

***Hajj* and the chaos of the Great War: Pilgrims of the Dutch East Indies in World War I (1914-1918)**

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Abstract: The outbreak of World War 1 in 1914 had a major effect on global interactions during the early 20th century. Travel from one country to another to conduct trade, study, research, and religious pilgrimages become disrupted. *Hajj* (pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca) is one of the areas affected by the outbreak of this great war. The number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies dropped dramatically. *Hajj* ships also ceased operations. Besides, many Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca were unable to return home and suffered life misery during World War I. This article investigates the impact of World War I (1914-1918) on Dutch East Indies pilgrims. The purpose of this article is to find out how Dutch East Indies Muslims responded to *hajj* during World War I. In this study, the researcher used historical methods that emphasised the exploration of the sources of Early 20th century Malay and Dutch newspapers. The researcher argues that in line with the events of World War I, the Dutch colonial government still intervened against religious practices in the Dutch East Indies, especially the *hajj*, thus worsening the situation of the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. Opponents of this policy, such as R.A.A. Djajadiningrat, Hasan Mustapa, Cokroaminoto, Tafsir Anom, and Rinkes, formed the *Hajj* Assistance Committee to help pilgrims return to the Dutch East Indies.

Keywords: Dutch East Indies; *Hajj*; Pilgrims; World War I.

Abstrak: Pecahnya Perang Dunia 1 pada 1914 memberikan efek besar terhadap interaksi global selama awal abad ke-20. Perjalanan dari satu negara ke negara lain untuk mengadakan perdagangan, belajar, penelitian, hingga ziarah keagamaan menjadi terganggu. Kegiatan haji merupakan salah satu bidang yang terkena dampak dari pecahnya perang besar ini. Jumlah jamaah haji dari Hindia Belanda turun secara drastis. Sedangkan kapal-kapal haji juga berhenti beroperasi. Selain itu, banyak jamaah haji Hindia Belanda yang ada di Mekah tidak dapat pulang dan mengalami kesengsaraan hidup selama Perang Dunia I. Artikel ini menginvestigasi dampak Perang Dunia I (1914-1918) terhadap jamaah haji Hindia Belanda. Tujuan artikel ini adalah untuk mengetahui bagaimana respons Muslim Hindia Belanda terhadap ibadah haji selama Perang Dunia I. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan metode sejarah yang menekankan pada eksplorasi sumber surat kabar Melayu dan Belanda awal abad ke-20. Dalam artikel ini penulis berargumen bahwa seiring dengan peristiwa Perang Dunia I pemerintah kolonial Belanda masih melakukan intervensi terhadap praktik keagamaan di Hindia Belanda, khususnya ibadah haji, sehingga memperburuk keadaan jamaah haji Hindia Belanda di Mekah. Para penentang kebijakan ini, seperti R.A.A. Djajadiningrat, Hasan Mustapa, Cokroaminoto, Tafsir Anom dan Rinkes, membentuk Komite Penolong Haji untuk membantu para jamaah haji kembali ke Hindia Belanda.

Keywords: Hindia Belanda; Haji; Jamaah Haji; Perang Dunia I.

1. Introduction

The events of July 13, 1914, or the "July Crisis" is known as an important event that preceded the great war in the early 20th century. The assassination of Prince Ferdinand (1863-1914) of Austria encouraged a conflict between Habsburg-Austria and Serbia. The Prime Minister of the Ottoman State (Osmanli Devleti), Said Halim Pasha, received authoritative information from the German embassy that there would be a war between Austria and Serbia (Aksakal, 2008). The conflict between Habsburg-Austria and Serbia was the trigger for a major war that would last four years. Long before the July Crisis, Europe had experienced conflict in the Balkans since 1908 (Howard, 2002). Germany and the Ottoman States have allied to prevent Russia's expansion into the Bosphorus and the East Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Britain and France have been watching the economic wealth of the Middle East. The war that began in 1914 not only dragged European countries, but also Asia and Africa. British recruited Gurkha and ANZAC soldiers (Australia and New Zealand Army Corps) to fight against the Ottoman army in Gallipoli. Meanwhile, Germany encouraged the Ottomans to declare *jihād* so that Muslims in Central, South, and Southeast Asia launched resistance against Britain and France. In short, World War I was a global event that had a broad impact on world political, social, and economic life.

World War I, although it began in Europe, then flared up throughout the world. Historians still seem to be focusing much of World War I on Europe, but few on a global historical approach involving Asian communities in India, British Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Japan, and China (Bayly, 2018). The destruction of the Ottoman Empire as the result of this war led to political change in the Middle East and intellectual debates about secularism and Islam in the British Malaya and Dutch East Indies. In East Asia, Japan also becomes an expansionary country in the Pacific region which peaked in the 1940s. World War I also impacted how the colonial government-controlled Muslims in India, British Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies because they feared the influence of Usmani Pan-Islamism that could wage an anti-colonial struggle. Muslim activities, particularly those related to international networks are suspected including the *hajj*. *Hajj* is an Islamic religious activity that involves the most connections and interactions with the world globally. Thus, World War I also impacted the lives of pilgrims in Mecca.

