ORTA ASYA’DA İSLÂM

TEMŞİLDEN FOBİYE

CİLT: II

TÜRK’ÜN TANRISI’NDAN, TANRİ’NIN TÜRK’ÜNÜNE

EDITÖR

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The Historical Importance of Kazan Tatar Turks to the Late Ottoman Empire and the Ideas of Celal Nuri

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ABSTRACT

Celal Nuri [İleri] (1882-1936), one of the most active Turkish political thinkers of the first half of the twentieth century, wrote extensively about Kazan Tatar Turks in three works he composed in 1912 and 1913. These included: Şimal Hatıraları (northern memoirs), Tarih-i Tedenniyat-i Osmaniye ve Mukadderat-i Tarihiye (the history of Ottoman decline and the fate of history), and and İttihad-i İslam: İslâmın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali (the unity of Islam: Islam’s past, present and future). He was deeply affected by the Ottoman Empire’s recent loss of almost all of its remaining European territories in the Balkan Wars, and, like many of his contemporaries, concluded that his country would have to learn from the experiences of other Turkic peoples in order to survive. In this sense, he gradually gravitated away from a pan-Ottoman multi-confessionalist vision of empire towards one that was much more
Pan-Turanian. As a result, he, like many of his Young Turk contemporaries, increasingly looked to the Central Asian Turks as an inspiration for national rejuvenation.

Beforehand, the Ottomans followed a failed Balkan strategy of trying to accommodate non-Turkish minorities. This was most obvious when, in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they granted privileges to Greek merchants as a distinct community *(millet)*, since they eventually used these rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to build up lively urban communities whose social, literary and educational advances transformed into separatist nationalist movements. The Ottoman Turks, in contrast, refused to engage in such a cosmopolitan lifestyle, disdaining commerce, education and greater public social activity, thus putting their own future as a Turkish nation at risk.

Celal Nuri posited that the Ottomans could learn much in this regard from the Kazan Tatar Turks. In his opinion, the Kazan Tatar Turks were far more advanced culturally, economically and politically than the Ottoman Turks. Kazan Tatar Turkic women, for example, were much more apt to cultivate themselves socially, learning to read and write, frequenting public places and theaters, and adapting modern dress helped them raise culturally aware families. Celal Nuri maintained that such social activity did not endanger these women’s honor. The Kazan Tatar Turks were extremely active as merchants, selling their wares not only along the banks of their homeland on the Volga. He was so impressed by this activity when he visited Kazan that he called it “a second America.” Kazan Tatar Turkic entrepreneurs were also throughout all of Russia, particularly in the greater metropolitan cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Many Kazan Tatar Turks would migrate to the cities, and send remittances back home. While some of these earnings undoubtedly went to support their families, a considerable portion was also spent on establishing new schools, and religious institutions to keep Kazan Tatar Turkic cultural identity alive. These schools and places of worship were led by outstanding nationalist-minded authorities, such as Şihabettin Mercani (1808-1889), and Damla Alimcan El-Barudi (1857-1921). Both Mercani and El-Barudi were also renowned religious authorities, trained in the best medreses of Bukhara. The Russians, concerned about the vibrancy of this Turkic culture, tried to hinder these developments. They refused to spend “even one kopek” for the Kazan Tatar Turks education. And they sent agents to harass the Kazan Tatar Turkic religious and educational authorities. They succeeded by 1907 in exiling El-Barudi to the Ottoman Empire. He would be followed by other Kazan Tatar Turkic intellectuals like Yusuf Açıcura and Halim Sabit [Şibay] (1883-1946), both of whom played prominent roles in the Young Turk government. Yet, Russian efforts at suppressing the Kazan Tatar Turkic people, only
strengthened their national cause, leading Celal Nuri to conclude that they would eventually overthrow the Czarist regime.

The Ottoman Turks would have to emulate the Kazan Tatar Turks in order to survive, according to Celal Nuri. He hinted that the new Young Turk government would do best to implement a series of commercial, social and educational reforms that would transform the Turkish people of Anatolia in a similar way to their Turkic cousins on the Volga. This would likely mean a shift away from immediate military goals, such as the re-conquering of Greece and the other Balkan nations, since this would drain valuable governmental resources. But without embracing these social reforms, the Ottomans were likely to collapse much the like the Romanovs were, waging a losing struggle against separatist nations without grasping what the separatists drew their cultural strength from. He despaired that that the Ottoman Turks might only learn if they became an oppressed people like the Kazan Tatar Turks. The threat of national extinction was imminent on the verge of the First World War, and Celal Nuri did his best to make his countrymen aware of the danger.

