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TRADITIONAL OTTOMAN REBELLIONS
AND THE PEOPLE:
THE CASE OF 31st MARCH INCIDENT

by

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ABSTRACT

TRADITIONAL OTTOMAN REBELLIONS AND THE PEOPLE: THE CASE OF THE 31st MARCH INCIDENT

The second constitutional period carries special significance in the history of the late Ottoman Empire in view of the radical transformations that occurred in social life as well as the political arena after the re-proclamation of the Constitution of 1876 in 1908. These transformations caused an upheaval within the social order, also brought on the "reaction" of various strata who preferred the Islamic way of life. A common goal which united a number of discontented groups who were apparently led by the soldiers and the lower-ranking ulama, was to end the power of the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.). Yet, it is necessary to distinguish the differences between the various participants in order to understand the complex social character of the Incident. Those who were formally associated with state administration, did not oppose the westernization process and adapted themselves to it even if they belonged to the traditional strata which included the ulama, alaylı officers, etc. Others severely opposed the western-style life which was brought about and, or, accelerated by the revolution of 1908. On the other hand, the Liberal Party also took part in the Incident of 31st March together with the traditional strata opposition, and directed their criticism against the same target: Here,

the purpose of the Liberals was to stop the "despotism" of the C.U.P.

The mutineers walked in front of the Parliament building to declare their desires while the ulama joined the rebel soldiers. At first, the mutiny reflected the character of an uprising toward constitutional/democratic end. However, in due course, the Incident became a "reactionary" movement against changes resultant from decades of modernization. During the eleven days that the mutiny continued, Istanbul was the scene of events that were reminiscent of Janissary rebellions of the preceding centuries.

To understand how an event which was first intended to manifest a political opposition against despotism, converted into a traditional Janissary-like rebellion, is the main topic of this study. Studying such an incident which was the last effective and greatest movement of the traditional strata who have survived to the present day, gives us the opportunity to observe the means and ideological discourse that they have historically developed against the westernization of social life.

ÖZET

GELENEKSEL OSMANLI HALK AYAKLANMALARI:

31 MART OLAYI

II. Meşrutiyet Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda politik alanda olduğu kadar toplumsal yaşamda da köktenci dönüşümlerin yaşandığı bir dönem olarak özgül bir öneme sahiptir. Söz konusu dönüşümler geleneksel-toplumsal düzenin altüst oluşuna yol açarak, İslami yaşam biçimini yeğleyen tabakaların tepkisini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Ordudaki er ve erbaşlarla alt-düzey ulemanın ön plana çıktığı bu hoşnutsuzlar kitlesinin ortak yönü, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin iktidarına son vermek ereği ile sınırlıydı. Bu ise, söz konusu tabakalar arasında da bir farklılaştırma yapma gereğini doğurmaktadır. Buna göre, batıllaşma sürecine giren devletle herhangi bir resmi bağı olan tabakalar, toplumun geleneksel kesimine bağlı bulunsalar da, bu sürece karşı durmamış, tersine, yeni yaşam biçimine -devletle ilişkileri çerçevesinde- uyum sağlamışlardır. Geleneksel tabakanın diğer kesimi ise, batıllaşma sürecinin dışında bırakılmış olması açısından meşrutiyetin getirdiği batılı değer ve anlayışa şiddetle muhalefet etmişlerdir. 31 Mart olayında anılan geleneksel kesimlerin yanında, onlarla aynı hedefe yönelmiş olan Ahrar Fırkası da rol almıştır. Anayasal muhalefeti oluşturan liberallerin amacı da İttihat ve Terakki'nin "despotizmine" son vermektir.

Taşkışla'da başkaldıran askere ulemanın katılmasından sonra, ayaklananların dileklerini bildirmek üzere Meclis-i Mebusan önünde toplanmaları, olayın başlangıçtaki anayasal ve yapıcı niteliğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ne varki, gelişmeler olaya "gerici" bir boyut kazandırmış, ve hareket ordusunun kenti ele geçirmesine kadar geçen 11 gün süresince, İstanbul yeniçeri ayaklanmalarını anımsatan günler yaşamıştır.

Başlangıçta muhalefetçe anayasal bir gövde gösterisi olarak planlanan bu olayın nasıl olup ta yeniçeri isyanlarından birine dönüştüğünü anlamaya çalışmak, bu araştırmanın temel çıkış noktasıdır. Günümüze değin varlığını ve ağırlığını koruyan geleneksel tabakaların bu son görkemli ve etkin hareketinin araştırılması, anılan kesimlerin toplumsal yaşamın batılı akışına karşı geliştirdikleri savunma yöntemlerini ve oluşturdukları ideolojik söylemleri yakından gözlemlemek fırsatını verecektir.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Review of the Previous Approaches

The Incident of 31st March has been subjected to a great deal of discussion and speculation. Still a controversial issue of political debate, it has been a well-studied topic for scholarly research, too.¹ The event should be considered as significant within the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic in terms of the mobilization of masses on a political platform. Therefore, the mutiny of 31st March has been enthusiastically discussed even today among various circles with widely different political and cultural views. A review of these comments enables us to be directly acquainted with the subject, and to understand the context of the popular debate as well. A classification of the diverse approaches according to their view about the essential instigator of the event seems to be a convenient method of distinguishing the differences among them which are, in fact, also intricately linked to each other.