This article aims to observe the response of the Dutch East Indies government and Muslims to the conditions of the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in the Holy Land who were suffering from the war. Thus, the author will describe some of the problems faced by the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca and Medina. There are two research questions. First, how did the colonial government respond to the pilgrimage activity during World War I? Second, how did the Muslims in the Netherlands Indies respond to the Dutch East Indies pilgrims trapped in Mecca and Medina? Based on these research questions, the authors attempt to describe the interaction of the Dutch East Indies pilgrims, the colonial government, and the Dutch East Indies Muslims during World War I.

Colonial archives stored in the Netherlands, of course, provide a lot of information about the implementation of *hajj* from the 19th century until the Japanese occupation in 1942. Some studies, such as those conducted by Eric Tagliacozzo and Jan Schmidt, have used the Dutch archives well to describe pilgrims during the Dutch colonial period (Schmidt, 2002; Tagliacozzo, 2013). Other studies, such as those conducted by İsmail Hakkı Göksoy, used the Usmani archives in Istanbul to look at the activities of Dutch East Indies pilgrims (Göksoy, 2004). This article emphasises the use of Malay and Dutch newspapers as the primary source of reporting on Dutch East Indies pilgrims during World War I (1914-1918). In addition to newspapers, the author also took data and information from several orientalist works of C. Snouck Hurgronje as a Dutch intellectual who has an important role in drafting the policies of the Dutch colonial government in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The method used in this research is the historical method. As already mentioned before, the author uses more newspaper sources than the colonial archives. It is based on several factors. Newspapers provide a rich and varied perspective on the condition of pilgrims during World War I. Meanwhile, archives often talk more about the policies of the colonial government. Newspapers talk about the true state of the pilgrims and it reveals interesting stories of pilgrims more widely. Thus heuristically, the author prefers to use a lot of newspapers. The newspapers used in this study are found in the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia and the delpher.nl. However, the shortcomings of the research

using newspaper sources are that the authors did not get much of a big picture of the colonial government's policy towards pilgrims during World War I.

This article is a response to the historical weaknesses of global history and Indonesia. In both historiography, studies of the Period of World War I focused more on the battlefield, especially Western Europe. Whereas other regions should get important attention, especially Asia. Although Asian countries were far from the battlefield, World War I had a major impact on the development of these countries. The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi's anti-colonial movement, the debate of secularism and Islam in the Dutch East Indies, and Japan's expansion into the Pacific were the result of World War I. Several works of World War I history have begun to discuss wars outside western Europe, especially the Middle East. The work of Talha Çiçek discusses the influence of World War I in Syria, particularly during the leadership of Kemal Pasha (Çiçek, 2014, 2015). He discussed how Usmani organised and maintained the stability of Syrian territory by sending General Kemal Pasha as governor there. Besides, there is also a study conducted by Eugene Rogan on the impact of World War I on the Middle East. Eugene Rogan's study shows how foreign powers have a great influence on Usmani's military performance in the Middle East (Rogan, 2015). Kees van Dijk also discussed how the impact of World War I on the Dutch colonies in the Dutch East Indies (Dijk, 2007). The author himself has conducted a study on how World War I impacted the relationship of the Usmani consulate in Batavia, Rafet Bey, with the Dutch colonial government (Supratman, 2017).

Besides, the weakness of global historical historiography emphasises more on the role of statesmen, bureaucratic and military elites, and soldiers but studies of ordinary people during World War I are put aside. In the history of *hajj* history, many historians do not pay special attention to the history of *hajj* during World War I¹ but give the general conclusion that during World War I the number of pilgrims decreased due to the war. They did not discuss much and discussed the response of the colonial government and pilgrims to World War I. Vredendregt's work on *hajj* discussed well the motives of the Dutch East Indies and the Indonesian *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca. However, Vredendregt did not talk much about *hajj* during World War I (Vredendregt, 1962). Putuhena's work also reviewed in detail the history of the Indonesian *hajj*. However, Putuhena also lacked detail in discussing the pilgrims during World War I. Putuhena mentioned that the number of *hajj* pilgrims decreased during the war, but did not explain further the relationship between the decline of pilgrims with Dutch colonial policy and its debate among Dutch East Indies Muslims (Putuhena, 2007). Erlita Tantri discussed the link between colonial government policy and Dutch East Indies *hajj* transportation. In her article, Tantri stated that "the development of Indonesian *hajj*, especially after switching from a ship to a steamship, as well as the involvement of Dutch companies and the *hajj* business has made the pilgrims more organised and controlled. However, the policy was criticised by Hurgronje who stated that "Dutch colonial intervention in *hajj* transportation is sometimes not a good decision." In this article Tantri mentioned a glimpse of World War I, but not in detail. This should be discussed further because