Celal Nuri [İleri] (1882-1936), one of the most prolific political writers of the Young Turk and early Republican periods of Turkish history, looked in detail at how the Kazan Tatar Turks were related to his own people.¹ The works where he described them, Şimal Hataları (northern memoirs),² Tarih-i Tedenniyat-i Osmaniye ve Mukadderat-i Tarihiye (the history of Ottoman decline and the fate of history),³ and İttihad-i İslâm: İslâmın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali (the unity of Islam: Islam’s past, present and future),⁴ were


² Celal Nuri; trans. İbrahim Demirci, Şimal Hataları (İstanbul: Mavi Yayıncılık, 1997). The original Ottoman Turkish version was published in 1912.

³ Celal Nuri İleri; Mahir Aydın, translator, Uygarlık Çatışmasında Türkiye (İstanbul: Ulus Yayınları, 2004). This book is a translation of the original Tarih-i Tedenniyat-i Osmaniye ve Mukadderat-i Tarihiye (İstanbul, 1331).

⁴ Celal Nuri, İttihad-i İslâm: İslâmın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali (İstanbul, 1331).
written in 1912 and 1913, the years in which the Ottoman Empire irrevocably lost almost all of its remaining Balkan territories. The psychological impact of that tragedy clearly led Celal Nuri and many of his compatriots to conclude that they should draw closer to the rest of the Turkic world. In this sense, Celal Nuri’s embrace of Pan-Turanism was emblematic of the Young Turk elite’s shift away from loyalty to a pan-Ottoman multi-ethnic empire. He became convinced that his empire was in a profound state of decay that only a new generation of reinvigorated nationalist reformers could save through a radical social and political transformation. The Kazan Tatar Turks, who had recently modernized themselves in spite of centuries of Russian repression since Ivan the Terrible’s overthrow of the Kazan Khanate in 1552, were models in this regard.

Celal Nuri first stressed the dynamic nature of Kazan Tatar Turkic society. Situated on the Volga River, roughly 450 miles east of Moscow, the Kazan Tatar Turks had a geographic location ideal for future growth. “Wider and longer than the Danube... and more sacred than the Nile,” this river was brimming with ships and markets:

Praise be to God that many of the merchants are Muslims. The signs above are in Turkish. It is as if I am in my country... Daily life is full of trade and industry, and the place attracts people from the surrounding cities. What a strange Babylon! Here it is possible to run into all sorts of people from Central Asia. During market times it resembles an ethnographical museum. While this is still Europe geographically, in reality it is the threshold to Asia.6

The fact this area was fertile but not densely populated led Celal Nuri to conclude “in the future it will house the greatest civilization,” a virtual “second America.”7

The reason why Celal Nuri used the term “America” to describe the region was to highlight the modernization the name implies. First and foremost this dealt with women.8 In his opinion, Kazan Tatar Turkic women

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5 Scholars have long noted the rapid educational and economic development among the Kazan Tatar Turks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. İsmail Türkoğlu, “Tataristan,” İslâm Ansiklopedisi, vol. 40 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi, 2012), 163-167.

6 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 66.

7 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 66.

8 Celal Nuri focused on women’s issues most famously in his work, Kadınlarımız (İstanbul, 1331). Here he talked about the need to reform marriage, divorce and veiling practices. Discussion of women’s issues was very lively in 1912-1913 among elites, including Musa Kazım, Muhammad Abdüş, and Mustafa Sabri. Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 388, 390. They built on earlier discussi-
were far in advance of their Anatolian counterparts. As one might expect, many Kazan Tatar Turkic women knew how to read and write, a sign that the education of this people was at a highly advanced stage. Inspired by this knowledge, women began to run their households “in the European-style.”

Celal Nuri was also surprised at the social liberties that the women took. Women regularly frequented “public places, theaters, and gardens” and were often unveiled. This did not mean, however, that they lost their morality, as many conservatives no doubt feared: “Kazan Tatar Turkic women [remain] chaste and honorable.”

