices in Australia to shed light on the transnational nature of remembrance. Interviews conducted with people from Turkish or Indian/Sikh backgrounds who participated in the Australian commemorations are particularly informative about how memories are constructed socially, how they travel across borders and are re-constructed within different social frameworks. This research contributes to the transnational understanding of the issues of imperialism, nationalism and class and gender underlying the First World War as well as its remembrance in non-Western countries.