The first approach, therefore, will be called the "Unionist", because they thought that the responsibility of the mutiny fell on Abdulhamid II. Another view, contrary to the former, may be called the "Hamidian", or, "anti-unionist" asserted that it was the C.U.P. which organized the mutiny in order to dethrone Abdulhamid. A third approach sets up the argument on the probability of foreign intervention, so it can be called the "interventionist" view. Finally, scholarly research on the subject like that of Sina Akşin, David Farhi,

Çetin Yetkin, interprets the Incident as a product of the political opposition to the C.U.P., exhibiting occasional democratic tendencies.

1. The Unionist Thesis ²

As the mutiny began, the C.U.P. circles condemned it as "reaction", and anathematized the movement. According to the above view, "the 31st March nothing but the rising of reaction against social change." It is possible to come this belief in the Salonica papers during the mutiny, and in the Istanbul papers after the suppressing the rebellion by the Operation Army.

During the mutiny, events carried out by the mutineers also seem to support the thesis. For example, the soldiers assassinated many educated young officers, showed their loyalty to the Sultan going in front of the Yıldız Palace on several occasions; sacked the buildings of two Young Turk newspapers (Tanin and Şura-yı Ümmet) during eleven days in which they dominated the city. Moreover, the mob at the time consisted of the traditional social elements who usually produce movements of religious reaction. Furthermore, the slogan of the rebellion was the Şeriat, and the aim was to restore the Islamic way of life. Their attempt at trying to push women back to their traditional place in society, was another proof to the authors that the Incident of 31st March should be seen as an example of reaction.

According to them, Abdulhamid kept on accepting "journals" ³ from spies, violating his oath which he had taken during the ceremonies held after the announcement of

of the Constitution. Besides his immanent despotic inclinations, he was supposed to be directly involved in the 31st March Incident by distributing money and finding agents to instigate the rebellion in order to restore despotism. In addition, he is suspect for having shown a very mild treatment to the soldiers instead of simply suppressing the mutiny. Thereby, he "allowed" the rebellion to grow.

Although the argument about "reaction" is generally verifiable, this "conspiracy" theory in the Unionist approach seems unreasonable considering Abdulhamid's extremely suspicious character. Actually, the Unionists who could not get rid of the old despot in spite of their revolution for liberty, waited for an opportunity to do so. The loyalty of soldiers to Abdulhamid during the mutiny, gave this opportunity to them, allowing the Unionists to blame the Sultan for organizing the Incident.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Unionists did not regard the rebellion merely as an opportunity for getting rid of "bad-behaving despot", but their view about the mutiny as "reaction" stemmed from a genuine belief. In other words, they thought that the radical transformation which occurred in social life after the reproclamation, did cause the reaction of the traditional strata and helped them organize against the new life-style. According to the Unionist opinion, the Islamicist-traditionalist groups who gathered under the roof of the I.M.C. (Mohammedan Union) tried to halt and even turn back the modernization process. They were "responsible" for the decline of the Empire, with the objective to found a state and social order relying upon

the Şeriat.

It is possible to see traces of the Unionist view, in the mainstream historical vision of the Republican period. During the Republican era, the Islamicist opposition has always been condemned to be a "reaction" against modernity, so that the occurrence of any Islamic movement has been interpreted as a 'renewal of the 31st March Incident' and cursed likewise. It has been forgotten that religion has always been one of the major foundations of state and society. Islam has also continued to function as a structural element providing the political, ideological, social formation of both worlds. Thus, the pro-modernization ruling elite and intellectuals since the late Ottoman period have continued to consider the traditional Islamic opposition as a blow against the raison d'être of the state.

2. The "Hamidian" or "Anti-Unionist" Thesis ⁴

According to the 'Hamidian' or 'anti-Unionist' approach, the Incident of 31st March was nothing other than a plot by the C.U.P. against Abdulhamid in order to dethrone him. Although, this seems like a startling assertion at first sight, there is some evidence which verifies the point of view of its defenders. For them, the Incident of 31st March, from the beginning, was a plot, and the director was the C.U.P. In view of the fact that the C.U.P. did gain more power as a result of the Incident, more than it had before the mutiny, the Hamidian thesis does seem to be reasonable. Yet, it exhibits a subjective angle, evaluating the mutiny by in retrospective, from today knowing the final result of the event.

According to such authors Turan, Albayrak, the C.U.P. decided to organize, and then suppress such a mutiny en suite, plotting to become the sole power in the political and social future of the country. The most important evidence supporting their thesis is that the troops which instigated the rebellion was the Fourth Light Cavalry Battalion from Macedonia, the cradle of the C.U.P. Another point which is not so obvious a proof of C.U.P. conspiracy, though there is a consensus about it in the works mentioned above, is that just before the rebellion some Unionist officers delivered a false edict of the Sultan about the introduction of a new, peaked cap for the military. It was expected that such a cap would cause reaction among the soldiers and that they would rebel.