¹ Most of historians more focus on *hajj* activities in the early modern period, see: Suraiya Faroqhi, 1995); Vladimir Braginsky. *The Turkic-Turkish Theme in Traditional Malay Literature* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), 59; Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New South Wales & Hawai'i: Allen & Unwin dan University of Hawai'i Press Honolulu, 2004); Giancarlo Casale. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 125; Salih Özbaran. "Ottoman naval policy in the south", in Metin Kunt & Christine Woodhead (ed). *Süleyman Magnificent and His Age* (London & New York: Longman, 1995), 60. Sugata Bose's work on the Indian Ocean is one of the works that also discusses Muslim interaction in the Indian Ocean through *hajj* in the 19th and early 20th centuries; Sugata Bose. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 2009); Dadi Darmadi, "Hak Angket Haji: Pilgrimage and the cultural politics of *hajj* organization in contemporary Indonesia," *Studia Islamika*, 20, (3), (2013): 443-466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v20i3.512>; Dick Douwes & Nicolaas Jan Gerrit Kaptein (ed). *Indonesia dan Haji: Empat karangan. Vol 30* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997); Moch Nur Ichwan, "Governing *Hajj*: Politics of Islamic pilgrimage services in Indonesia prior to reformasi era," *Al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 46, (1),(2008): 125-151. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2008.461.125-151>; M. Dien Madjid. *Berhaji pada masa kolonial* (Jakarta: CV Sejahtera, 2008); Jan Schmidt, "The Herklots Affair 1893: A case study in capitalism and power politics in the Hijaz," in Amy Singer & Cohen Ammon (ed). *Aspects of Ottoman History* (Jerusalem: Papers from CIEPO IX, 1995), 176-192.;Martin van Bruinessen, "Mencari ilmu dan pahala di Tanah Suci: Orang Nusantara naik haji," *Ulumul Quran*, 2, (5), (1990): 42-49.

statistics shown by Vredenburg show that ship transport to the Holy Land during World War I decreased dramatically (Tantri, 2013).

Eric Tagliacozzo's work provides comprehensive and general information on the overview of the Southeast Asian pilgrim. The discussion starts from the pre-modern period to the contemporary period. The period of World War I itself is not discussed much in this book. Tagliacozzo stated that World War I had a significant impact on the decline in the number of pilgrims from Southeast Asia (Tagliacozzo, 2013). Besides, World War I made it difficult for the Dutch colonial government to transport pilgrims to the Red Sea. It caused the temporary banning of the pilgrimage in 1915. Then, it was protested by the orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje. According to Snouck, banning the pilgrimage would only cause big problems for the Netherlands. Snouck encouraged the colonial government not to intervene in the pilgrimage (Tagliacozzo, 2013). Meanwhile, Kees van Dijk's study of World War I in the Dutch East Indies also did not talk much about the problem of the pilgrimage. Dijk focused more on the influence of the Ottomans and the threat of Pan Islamism in the Dutch East Indies (Dijk, 2007). Meanwhile, the author also examines the Dutch East Indies during World War I. However, instead of focusing on the movement of the pilgrims, the author focuses more on the activities of the Ottoman Consulate in Batavia (Supratman, 2017).

Sources of *hajj* history, both archives, and manuscripts have also been widely published either through language translation or script transfer. In publishing archives on *hajj*, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia has also provided good information about two pilgrimage travel agencies during the colonial period, Agen Herklots and Firma Alsegoff (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2001). Meanwhile, Henri Chambert-Loir, Suryadi, Syarif Hidayat, Reza Idria, Oman Fathuraman, and Pramono have also published manuscripts on the Indonesian *hajj* from 1482 to 1964. The book divided *hajj* into three periods, namely between 1482-1890, 1900 -1950, and 1954-1964. In the book written by Henri Chambert Loir and other researchers, they shared various information about *hajj* based on manuscripts and books written by past Indonesian pilgrims (Chmabert-Loir, Suryadi, Hidayat, Fathurahman, & Pramono, 2013).