Such tendencies went beyond the social elite. Celal Nuri noted that there were Kazan Tatar Turkic women factory workers, which indicates that industrialization too was having a noticeable effect on changing social patterns in Kazan.

Men of modest means too participated in such trade:

The Kazan Tatar Turks are often waiters and servants in the big cities, the most famous hotels, and the buffets of the large railway stations. One cannot really distinguish these people from Europeans and Americans as they have similar clothes and are shaved.

Migration likely had a profound effect on forming a Kazan Tatar Turkic national identity. Many would go to major Russian cities, and, would funnel much of their income and spare time working with communal institutions. Many of these institutions would have their own presses and literary clubs, dedicated to the spread and development of Kazan Tatar Turkic culture. In time, this would lead to a cultural nationalist movement.

This led the Kazan Tatar Turks to develop trade and education in tandem with each other:

[The Kazan Tatar Turks are] indefatigable, wise, able, progressive and practical. Although formerly there were no schools and intellectual life on the banks of the Volga, now the Kazan Tatar Turks have a written language,
literature, and press culture… These northern Turks have invested all their energy in profit, trade and crafts, since they do not have their own sovereignty.15

These efforts were made entirely on private initiative, since the Russian “government does not give even one kopek to improve Muslim education.”16 Similarly, the Kazan Tatar Turks maintained “their own medreses and mosques, and paid their own salaries for their employees out of the purse of patriotism.”17 Celal Nuri credited Şihabettin Mercani (1808-1889), a renowned Kazan Tatar Turkic poet and intellectual, trained in the most famous medreses of Samarkand and Bukhara, with beginning these efforts from 1849 until his death.18

Religious offices and institutions were of critical importance to Kazan Tatar Turkic national development: “The majority of their imams are capable people. They do not simply collect alms on behalf of the dead as compensation for their neglect as they do here, but rather they act as the head of the Muslim community.”19 They help cement bonds of ethnic and religious unity, and even reinforced a sense of moral superiority: “Unlike the Russians, they are not addicted to alcohol, vodka, prostitution, and foolish squandering.”20

The Russians, aware of the imams’ importance, tried to undermine their offices:

The Russians allegedly planted the seed of enmity among these imams by using secret agents against them. They especially targeted “Damlı” Alimcan el-Barudi. El-Barudi is a prominent Muslim theologian in Russia, who went into exile to avoid this persecution. The imams deliver sermons on relevant topics in the Kazan Tatar Turkic language from their pulpits in the mosques after Friday prayers. They do not acknowledge the title of the illustrious caliphate but instead say a prayer for our Sultan.

Needless to say, El-Barudi’s self-imposed exile to the Ottoman Empire in 1907 was not an isolated incident. El-Barudi was, in fact, a close associate of Yusuf Akçura, also of Kazan Tatar Turkic origin, who likewise fled to Istanbul in 1908 after writing numerous political articles and campaigning for

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15 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 5-6.
16 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 6.
17 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 6.
19 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 7-8.
20 Celal Nuri, Şimal, 11.
election as a Muslim Turkish delegate to the Russian Duma.\textsuperscript{21} Halim Sabit [Şibay] (1883-1946), another leading Young Turk intellectual, came from a similar background.\textsuperscript{22}

This is emblematic of a greater national struggle between Kazan Tatars and Russians that Celal Nuri characterized:

Russia took over the Kazan several centuries ago. When they took over they forced the population to convert or they slaughtered them. Naturally, the Kazan Tatar Turks left town and took refuge in the forests and deserts. The town remained Russian for centuries, but recently the Kazan Tatar Turks took over several urban districts through their practical minds, commerce and endeavors. They now make up 40% of the population. This trend continues, as Kazan Tatar Turks have taken over more and more property from the Russians through their industriousness.\textsuperscript{23}

The Kazan Tatar Turks, he predicted, could first unify the other Turkic peoples of the area, such as the Çerimiş, Çuvaş, Ostyak, and Murued, before initiating a movement to liberate Bukhara, Khiva, and the whole of Russian and Chinese Turkistan.\textsuperscript{24}

Ironically, Russian technological, economic and industrial developments, such as the building of “railroads, highways, and banks” would simply further the Kazan’s efforts to unite the Turkic peoples: “they will enter Central Asia like quicksilver…”\textsuperscript{25} As a result, he predicted, the Tatars would rise at the expense of Russia much like the Greeks were doing with the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{26} Like the Tatars, Celal Nuri contended, the Greeks really rose as a nation when “they became engaged in commerce,” organized their communities around their long-distance trade merchant communities and their churches. That then gave them the power to form nationalist committees,


\textsuperscript{23} Celal Nuri, \textit{Şimal}, 10-11.