In spite of these proofs, however, obviously this approach does lack common sense considering that the C.U.P. faced great danger since it was almost swept away from the political arena during the mutiny. Moreover, several educated young officers who formed the main body of the C.U.P. organization were killed by rebels.

3. Interventionist Thesis

Some of the authors who belong to the two views cited above also think that foreign intervention played a most important role in the creation of the rebellion. Of the two, the Hamidians one⁵, think that it was "international Zionism" which secretly staged the play to get rid of Abdulhamid who had refused to sell the 'promised land' to the Jews during his reign. Accordingly, the Unionists were deceived by the

agents of Zionism such as Emanuel Karasu, and the Jews in return for "a tinplate of gold", while Abdulhamid had rejected millions in gold money. What they stress in such claims is the C.U.P.'s close relationship with Masonic lodges during their first organizational phase in Salonica.

The bias of the "Hamidian" view is obvious, and it is necessary to mention that their evidence is definitely inadequate, which primarily consists of 'unpublished secret reports

The other example of the conspiracy theory is put forth, this time, by the opposite side claiming that the group responsible for the rebellion was the constitutional opposition, that is, the Ahrar Fırkası (Liberal Party).⁶ This political party was founded by the Sabahaddin wing who caused the first important rift within the Young Turk movement in the 1902 Congress. At the time, the reason for the dispute had been Sabahaddin's thesis advocating the necessity of foreign intervention to bring liberty to the Empire, against which the Ahmed Rıza wing had definitely opposed. Prince Sabahaddin and his associates' view about the need of foreign intervention lasted after the revolution, and even continued during the proceeding years under the roof of the Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası.

The view stressing the importance of foreign, especially British intervention explains the Incident of 31st March as having originated from the Ahrar's pro-British attitude. According to this explanation, the Ahrar was supposedly provided with money and other facilities by the British ambassador and agents in organizing the rebellion. Avcioğlu notes that the news supporting the rebels took place in the British

papers subsequent to the Incident, confirming the thesis according to the author. ⁷

This approach which blames the Ahrar for treason and helping British imperialism is no any different in essence from the former 'anti-Zionist' view. Thus, both contain the same dosage of biased exaggeration. While claiming that a movement which occurred at the social level is nothing but the result of foreign intervention, these views disregard the importance of social dynamics; but can hardly have the chance to give a sound explanation to the event supported by ample evidence.

4. The Thesis Viewing the Incident as Political Opposition ⁸

The only balanced, scholarly approach to the Incident of 31st March belongs to the approach viewing the Incident as political opposition. Since an analysis based on it will be given in the beginnings of the present study, here this approach will given only be briefly touched upon.

In sum, it seems more likely that, in principle, it was the democratic opposition which organized against the C.U.P.'s 'despotism', that had planned and started the Incident of 31st March. Under the leadership of the Liberal Party which can be defined more as a general front against the C.U.P. than a political party, united the opposition, and channeled the discontented to rebel against the government. It seems that, at this stage, they especially made use of soldiers and N.C.O.s. The rebellion which was, at first, conceived of as a political demonstration, deteriorated into a social reaction

into light the patterns of traditional Ottoman rebellions.

Within the limits of the present study, a historical introduction will be given summarizing the Young Turk movement, and the events which occurred until the Turkish revolution of 1908, preceded by a short description of the mutiny. Another chapter will be assigned to the Ikdam collections to bring into light the social changes in daily life which caused the reaction of the traditional strata of society. The analysis of the traditional strata will rely basically on the Volkan collections representing their own views; and the news from other dailies such as Ikdam, Tanin which give information the "reactionary movements". The conclusion, which is given before the appendixes, will try to present a new outlook to the Incident based on the social character of the event within historical context of the ongoing modernization process of the Empire.

II. THE INCIDENT OF 31st MARCH

Crowds flowing over the streets in the city, woke up the inhabitants of Istanbul on the early morning of April 13, 1909 (31 March 1325). The Fourth Light Cavalry Battalions which belonged to the First Army Corps had rioted after tying up their officers at midnight, and began to move towards the Parliament building in the Ayasofya Square. Several green flags appeared in the hands of armed soldiers when they surrounded the building.

Representatives of the rebels scattered in the city to convince the other troops to join them. By dawn, the number of the rebellious soldiers, assembled in front of the Parliament building had reached serious proportions. They blocked off the streets from the Galata Bridge to the square, firing into the air and shouting "Long live soldiery!", and "We want Seriat!". People began to assemble in the square, to understand what was going on.

The possibility of nipping the revolt in the bud was not lost yet ¹. When the Chief of the Police, Sami Paşa informed the Grand Vezir, Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa about the situation by a telegram, there were still many troops which did not join in the uprising. Nevertheless, the hesitation of the government to take necessary measures for suppressing the rebellion gave enough time to the rebels to prepare more favorable conditions for their further actions.