The outbreak of World War I showed again the face of the colonial government which applied the direct intervention to Islamic religious practices in the Dutch East Indies. The colonial government's suspicion of Sarekat Islam and its newspapers, the Ottoman consulate in Batavia, and the pilgrims grew stronger when World War I took place. The colonial government's fears were exacerbated by the declaration of *jihād* by the Ottomans at the end of 1914. They were afraid that anti-colonial resistance would be instigated by Muslims connected to the Ottoman State, particularly pilgrims who went to Mecca during the war. For this reason, the government exercised tight control over pilgrims, such as temporarily banning the pilgrimage in 1915 (Tagliacozzo, 2013). It caused anxiety and suffering to the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. They were unable to return to their homeland and received assistance from their families in the Dutch East Indies. Dutch such as DA Rinkes opposed the policy. Besides, the Dutch East Indies Muslim community also criticised this policy by collecting donations for Dutch East Indies pilgrims who were stranded in Mecca. In this article, the researcher argues that World War I has shown that the Dutch colonial government was still intervening in religious practices, particularly the pilgrimage. Dutch control and intervention of the pilgrimage during World War I worsened the situation of the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. The opponents of this policy then formed a *hajj* Assistance Committee to help pilgrims return to the Dutch East Indies.

2. World War I, the Hajj Pilgrimage, and the Policy of Dutch Colonial

After the Ottomans declared *jihād* in November 1914, the Dutch became increasingly wary of the activities of Muslims connected to Istanbul. The declaration of *jihād* was carried out to mobilise Muslims around the world to fight against imperialist powers, especially Britain, France, and Russia. C. Snouck Hurgronje considers that Germany is the party that must be responsible for the politicisation of Islam. He criticised the German orientalist named Carl Heinrich Beker for this *jihād* declaration. This concern was increased by demonstrations in Java in support of the Ottoman State and its allies (Het Volk, 1914; Het Nieuws van Dag, 1914; Het Vaderland, 1914). Two months after the declaration of *jihād* in Istanbul,

the Malay newspaper, Pantjaran Warta, translated the call for *jihad* into Malay and was published on January 22, 1915 (Pantjaran Warta, 1915). It added Dutch's concerns because many Dutch East Indies pilgrims were still in Mecca. Nevertheless, the Dutch had stated that their country was neutral in World War I and that *jihad* was only directed at countries participating in the war (Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad, 1915). Dutch fears of Dutch East Indies Muslims supported Usmani during the war triggered this statement.

Not much data is known about the number of Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca who are only to perform *hajj*. Data on the number of pilgrims is often mixed with data about the Jawi community in Mecca. According to Vredendregt, the number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies remained stable until 1911. But there was an increase between 1913-1914 that Dutch East Indies pilgrims accounted for 50% of the number of foreign pilgrims who came to Mecca (Vredendregt, 1962). Between 1914-1915, there were 5,600 Javanese in Mecca, then 600 people from Banten, 400 people from East Kalimantan, Priangan, and other regions. After performing the pilgrimage, they settled in Mecca to study religion. In 1916 the Dutch East Indies government sent a ship to carry 2,000 pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies (Algemeen Handelsblad, 1916). De Sumatra Post newspaper stated that pilgrims from Deli and Serdang decreased in 1915 to only 190. While in 1913 the number reached 203 (De Sumatra Post, 1915). The data differs from Vredendregt's data on the number of Dutch East Indies pilgrims. Vredendregt retrieved the data from the archives of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jeddah. Here is a table of the number of Dutch East Indies *hajj* obtained from Vredendregt's article.

Table 1. Dutch Indies *Hajj* Pilgrims 1912-1919

Year	Number of <i>Hajj</i> Pilgrims
1912	18.638
1913	26.467
1914	28.162
1915	-
1916	-
1917	72
1918	48
1919	869

Source processed from Vredendregt (1962, p. 143).

According to Eric Tagliacozzo, in 1915, the Netherlands temporarily banned *hajj* activities (Tagliacozzo, 2013). According to Kees van Dijk, the Nieuw Rotterdamsche Courant newspaper stated that the temporary ban does not restrict religious freedom. It is only unfortunate for people who seek financial gain from the *hajj* business (Dijk, 2007). Dijk's opinion seems to need more detail because indeed in 1915, there were still several ship companies that went to Jeddah, such as the Ship "Djokdja" and the Ship "Samarinda" from De Rotterdamsche Lloyd (De Sumatra Post, 1915). So did British Indians who did not ban *hajj* travel, although they were worried about the agitation of Islamists and the Ottoman State. However, neither the Dutch East Indies nor British Indian pilgrims wanted to leave for the Hejaz because they feared they would not benefit financially (Dijk, 2007). The Secretary-General in the Dutch East Indies issued an announcement for Muslims wishing to travel to the Middle East. They suggested postponing the *hajj* until the war was over. Muslims were also reminded of the rising prices and the depreciation of the Dutch East Indies currency so that living in the Arab region became more expensive. Several Dutch shipping companies, such as Nederland, Rotterdamsche Lloyd, and Oceaan, stopped serving trips to Jeddah (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915). It was also applied to pilgrims from British Malaya. The ports of Singapore and Penang no longer served travel to Jeddah. However, pilgrims could still go to Jeddah, but there were no guarantees about the smooth running of their journey and there was fear that they would not be able to return to the Dutch East Indies on time (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915). Meanwhile, many Arabs living in Java wanted to return to Hadramaut, Aden, and Hejaz during the war. They were required to obtain a passport from the British Consulate in Batavia. If they did not have

a passport, they might be returned to Java after arriving in Singapore or Aden (Het Nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie, 1917). The data shows that, although it was difficult, transportation across the Indian Ocean namely from the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya to the Arab region continues.