\textsuperscript{24} Celal Nuri, \textit{Şimal}, 66; Celal Nuri, \textit{İttihad-i İslâm}, 108.

\textsuperscript{25} Celal Nuri, \textit{İttihad-i İslâm}, 106.

\textsuperscript{26} Celal Nuri, \textit{İttihad-i İslâm}, 107.
such as the *Ethniki Eterya*, which plotted the Morean rebellion: “independence followed.”

Celal Nuri extrapolated such tendencies even further when he compared Russian and Ottoman history from the thirteenth century onwards. Before the Tatar Turks came to Russia, he asserted, their country was dominated by a number of princes who feuded amongst themselves. Unity only came after the Mongol conquest, when the Tatar Turks favored the Prince of Moscow, for the title of “faithful slave.” Thus, “the first Russian Czars were not Russian princes, but were the successors of the Tatar [Turks].”

Celal Nuri pointed out that the Russian Orthodox Church likewise owed its greatness to the Tatar Turks:

> The Tatar Turks looked benevolently towards religious difference. Muslims and shamans could perform their rituals without any interruption… And there was even a Christian chapel in the palace. Kubulai Khan could be found in the church among the bishops. He too wanted to establish an Orthodox Church at Saray [on the Volga]…

In his opinion, the Ottoman Turks made the same mistake when they dealt with the conquered peoples of the Balkans. It was under Mehmed the Conqueror, that the Greeks were able to establish the patriarchate, providing a more privileged position among their people than even before the conquest.

But the Tatar Turkic and Turkish belief in religious diversity and toleration proved to be the downfall of both empires. The Russian and Greek Orthodox Church was allowed to dominate the government and the court: “the numbers of churches and monasteries increased… and their peoples grew.” This led ultimately to the establishment of separate states.

Celal Nuri felt genuinely ashamed that his own people had failed to learn from this terrible historical lesson:

> We saw the same developments in Tataristan and Turkey. Just as the Russian nation was able to save itself, so to the Balkan nations reached their goal. The Turks, the dear brothers of the Tatar Turks, repeated their mistakes, despite their foreknowledge of this history.

To Celal Nuri the breakdown of both the Tatar Turkic and Ottoman empires in favor of the Russians and Greeks illustrated the overarching historical tendency of multiethnic empires to be gradually transformed into na-

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29 Celal Nuri İleri, *Türkiye*, 228.
tion-states. Both the Tatar and Ottoman Turks established their empires on the basis of conquest, and quickly intermarried with those who they had defeated. Yet, the ruling dynasty and its accompanying military elite did not involve themselves greatly in urban affairs, instead allowing subject peoples to act on their behalf. This was a fatal error, since commercial elites were absolutely critical to modernizing a society.

Indeed, only after the Tatar Turks were defeated by the Russians, did the Kazan Tatar Turks begin to form their own middle-class, and with education and a burgeoning religious life—signaling their re-emergence as a nation.30

This had a startling implication for the Ottoman Turks, since Celal Nuri implied that their empire itself was in danger of complete collapse. They, like the Tatar Turks, may themselves be transformed from rulers to subjects, from conquerors to the colonized. What this meant was that the Ottoman Turks would likely move forward as a people only when their traditional state structure had been entirely removed.31 Such a message was not surprising in the wake of the Balkan wars, where much of the empire’s core territories—populated largely by Turks—were lost permanently to militant Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian nationalists who largely ethnically cleansed the areas they had taken. The multitude of refugees that flooded into the Empire presaged further troubles even in Anatolia itself.32

The one way out of this painful, dangerous conundrum was for the Ottoman state itself to create the type of educated, modernizing, and almost puritanical middle class necessary for a modern nation before an outside force could do it for them. This meant that the Young Turks should concentrate on socio-economic and educational reforms as well as revitalizing their military.33

Indeed, Celal Nuri’s impressions of the Kazan Tatar Turks in 1912-1913 underline his hope that Anatolian Turks ultimately could forge cultural, economic, and political bonds with this people within a greater Turkistan. As World War I approached, he would increasingly call for his government to take military and diplomatic action to turn this vision into a reality.34 Enver Pasha’s campaigns during and after the conflict underlined these efforts.