The Grand Vezir sent a telegram to the Palace and asked for instructions about the precautions that were to be

taken. Sultan charged Mehmed Ziyaeddin Efendi, the Şeyhülislam that is, Chief Mufti, with the task of parleying with the mutineers. He came back from the Ayasofya Square with a list of their demands which were enumerated as below: ²

1. The dismissal of Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, the Grand Vezir; Rıza Paşa, the Minister of War; and Ahmed Rıza Bey, the President of the Parliament.
2. The removal of Hüseyin Cahid Bey, the editor of Tanin; Doctor Bahaeddin Şakir Bey, the owner of Şura-yı Ümmet; and Tal'at Bey, the Vice-President of the Parliament.
3. The full implementation of the Şeriat.
4. The dismissal of the mektepli officers.
5. A general amnesty for the mutineers. ³

At noon, the Ayasofya Square stirred by the arrival of the ulama and the medrese students in the company of soldiers and some curious civilians. The square now became a "daisy field" because of their white headgear.⁴ After the adherence of the ulama class, not only the legitimacy of the mutiny increased, also the self-confidence of the mutineers became visible. The majority of the representatives of the ulama were dersiâms (teachers of religious law in mosques), the Sufi dervishes and the softas of Istanbul; in other words, almost all of them belonged to the lower-ranking ulama.⁵ Among them, there appeared Derviş Vahdeti, the editor of Volkan, a newspaper which promoted the ideas of the Association for Mohammedan Union.(I.M.C.). The religious men were going around the square giving advice to the soldiers, and were treated with great respect from them.

The leaders of the mutineers were Hamdi, an Albanian sergeant; Mehmed, the quartermaster; and Arif, an artificer, all belong to the Fourth Light Cavalry Battalion, which had been brought to Istanbul from Salonica as the "Guardians of the Constitution".⁶ after the Young Turk revolution of 1908.⁷

Assembled in front of the Parliament building, the mutineers waiting for the usual meeting of the Chamber of Deputies. Ahmed Rıza, the President of the Parliament, sent his resignation which he wrote out in an obedient spirit. To calm the tension down, the text of his resignation was published in the Istanbul newspapers.⁸ Deputies were invited to the Parliament to examine the desirata of the soldiers. However, having heard of the news, the majority of deputies preferred not to go; thus, it was not possible to acquire an absolute majority. The mutineers sent a representative, Hoca Ahmed Rasim Efendi, the dersiam of the Beyazıt Mosque, to utter their demands in the Parliament. Rasim Efendi who was a lower-ranking ulama, appeared before the deputies among whom were several senior ulama, accompanied by armed soldiers, he spoke for the rebels who rioted for the implementation of the Şeriat.

The tension among the mutineers gradually increased reaching a climax as they wait for the decision of the Chamber lasted. In the afternoon, the crowd stirred one more time, and a civilian was killed in front of the eyes of deputies who were watching the scene. The man killed was the Deputy of Ladhıkıya, Emin Arslan Bey. It was the resemblance between Hüseyin Cahid and him that made the soldiers furious with

anger. He was the first victim of the mutiny of 31st March.⁹ The second was Nazım Paşa, the Minister of Justice, who was killed by soldiers in the Ayasofya Square.

While the discussions in the Parliament were going on, Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa's government decided to resign. When Abdulhamid accepted the resignation of the cabinet, there remained no legal authority except himself. The Parliament was not able to make decisions having an insufficient number of deputies. On the other hand, the new government could not be formed, as had been the case since the revolution, under the guidance of the C.U.P. Almost all of the well-known members of the C.U.P. fled away from the city.¹⁰

Sending his Chief Secretary, Ali Cevat Bey, to the mutineers, the Sultan promised them not only a full pardon for their action, he also declared that more attention would be paid for the implementation of the Şeriat. At the end of his rescript which was read by Ali Cevat Bey, Abdulhamid sent his greetings, and wanted the soldiers to go back to their barracks. It seemed to have fulfilled all of their desires, and the mutineers spread out on the streets of the capital, firing into the air, enjoying their victory.

For an estimate of the destruction during the first day of the Incident, the sacking of the two Young Turk newspapers, namely Tanin and Şura-yı Ümmet, by the soldiers should be taken into account. On the streets of Istanbul, no one appeared wearing a felt-cap (keçe külah) which was a symbol of the Young Turk revolution. These were important events indicating the vengeful direction of the mutiny against the Young Turks.