Snouck argued that the Dutch intervention in the *hajj* would only cause greater problems for the Dutch. In 1916 Snouck sent a letter of protest to the Dutch government. He stated that the banning of *hajj* would only give strength to the Pan-Islamism movement (Tagliacozzo, 2013). Other countries did not prohibit *hajj*. The French government even gave 500,000 francs in aid to pilgrims from the French colony (Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 1916). Eugene Rogan justified that France protects pilgrims from North Africa (Rogan, 2015). It indicates that the Hejaz is not closed to pilgrims. However, the Dutch did not seem to provide the ease and proper assistance for The Dutch East Indies pilgrims to settle and survive there before there was an initiative of the *hajj* Assistance Committee formed in 1915 by Rinkes, Ahmad Djadjadiningrat, Cokroaminoto, Tafsir Anom, and Hasan Mustapa.

Political conditions were one of the reasons for the colonial government to temporarily ban *hajj* for Muslims in the Dutch East Indies. Snouck noticed that the Dutch government was still afraid of the threat of Pan-Islamism coming from Mecca. Based on Snouck's thoughts and writings on Mecca, it showed that Snouck never saw Mecca as a threat to the dominance of Dutch rule in the Archipelago. Snouck's suspicions were only against the Istanbul-based Pan-Islamism movement (Hurgronje, 1957). Snouck of course warned the Dutch colonial government of the dangers of Pan-Islamism. In this case, Snouck's concern for Pan-Islamism and the Ottoman State was enormous, especially against the Usmani Consulate in Batavia (Schmidt, 2002). However, Snouck was not worried about the connection between Mecca and the Dutch East Indies. Snouck saw Mecca as the center of religion, not the center of political and ideological movements. This fact shows that Snouck distinguished Islam as a political movement and Islam as a religious movement.

Although Snouck criticised the temporary ban on *hajj* travel, the policy was carried out even if only temporarily. The colonial government's fears that the Usmani State influenced Islamic politics colors this policy. Dutch policy also followed the attitudes of Usmani's enemies in the war, such as England, France, and Russia. This power of imperialism tried to prevent the Ottomans from spreading the ideology of anticolonialism in Mecca and Medina during the *hajj* season. Consequently, they emphasised the prohibition of travel and quarantine (Norman, 2016). Although the Dutch were neutral, they followed the policy of imperial power against Muslims in World War I. Moreover, the Dutch were always threatened by the infiltration of Pan-Islamism ideology brought by the Ottoman consuls in Batavia during World War I (Supratman, 2017). Thus, they were also worried that Pan-Islamism could affect the pilgrims in Mecca. In this case, it shows that the Dutch colonial government was not yet able to distinguish the power of Mecca and Istanbul.

Another reason why the Dutch colonial government temporarily banned the departure of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca was economic reasons. The war, of course, had destroyed the economy of the Ottoman State, including the Hejaz. Mass mobilisation for military purposes is one of the causes of economic destruction. People who actively work in agriculture, trade, and industry must cease their activities to join the army. It reduces economic productivity and the income of the Usmani government (Rogan, 2015). Soaring prices of goods make the pilgrims in Mecca suffer. The gold exchange rate in Mecca fell by 50% (De Sumatra Post, 1915). Many Dutch East Indies pilgrims are short of money because the money they bring is no longer enough to buy necessities of life. Meanwhile, money transfers from the families of the pilgrims also had to stop because no ships from the Dutch East Indies left for the Hejaz during the war. The Indian Oetoesan newspaper described the misery faced by the Pilgrims of the Dutch East Indies in Mecca.

No more money is sent by the relatives from the Land of the Indies every month because there are no more postal ships from the Indies to Jeddah. All the letters that people send from here to them, they do not receive. In such a case, they must owe a meal that is too expensive or to owe money which is even more expensive. Lucky people are also in debt, but half of those who want

to be in debt can't even get in debt, so they are forced to ask for alms around (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915).

In addition to politics and economy, security factors became the main consideration of the Dutch colonial government to temporarily ban *hajj* travel. One of the events that strengthened the colonial government to postpone the *hajj* pilgrimage was the abolition of Capitulation by the Usmani State on September 9, 1914. Capitulation is a law that gives freedom for citizens of foreign countries to trade in the State of Usmani, but is not bound by local jurisdictions and granted commercial privileges, such as low taxes and duties (Yavuz & Ahmad, 2016), (Ozkan, 2016). General Secretary of the Dutch East Indies or *Algemeene Secretarie*, Hulshoff Pol stated that the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah was afraid of not being able to help the pilgrims in the Hijaz because Capitulation had been abolished.