30 Celal Nuri İleri, Türkiye, 115-116.
31 Celal Nuri İleri, Türkiye, 115-116, 120-121.
33 Celal Nuri İleri, Türkiye, 250-252.
34 Celal Nuri, in İttihad-i İslam ve Almany: İttihad-i İslam’a Zeyt (İstanbul: 1333), would argue that the union of Turkistan under the Ottoman Empire would be a primary goal in the new conflict. Celal Nuri, Almany, 22-23.
After 1923, Celal Nuri would have to resign himself to looking at the struggle of the Kazan Tatar Turks and other Central Asian Turkic peoples from a longer distance, given Turkey’s diplomatic imperative to reconcile with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Fortunately, the fall of the Soviet Union and the growing cooperation between Turkey and the Turkic peoples of Russia and Central Asia that ensued show that such affections have finally borne fruit.

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Kazan Tatar Türklerinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Son Dönemleri’ndeki Tarihsel Önemleri ve Celal Nuri’nin Düşünceleri

Yrd. Doç. Dr. York Norman

ÖZET

Norman, *The Historical Importance of Kazan Tatar Turks to the…*  

nundan tedricen uzaklaşarak Pan-Turanci görüşü fazlasıyla benimseyen akıma yöneldi. Sonuç olarak, tpki genç Türk akranlarının çoğu gibi, İle-ri'nin Orta Asya Türklerine olan temayülü ulusal düzeyde yeniden canlılanmaya başladı.


uzmanlarını taciz etmek gayesiyle ajanlar gönderdiler. 1907 yılında El-Barudi’yi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na sürgeye göndermede muvaffak ol-
dular. El-Barudi’yi Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) ve Halim Sabit [Şibay] (1883-1946) gibi Kazan Tatar Türklerinin diğer belli başlı entelektüelleri takip etti. Yine de Kazan Tatar Türklerini baskı altında tutmak isteyen Rusların çabalarını yalnızca Türklerin milliyetçi ülkelerini takviye etti. Çe-
lal Nuri’nin eninde sonunda Türklerin Çarlık rejimini çökertecekleri şeklinde neticeye ulaşmasına neden oldu.

Celal Nuri’ye göre Osmanlı Türkleri eğer yaşamak istiyorlarsa geç Kaz-
zan Tatar Türklerini taklit etmeleri gerekiyordu. Yeni Jön Türk hüküme-
tinin, Volga nehri üzerinde yaşayan Türk kuzenlerine benzer bir şekilde, Anadolu’da Türkleri değişime sürükleyecek bir dizi ticari, toplumsal ve eğitimsel reformların yerine getirilmesi için elinden geleni yapacaklarını ima etti. Bu, muhtemelen Yunanistan’ın ve diğer Balkan uluslarının ye-
niden fethedilmesi gibi yakın zamanda hızlı yüzden hedeflerden uzakla-
şarak yön değiştirmeleri anlamına gelmektedi. Çünkü askeri amaçlar hü-
kümete ait kıymetli kaynakları kurtaracaktı. Ancak Osmanlılar gerekli olan toplumsal islahatları benimsemezlerse büyük ihtiyalle çökeceklerdi. Öyle ki Romanovlar bölücülerin kültürel muka-
vemetlerini nereden aldıkları kavramaksızın ayrılcı uluslararası karşı veren bir mücadele içerisindeydi. İleri, Osmanlı Türklerinin Kazan Türkleri gibi zulme uğrarlarsa ancak o zaman ders alabileceği düşü-
Историческое Значение Казанских Татар в Последний Период Существования Османской Империи и Идеи Джелаля Нури

И.о. Доц. Док. Норман Йорк

РЕЗЮМЕ

Джелаля Нури Илери (1882-1936) – один из влиятельных и плодовитых тюркских политических и государственных деятелей первой половины 20 в. Писатель, глубоко и содержательно рассказывающий о казанских татахах, в 1912-1913 гг. пишет три крупных произведения: Северные воспоминания, Историческая судьба Османской империи, Единство ислама: прошлое, настоящее, будущее. Илери был потрясен состоянием Османской империи, после Балканских войн полностью лишившейся территории в Европе. Он, как и многие его современники, понимал: чтобы государство смогло удержаться на ногах, ему необходимо воспользоваться опытом других тюркских народов. В связи с этим он отошел от пан-османских
взглядов, на которые опиралась империя, и влился в ряды "пан-туранистов. В результате, как многие из его тюркских сверстников, он постепенно становился сторонником среднеазиатских тюрков, что позволило оживить национальное самосознание молодежи.