The performance of the Tefvik Paşa government which was appointed by Abdulhamid was not effective, and the cabinet was far from having the power of suppressing the revolt. As a result, it was Abdulhamid who regained his previous power and control over social and political life. Another center of power was that of the ulama who had a traditional influence upon society. As mentioned above, it was the lower-ranking ulama who took part in the Incident side by side with the leaders of the soldiers. The senior ulama, on the other hand, avoided joining directly in the Incident of 31st March, and asserted continuously moderate action to the mutineers. Yet, they did take advantage of this opportunity which seemed a good fortune in view of their gradually decreasing role in social life since the last century.¹¹ Through their publication, Beyan-ül Hak, the ulama now played an important role in filling the authority gap together with Abdulhamid. On the other hand, the senior ulama did continue to resist the despotic inclinations of Abdulhamid just like before. Thus, they could be seen to have contained him from completely disregarding the democratic principles of the Constitution. The wary character of Abdulhamid, of course, must have forced him to take into account the Third Army of Salonica which was known for its loyalty to the constitutional regime, therefore, he did not venture to remove the Constitution as in 1877. As a matter of fact, it was the Third Army that formed the main body of the "Operation Army" (Hareket Ordusu) which "recaptured" Istanbul eleven days after the mutiny broke out.¹²

During the following days, the action of the mutineers was directed towards the mektepli officers, and they killed several young officers. As a striking example, Ali Kabuli Bey, a naval captain, was lynched in front of the Yıldız Palace, and hanged him on a tree in the Palace garden.

During their domination over the city, the rioting soldiers and their allies proclaimed that women should live in accordance with the principles of the Şeriat.¹³ This demand seems to be a reaction against the situation just before the mutiny when the Young Turk revolution had provided more freedom to women.

From the first days of the mutiny, telegrams from the residents of Macedonian cities and the officers of the Third (Salonica) and the Second (Edirne) Armies protested the situation, and declared that they would not recognize the new government.¹⁴ Some of them even announced that they would not mention the Sultan's name in the Friday prayers (hutbe) who had showed such a loyalty to despotism, and had not fulfilled his promises which he had given just after the revolution.

The Operation Army was formed by the Third Army based mainly on volunteers from Salonica and Monastir. The Commander of this volunteer army, Mahmud Şevket Paşa was a mektepli officer who was educated under German influence. The army was prepared for the action in such a short time that on the fourth day of the mutiny, it already began fortification in Çatalca, a village nearby Istanbul.

The news about the Operation Army had a shocking effect upon the capital, and made the Istanbul newspapers change their language about the mutiny.¹⁵ Until that time, they had flattered the rebellious soldiers about their demands concerning the anti-democratic attitudes of the C.U.P., and the Şeriat which was considered as vital for the communal solidarity of an Islamic society. However, most of the opposition elements against the C.U.P. who had given their support to the mutineers, now retreated gradually. The Chamber of Deputies assembled in a building in Ayastefanos (Yeşilköy), under the assurance of the Operation Army, and changed its name to the "National Assembly" (Meclis-i Umumi-i Millî). The course of events now seemed to have reversed, and the C.U.P. itself regained its credit as the advances of the Operation Army continued.

In the capital, the senior ulama, through Beyan-ül Hak, and in person, going to their barracks, advised the soldiers not to resist the Operation Army. Being successful on the soldiers, this propaganda helped the volunteers army enter İstanbul without being subject to much resistance, whereupon it established controls in the city in a short time. Mahmud Şevket Paşa, the Commander, proclaimed Martial Law on April 25, 1909 to assure the public order and to punish the reactionaries. By a declaration, he defined the aims of the Operation Army, "to strengthen the 'legal' constitutional regime so that it would never be weakened again, and to protect the safety of the fatherland and the national existence of Ottomans." 16

Meanwhile, the Yıldız Palace in which Abdulhamid lived was surrounded by troops from the Operation Army. When the fatwa, from Mustafa Nuri Efendi, the fetva emini was obtained about the dethronement of Abdulhamid ¹⁷, it was put to a vote in the Chamber. After its acceptance, a delegation which was formed by four deputies (three of them were non-muslims, and one of them was an Albanian) went to the Palace and presented the fatwa to the Sultan. They also delivered the decision of the nation, in fact, of the National Assembly, about his compulsory residence at Salonica. Another delegation including Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, Tal'at Bey, Mustafa Asım Efendi went to the Beylerbeyi Palace to inform Reşat Efendi, the heir to the throne, about the situation. The ceremony was held on April 29, 1909, and Mehmed Reşad came to the throne with the name of Mehmed V, to emphasize the similarity between the capture of Istanbul by Mehmed the Conqueror and the present situation.

A court-martial was convened to judge the defendants for the Incident of 31st March, under the presidency of General Hurşit ¹⁸Paşa. Arrests were extended to the ulama and even Sabahaddin Bey who belonged to the Ottoman dynasty. A campaign against the ulama broke out among the newspapers so much so that they spoke of the 'seizure of the ulama' without differentiating the reactionary ones from the others whose interests lay with the constitutional regime, and, therefore, were loyal to the Constitution during the Incident.