Likewise, it is not permissible to estimate what will happen from the current war and cannot be determined to get the Dutch Consul to help and protect the pilgrims as usual and not, because the Kingdom of Turkey has stopped its capitulation (an agreement on consul regulations and those relating to him) with all governments, up to a government that does not participate in the war as well. Therefore, all those who have intended to go on *hajj* are given are seriously reminded so that they may wait until the warring kingdoms are at peace, and then all things may return to the way they were (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915).

Based on this opinion, it was found that the security factor was the biggest reason why the Dutch colonial government imposed a temporary ban and urged Dutch East Indies pilgrims not to come to Mecca first. The colonial government was afraid that the unstable internal political situation of the Ottomans, especially after the abolition of capitalisation, could threaten the security of the Dutch people there, the Jawi community, and the Dutch East Indies pilgrims.

3. The *Hajj* Assistance Committee

The temporary suspension of the pilgrimage journey from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca made it difficult for the Dutch East Indies pilgrims to be there. Ships from the Dutch East Indies were no longer serving sea voyages due to security concerns. Meanwhile, the pilgrims began to run out of remittances, adding to their difficult situation in Mecca. Seeing the difficulties faced by the Dutch East Indies pilgrims, RAA Djadaningrat, Hasan Mustapa, HOS Cokroaminoto, Tafsir Anom, and DA Rinkes (1878-1954), formed a committee called The *Hajj* Assistance Committee and located at Jalan Kramat No.41, Waltevreden, Batavia (Het Nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch Indie, 1915; Het Vaderland, 1915). A similar committee was also formed in Serdang District (De Sumatra Post, 1915). They were important figures in the colonial history of the early 20th century. Except for Cokroaminoto and Tafsir Anom, these figures were closely related to the orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje who opposed the Dutch interventionist policy on Islam in the Dutch East Indies. Rinkes is a colonial employee who served as Deputy Advisor for Native Affairs (Kaptein, 2014)(Kaptein, 2014; Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 1915). Rinkes first came to the Netherlands to work at the Bogor Botanical Gardens in 1899. After serving in the Dutch East Indies, Rinkes enrolled at the Willem III Academy to facilitate his career in government circles. After that, he went to Kerinci, West Sumatra in 1903. Rinkes returned to the Netherlands and studied at the University of Leiden with his teachers, Hazeu and Ronkel. At Leiden, Rinkes had the opportunity to study the manuscripts collected by C. Snouck Hurgronje. The academic work of Rinkes is about a Sumatran Sufi figure, Abdurauf al-Sinkili. He was also interested in Sufism because he wrote about the Shatariyah Order in 1909 (Laffan, 2011).

Forming the *Hajj* Assistance Committee, Rinkes collaborated with the Sarekat Islam (SI) figure who was also a former government employee, namely HOS Cokroaminoto. Cokroaminoto's entry into SI had a very big role. She was a messianic figure or Ratu Adil. Nevertheless, Michael Laffan regarded Cokroaminoto as the same as Said Oesman, a figure loyal to the colonial government. Thus, Snouck did not question SI's presence. Even Snouck said that SI was indebted to the colonial government because the government helped provide 'Indonesian youth' (Laffan, 2003). Rinkes's and Cokroaminoto's support of the ideology of "modernism" caused the closeness between them. Like

Snouck and Hazeu, Rinkes was sympathetic to modernism and moderate forms of Dutch Indies nationalism (Laffan, 2003). Rinkes also believes that Sarekat Islam under the leadership of Cokroaminoto is not a National Movement as in India (Laffan, 2011).

Another figure involved in the *Hajj* Assistance Committee is Haji Hasan Mustapa. He is a writer and Sufi figure in Sundanese society. Hasan Mustapa is a Sundanese Sufi figure Cikajang, Garut who was heavily influenced by Javanese and Sumatran Sufism. He admired the Sufi teachings of Hamza Fansuri, Syamsuddin Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniri, and Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. He studied from well-known *kiai*, such as Khalil Bangkalan, Mahfudz Termas to Hashim Asyari. Hasan Mustapa is a figure who grew up when Islam in the Sunda region was met with modernisation echoed by several organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and Persis (Islamic Union). He is considered a figure preserving Sundanese cultural heritage amid criticism from modernist Islamic groups. One of the efforts to save Sundanese culture is by writing Islamic essays in the form of Sundanese *dangding* (sung verse) (Rohmana, 2012). He was a good friend of orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje. They first met in Mecca in 1885 and then the next meeting took place in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1906). Thanks to his friendship with Snouck, Mustapa was promoted "to be the elite of Aceh and Priangan leaders as well as entering the aristocratic circle and in turn colonial circles" (Rohmana, 2016).