Османская империя продолжала безуспешную балканскую стратегию, направленную на размещение и сосуществование не тюркских меньшинств. Отчетливо это проявилось в тот момент, когда в течении 15-16 вв. Османская империя предоставила различные торговые льготы греческим торговцам, признавая их независимой группой. В результате, греки воспользовались привилегиями и в 19-20 вв. создали в городах высший свет, который в свою стал причиной социального, литературного и образовательного развития общества в направлении клерикализма и национализма, где отрицался космополитичный образ жизни тюрков. Они не пожелали заниматься глобальной общественной деятельностью, так сильно интересующей экономику, образование и общество, в результате будущее тюрков как народа встало под угрозу.

Джелаль Нури заметил, что в этом вопросе Османская империя могла бы многое почерпнуть у казанских татар. По его мнению казанские татары в сфере общественных, экономических и политических отношений ушли несколько дальше Османской империи. Так, например, женщины-татарки имели большую склонность к самообразованию, обучению грамотности. Кроме того, они часто посещали различные общественные мероприятия и театр, интересовались модой, участвовали в создании культурной, просвещенной семьи. Джелаль Нури доказывал, что занятия общественной деятельностью никоим образом не нанесет вреда чести женщины. Казанские татары – очень трудолюбивый народ, зачастую занимается торговлей, продавая товары в бассейне реки Волги. Когда писатель посетил Казань, это произвело на него неизгладимое впечатление. Этот город даже называли «Вторая Америка». Предприниматели-татары торговали по всей России, включая такие метрополии, как Москва и Санкт-Петербург. Очень многие казанские татары переселились в города и посылали заработки домой, то есть оставляли часть заработка на содержание семьи. Кроме того, некоторую часть заработка они вкладывали в общественные фонды на поддержания своего культурного и национального процветания; на эти деньги строились различные школы, религиозные учреждения и т.д. Некоторые авторитетные личности, среди которых Шихабеттин Марджани (1808-1889) и Дамла Алимжан Аль-Баруди (1857-1921) представляли национальные идеи татар и руководили строительством новых школ и религиозных учреждений. Марджани и Аль-Баруди блестяще окончили лучшие медресе Бухары и стали знаменитыми мусульманскими учителями. Русские, чувствуя в усилении тюрков скрытую угрозу, всеми возможными способами мешали этому развитию. В первую очередь они
воздержались от финансовой помощи в развитии образования татар. Далее, для слежки за религиозными деятелями и педагогами, были посланы специальные агенты. В 1907 году они вынудили Аль-Баруди полностью переехать в Османскую империю. Однако идеи Аль-Баруди продолжили такие интеллектуалы, как Юсуф Акчур (1876-1935) и Халим Сабит Шибай (1883-1946). Опять же, русские продолжили оказывать давление на казанских татар, однако это привело к усилению патриотических настроений среди них, что, согласно Джелаля Нури, должно было привести к тому, что тюрки в конце концов должны были положить конец царскому режиму.

Опять же, согласно Джелаля Нури, тюрки Османского государства для того, чтобы продолжить свое существование, должны были взять в пример казанских тюрков. Он намекал, что правительству младотюрков необходимо приложить все усилия, чтобы внедрить новые торговые, общественные и образовательные реформы, взяв за основу пример казанских татар. Это естественно подразумевало отказ государства от милитаристских планов нового покорения Балкан и избрание нового пути развития. Однако военные цели могли спасти существующие ценности, имеющие особое значение для правительства. Если османское государство не проведет новые общественные реформы – оно рухнет, как империя Романовых, которые не понимали, что бунтовщики берут силы для противостояния из своих культур, а потому продолжали воевать с различными отдельными странами и народами. Илери осознал, что османские тюрки поймут исторические уроки только тогда, когда попадут под такое же давление, какое испытали на себе казанские татары. Но в преддверии первой мировой войны угроза потери своего национального «Я» достигла максимума. Джелаль Нури сделал все возможное, чтобы предотвратить это.