The court-martial condemned to death several soldiers including the three leaders of the rebellion whose names were mentioned above, and two religious men. One of the two was Derviş Vahdeti, the editor of Volkan, and the other was Lutfi from Enderun, a member of the Association for Mohammedan Union.¹⁹

III. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION : THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION AND THE IMMEDIATE ORIGINS OF THE 31st MARCH INCIDENT

To understand the 31st March Incident, it is necessary to bear in mind the social and political conjuncture of the Ottoman Empire after the revolution of 1908 which facilitated the ground for the rebellion. To begin on the eve of the Young Turk revolution which opened the second constitutional era for the Empire can be a good starting point, after shortly summarizing the libertarian activities of the Young Turks.¹

A. The Young Turk Revolution

The Young Turk movement of a second generation after the Young Ottomans, which was started by a handful of medical students in 1889, ended in failure by the victory over the Greeks 1897. This victory was evaluated to be a great success of Abdulhamid, in other words, also of his regime. Most of the oppositionary people in European capitals came back to the Empire being appointed to the high official positions by Abdulhamid.² Of the few remaining, Ahmed Rıza and his associates persisted to stay in Paris to continue their opposition. The movement ceased activity until 1899, the year in which Damad Mahmud Paşa and his two sons fled to Paris. Prince Sabahaddin, one of the most famous Young Turks, became the leader of Young Turks in the First Congress of 1902 at the expence of dividing the movement.

However, as it will be seen, the bloodless revolution of 1908 was not a success of neither Sabahaddin nor Ahmed Riza and their associates. The revolution for the re-proclamation of the Constitution was only successful in the hands of the Macedonian Young Turks, most of whom belonged to the Third (Salonica) Army Corps.³

1. Macedonian Secret Society : "Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti"

In 1906, a new organization was formed in Salonica, later in the other cities of Macedonia, under the name of Liberty of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the members were the officers who realized the backwardness of the Empire more explicitly because of the specific features of Macedonia.

Being the most developed region of the Empire, Macedonia had extraordinary characteristics concerning land tenure, social and political stratification. From the first days of the Ottoman conquest of European lands, the policy which was pursued by Ottoman Sultans on the region was to give, to a great extent, autonomy to the local lords who showed loyalty to the Empire. Religious tolerance towards non-Muslims gave them the possibility to develop their own educational facilities in accordance with their religion, and even with various sects. As a result, the level of education as well as the level of economic growth and commercial activity of Macedonia were visibly superior compared to that of Asian and African territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The Russian demands on the Slavic peoples of the region together with the British and Austrian protective approaches towards various nationalities in Macedonia made the province a den of intrigues. The ethnic groups who lived in the region, included Bulgarians (900.000), Albanians (with Turks, 1.500.000), Rums (that is, Ottoman Greeks; 300.000), Wallachians (100.000) and Serbians (100.000) who developed their national consciousness, and began to struggle for independence since the beginnings of the nineteenth century.⁴ The utterly disorder in Macedonia caused it to become a province which was governed under the assurance of the Great Powers in 1903. A kind of gendarmerie was established, including the British, Russian, Austrian, Italian and French soldiers; in other words, five European country except Germany become responsible for assuring the public security in Macedonia, of course, together with the Ottoman army.⁵

The Ottoman officers of the Third Army corps felt a kind of inferiority against the foreign soldiers. This feeling was largely due to the miserable conditions in the Ottoman army in every aspect. For instance, the equipment was insufficient either in number or in quality. The shabbiness of event the uniforms of the officers caused them feel shame in the intercourse in foreign officers. Another reason for this kind of feeling was the frequent delays of salaries which should have been paid once in three months, but was actually postponed to an indefinite date. Rebellions resulting from the pay-day delays were regarded as ordinary events

in Macedonia, in fact, all over the country.⁶ Thus, most of the foreign observers supposed the revolution of 1908 to be one of these pay-day rebellions. In addition, promotions in the army ranks were also a bleeding wound for the Young Turks because they depended more on the degree of loyalty of the candidate to the regime than merit.⁷ The abnormal neurotic fears of Abdulhamid, it is said, from the potential danger of soldiery caused him almost to disarm the army and especially the navy.⁸

Another important factor which caused the officers to change their attitude against Abdulhamid's despotic regime, was the heroic activities of Balkan comitadjis who struggled for the independence of their fatherland. One can easily notice in almost all of the Young Turks' memoirs who had been in Macedonia at that time, that they were deeply impressed by the courageous activities of these patriots. They note in their writings that those activities made them think more seriously about the future of the Ottoman Empire and undertake the mission of rescuing it from seemingly inevitable decline.

As a result of all these factors, the Ottoman officers founded a secret society in Salonica to liberate the Ottoman Empire from Abdulhamid's despotism (1906). They saw the prosperity of the Empire in the constitutional regime. According to them, the reactivation of the Constitution of 1876 could easily solve all social, political and economic problems which the Empire had to face. And it was Abdulhamid's despotic regime which caused all abuses in administrative

and judicial fields within the state, and the dependency of the Ottoman Empire upon the West in economic and diplomatic affairs.⁹

The young officers who formed the organization were, in any case, different from those who had escaped from Istanbul to Paris and other capitals of Europe and began opposition to Abdulhamid through various publications. This difference not only came from the social origins of the two groups, but also appeared in their approaches towards the struggle against the existing regime. The intellectuals who fled from Istanbul, or the "Parisians", so to speak, generally concentrated theoretical discussions inspired from philosophers of mostly minor importance of European thought.¹⁰