In one of his letters to Snouck on August 12, 1915, Hasan Mustapa described the difficulties for the Dutch East Indies population and pilgrims due to World War I. He stated that there were difficulties for the population of the Netherlands Indies due to World War I which resulted in the large number of imported goods entering through embezzlement or without excise. The impact that was most felt was for the pilgrims living in Mecca, which numbered around seven to eight thousand people. They can't get out of there. Food is tough until they sell clothes. The Dutch East Indies government then formed the "Makkah Institute" or *Hajj* Helper Committee which was led by Rinkes with members consisting of Regent Serang, Hoofd Penghulu Tafsir Anom Solo, Hoofd Penghulu Bandung Hasan Mustapa, and Raden Tjokroaminoto. The goal is to reject badness and encourage benefit for the pilgrims. As a result, they can collect aid of around 60-70 thousand rupiah (Rohmana, 2018).

Kanjeng Raden Penghulu Tafsir Anom (1854-1933) also participated in forming the *Hajj* Assistance Committee. Raden Penghulu Tafsir Anom V is *penghulu ageng* or elder leader the 18th in the Kartasura dynasty (Supriyanto, 2018). Tafsir Anom received a boarding school education, even attended Kiai Muhammad Salih Darat. Sri Susuhunan Pakubuwana IX appointed him as the ruler of the palace and became an advisor in the religious field. According to Supriyanto, he also became "an extension of the king's arm concerning Islamic law" (Supriyanto, 2018). The extent to which Tafsir Anom's closeness to Snouck Hurgronje has not been widely known and researched. But, he actively supported the *Hajj* Assistance Committee which was established as a criticism of the Dutch East Indies *hajj* policy during World War I.

Judging from his background and brief profile, the founders of the *hajj* Assistance Committee were close associates of C. Snouck Hurgronje in the Dutch East Indies. Rinkes was Snouck's student while in Leiden, while several Djadjadiningrat families, Banten's *priyayi* elite, had many close ties with Snouck, such as Raden Aboe Bakar Djadjadiningrat (1854-1915) who helped Snouck a lot while in Mecca (Rohmana, 2016). Then Hosein Djadjadiningrat (1886-1960) was a student of C. Snouck Hurgronje. He was also the first Indonesian native to earn a doctorate from Leiden University in 1913 with his dissertation entitled *The History of Banten* (Laffan, 2011). Hasan Mustapa, the elite conquering Priangan, was also a close friend of Snouck who often went with him while in the Dutch East Indies. Among the founders of the *Hajj* Assistance Committee, perhaps only HOS Cokroaminoto did not seem to have a personal relationship with Snouck. Even so, there needs to be further research on whether Snouck has a personal closeness with Cokroaminoto or not. However, it seems that Snouck did not consider the SI organization led by Cokroaminoto as a dangerous organization and a threat to the existence of the Dutch colonial government (Laffan, 2003). The presence of Cokroaminoto among C. Snouck Hurgronje's students and friends became a new strength because Cokroaminoto was a charismatic figure in the SI organization. The presence of Cokroaminoto can encourage indigenous confidence in the *Hajj* Assistance Committee.

Rinkes' initiative to form the *Hajj* Assistance Committee was the result of his intellectual thought supporting moderate Islamic groups in the Dutch East Indies. Rinkes agreed with Snouck that the government should not intervene in religious matters. For this reason, Rinkes regretted the steps of the Dutch government which temporarily prohibited the departure of the pilgrimage to Jeddah. The move by the Dutch colonial government turned out to be causing the Dutch East Indies pilgrims to suffer in Mecca which could cause even greater problems. Before forming the Committee, Rinkes discussed with Cokroaminoto in April 1915. The purpose of this discussion was to submit a proposal to the Dutch colonial government to help the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. SI Serang even informed Rinkes that 502 SI Serang members were trapped in Mecca. For this reason, the Rinkes also discussed with the Regent of Serang, namely Raden Ahmad Djadjadiningrat (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915). After the Committee was established, Rinkes, RAA Djadjadningrat, Hasan Mustapa, Tafsir Anom, and Cokroaminoto raised funds that would be used to help pilgrims in Mecca. Initially, the committee found difficulties in distributing funds, even when they had to be returned to donors (De Sumatra Post, 1915).

The community works together to raise funds through various events. One example of a fundraising business is renting out a hostel at a horse race event in Tegalega, Bandung. The horse racing event will be held for three days. Thus, the Committee took the initiative to open a hostel so that the participants could stay overnight. The money from paying for the inn will be donated to Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. A member of the Committee, Haji Zainab Oetari Chamsiah, opened the announcement of the fundraising in Bandung. In this announcement, Haji Zainab stated:

Therefore, we convey a call to all residents of Bandung and its surroundings, hopefully, all of them have mercy and heart to those who are miserable in the land of Mecca, and please support our work with generosity as a pleasure. Please include in this compiled list the names of those who donated with their alms money. At least the fare we need to spend for three days and three nights is f.100 (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915).