The first Ottoman Congress which was held in Paris in 1902, crystallized two main currents among the Parisians: one was represented by Ahmed Rıza, and based on "Positivism" of Auguste Comte; and the other by Prince Sabahaddin, and "Science Sociale" of Edmond Demolins. The former preferred a centralist administration based on nationalism; while the latter insisted on administrative decentralization and private initiative in every field. Another major difference between the two currents, related to those already mentioned, appeared in their views concerning foreign intervention to help the struggle for liberty. This was the point which would convince the Macedonian Young Turks to join with the centralist wing of the Parisian groups who opposed intervention. Nevertheless, this fusion which was

realized in 1907, did not mean a strict unity; rather it was a gathering of two different groups under the same roof who submitted their energies to the same ideal: liberty to save the state.

The difference between the Parisian and Macedonian Young Turks came also from their origins. The Macedonian group was made up of lower-ranking officers, officials and some local merchants, in contrast with the Paris exiles who mostly belonged to the ruling elite.¹¹ The Macedonian Young Turks who managed to organize in the army were ready for action instead of wasting time with unending theoretical discussion.¹²

The revolutionary feature of the Macedonian group can be noticed in also their organization which they modelled on the 'Carbonari system.'¹³ According to this system, the organization enlarged itself by means of cells of four or five members. They also made the use of Freemasonic lodges which could work uninterruptedly under even Abdulhamid's rule for a long time. Being members of the masonic lodges themselves, the Young Turks were able to meet without fearing the spying network of Abdulhamid. According to one of the Young Turks, Refik Bey, "the two Italian lodges, "Macedonia Risorta" and "Labor et Lux", rendered the Young Turks a real service and offered them a refuge." ¹⁴

The relations between the masonic lodges and the Young Turks have caused various speculations until the present time. However, it seems apparent that the Young Turks

regarded the Masonry as a tool to keep the secrecy of their organization. In fact, they did attain this aim in view of scarce number of "journals" given by the Sultan's spies on the secret society itself.

The Young Turks found another ally in their struggle against despotism which was as interesting as the Masonry: the Bektashi dervishes. Being the most liberal and unorthodox sect of Islam, the Bektashi order developed a kind of national feeling which can be especially found in their literary writings. The Bektashi liberal and national point of view provided the base for a collaboration between them and the Young Turks.¹⁵ To investigate the mechanisms which ensured the collaboration between them may be a good topic for further research; nevertheless, it goes beyond the bounds of present study.

2. Towards the Revolution

Preparations for the solution of the Macedonian problem by the Great Powers in 1908, resulted in accelerating the activities of the Young Turks besides their immanent activist characteristic.¹⁶ To keep the province within the Ottoman territories -an intention contrary to that of the Great Powers- the Young Turks attempted to terrorize the Palace and the government in Istanbul by some plots. First of all, on May 14, 1908, the C.U.P. gave a report to all consulates of the Great Powers -except the Russian one- in Salonica. In this report, the intervention of European states in Macedonian affairs was protested, and it was stated

that the only way for the prosperity of Macedonia lay in the abolition of the despotic regime. The Reval negotiations which was held on June 9 and 10, between King Edward and Tzar Nicola increased the anxiety of the Young Turks about the future of Macedonia. On June 3, Resneli Niyazi, an Adjutant-major, took to the hills with his troops and sent a telegram addressed to the name of Abdulhamid -a very unusual event- demanding the reactivization of the Constitution of 1876. Enver Bey, a captain and Eyyub Sabri Bey, also an adjutant-major followed him in the same demand. A series of kidnappings and assassinations of some important officers and officials who were known for their loyalty to the despotic regime, took place throughout June, as part of the terror policy of the C.U.P.¹⁷

The meeting in Ferzovitch which was held spontaneously by nearly 30.000 Albanians to protest Austrian imperialist policy, was converted to a protest against despotism by a few Young Turks. Ferzovitch was a turning point for Abdulhamid to make up his mind and declare the reactivization of the Constitution (July 22, 1908/10-11, 1324).¹⁸

The four-line imperial rescript which officially declared the reinstatement of the Constitution was printed in Istanbul newspapers with no comment on July 23, 1908. The people of Istanbul who had no information about the happenings in Macedonia because of censorship, were filled with the feelings of confusion and hesitation.¹⁹ The re-

script was even thought to be a new kind of trap that was prepared to catch the people who opposed the existing regime. Nevertheless, the hesitation only lasted until the next morning. The press assigned the first pages to the declaration of the Constitution expressing their gratitude to the Sultan. The newspapers which claimed that the joyful demonstrations which had taken place immediately after the declaration might be misleading had there not been memoirs in which the witnesses of the events wrote down their real feelings and denied the occurrence of immediate celebrations.²⁰ Such kinds of arranged news were written down by the editors of the papers in order to excite the people "appropriately" about such great an occasion. Eventually, however, they saw the abundant fruits of their effort to such extent that the general joy of the public almost became a mass hysteria celebrating the event.