The Rinkes also announced one by one the residents had donated their money to the Committee. On June 25, 1915, Oetoesan Hindia published the names of those who donated money, one of which was Dr. Hosein Djajadiningrat, a civil servant in Batavia who is also a student of C. Snouck Hurgronje (Oetoesan Hindia, 1915). Like Rinkes, Hosein was a moderate indigenous elite cooperative with the colonial government. It is in line with Snouck's ideal of creating modern Muslims who are willing to accept Western values. The appearance of the name Hosein Djajadiningrat as a donor shows that Snouck's students work well together in the Dutch East Indies to realise Snouck Hurgronje's ideals. Thus, the *Hajj* Assistance Committee was also, indirectly, an application of C. Snouck Hurgronje's thoughts on Islam in the Dutch East Indies.

The collected money is used to repatriate Dutch East Indies pilgrims who are in Mecca. Based on data in the newspaper *Indies Oetoesan*, the Committee gave donations so that they could return to the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch East Indies pilgrims then returned by boarding Indian ships, such as the "Ahbar" and the "Rotti" ships. They departed from Jeddah for Bombay. From Bombay, they then went to Tanjung Priok Harbor, Batavia. The newspaper *Indies Oetoesan* reported that in April 1916, the Dutch East Indies pilgrims had arrived at Tanjung Priok. They consisted of pilgrims from Banjarmasin, Sumbawa, Makassar, Palembang, Indragiri, and Java (Oetoesan Hindia, 1916). In 1917, the newspapers *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *Het Vaderland* reported the return of Dutch East Indies pilgrims using the "Billiton" Ship and the "Gorontalo" Ship. The ship "Billiton" carried 624 pilgrims, while the ship "Gorontalo" carried 631 pilgrims (Het Vaderland, 1917). After arriving in Surabaya, the pilgrims immediately returned to their respective hometowns in Makassar, Bima, Bali, and Lombok (Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad, 1917). In the newspaper *Bredasche Courant*, it was told that one of the returning Dutch East Indies pilgrims was a convert from Rotterdam, the Netherlands. She is an old woman met in the Thousand Islands, near Batavia. It stated that he has lived in the Dutch East Indies for more than 40 years. She later married and converted to Islam and went on the pilgrimage to accompany her two children. When asked about the state of Mecca he replied, "I spent 15 days on a camel in a hot country" (Bredasche Courant, 1915).

World War I can be said to be the "first test" of the loyalty of the natives to the Dutch colonial government. In this Great War, the Dutch colonial government was very concerned about the existence of its power in the colonies. The strong anti-colonial sentiments voiced at the beginning of the 20th century in various Muslim countries prompted the colonial government to take appropriate steps to ease tensions between Muslims and the colonial government. The pilgrimage policy during World War I reflected how much concern the colonial government had about the connection between the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies and the Holy Land, which was still under the Ottoman state. In general, World War I has also shown how the relationship between the colonialist and the colonised in a global context. This war teaches how the efforts of non-Western countries against the superiority of Western imperialism. Modern Indonesian activists and intellectuals have certainly learned a lesson from this Great War. After this war ended, the Dutch East Indies showed a more radical change with the emergence of various forms of anti-colonial resistance which were structured with the establishment of various kinds of political organizations, both cooperative and non-cooperative, to demand the independence of the Dutch East Indies from colonisation.

4. Conclusion

World War I did not only involve and affect European countries but also had far-reaching effects and impacts on regions outside Europe. Besides, the impact of this war can also be felt by the wider community, not just the state elite and the military. In this study, the researcher shows how the impact of World War I on the Dutch East Indies pilgrims in Mecca. The war, of course, drastically reduced the number of Dutch East Indies pilgrims. It cannot be separated from the role of the Dutch colonial government which temporarily stopped the pilgrimage from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca. The researcher argues that the Dutch colonial government's policies which intervened too far in religious activities in the Dutch East Indies hurt the social and cultural conditions of Muslims in this region. Nonetheless, the social participation of the people helped to reduce tensions between Islam and colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. When World War I occurred, the colonial government intervened in *hajj* activities is the proof. However, opponents of this policy, such as RAA Djajadiningrat, Hasan Mustapa, Cokroaminoto, Tafsir Anom, and Rinkes, formed a *Hajj* Assistance Committee to help pilgrims return to the Dutch East Indies. It shows that although the Dutch colonial government intervened structurally, the community, as a socio-cultural force, was able to compensate for these interventions to maintain the stability of the relationship between Muslims and the Dutch colonial government.

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