3. The People in Ecstasy : The Fulfilled Millennium

When the feelings of uncertainty and distrust were over, and it became clear that the constitutional era was opened irreversibly, the people, with delirious joy, filled up the streets embracing and kissing one another.²¹ One of the witnesses of the time, Halide Edib describes the situation in her memoirs as such:

"There was a sea of men and women all cockaded in in red and white, flowing like a vast human tide from side to the other. The tradition of centuries seemed to have lost its effect. There was no such

things as sex or personal feeling. Men and women in a common wave of enthusiasm moved on, radiating somethings extraordinary, laughing, weeping in such intense emotion that human deficiency and ugliness were for the time completely obliterated." ²²

Processions which was formed by the mob were flowing over the streets continuously in increasing in numbers. "Long live the Constitution!", "Long live Padişah!" and "Down with the spies!" were the slogans which were uttered all together. Here and there persons who became spontaneous orators made speeches concerning liberty, equality, fraternity and justice on a chair or in a carriage. The excited mobs were rallying to each official building in order to make officials take an oath of allegiance to the new regime. The practice was so much extended that everybody went in front of the Sublime Porte and other Ministries in the same demand. Confused with the course of events, in each case, the Ministers came out and did whatever the mobs wanted. So was the police who could not dare to interfere with the excesses of the people.

There appeared a common belief that the existing regime with its all oppression, corruption was pulled down and that a completely new one based on the freedom of speech and thought, and free government was opened. A sincere fraternal feeling filled the hearts of all Ottoman citizens. To express this feeling, Muslim people visited the Armenian Patriarch, the Orthodox Patriarch and even the Bulgarian Exarch. ²³ In the processions also, it was not

a surprizing sight to see a Muslim hodja and a Christian priest arm in arm blessing the Constitution.

The people of Istanbul regarded the reannouncement of the Constitution as a benevolence of the Sultan for they saw only his rescript on the newspapers. They went to the Yildiz Palace to demonstrate their love and loyalty to him. Then, Abdulhamid made a short speech stating that henceforward all his subjects would be regarded and treated as equals without discrimination.²⁴

The name of the C.U.P., the secret society, nevertheless, which had the Constitution reinstated, became a sacred word about which nothing was known. Everybody began to claim being a member of the society. The secret character of the C.U.P. caused much more troubles not only in the first days of the revolution, but for a long time.²⁵ On behalf of the C.U.P., all attention was focused on the three heroes of the revolution: Niyazi, Enver and Eyyub Sabri Beys. Their names were pronounced in such venerable a manner so that they became the symbols of the revolution.

However, most people did not change their opinion on the belief that it was Abdulhamid who gave the Constitution as a gift to his subjects whom he loved as a father. The truth of the matter was that the reannouncement of the Constitution told most of the people nothing except a few intellectuals. A conversation between Dr. Rıza Tevfik and Kurdish porters of Istanbul can clearly describe the situation:²⁶

"(A porter)-- Tell us what constitution means?

(R.Tevfik)-- Constitution is such a great thing
that those who do not know it are don-
keys.

(Porters) -- We are donkeys.

(R.Tevfik)-- Your fathers also did not know it.
Say that you are the sons of donkeys.

(Porters) -- We are the sons of donkeys."

The ignorance about the meaning of the Constitutional regime caused lots of trouble in Istanbul and the provinces. For instance, taxes could not be collected for a long time. The people thought that the Constitution gave them the freedom of changing governors and other officials whom they did not like, as they wished. Especially in Istanbul, amnesty for political prisoners was extended, spontaneously, to a general amnesty. Numerous prisoners who had been sentenced for murder, robbery and the like filled up the city.²⁷ As a result, an unrest was felt among the people due to the lack of public security in the city. The C.U.P. published two declarations concerning that the people should get to their work on July 26 and 27.²⁸ Although the C.U.P. proclaimed the end of the demonstrations, they did not cease immediately after its declaration indicating the inefficacy of the Committee in Istanbul.

B. The Young Turk Era

1. Political Happenings

a. The Young Turks in Power.

Although they managed to have the Constitution reinstated, the Young Turks avoided to be directly in power after the revolution. There were some reasons for this avoidance. First of all, they were too young and the social origins of the Young Turks were rather low. They realized that Ottoman society would not have accepted their legitimacy if the Young Turks had insisted on filling the high administrative posts such as Grand Vezirate, etc. In addition, their weakness in terms of organization all over the Empire -except Macedonia- prevented them to come to power directly.²⁹ As a result, the first government which was formed by Küçük Sait Paşa did not include even one of the minister who was a member of the Committee. So did the Kâmil Paşa cabinet. Instead, the Committee remained behind the curtain giving instructions to the government, and continued its secretive characteristic. Now the political power was shared by three sources, the first two being traditional and the last one entirely new: the Palace, the Sublime Porte, and the C.U.P.³⁰

Formed at the beginning of the August by great expectations, the Kâmil Paşa cabinet supplied a program which drew attention to all fundamental problems of the Empire, and hope to solve all of them. In administrative, legal, financial and diplomatic fields, reforms would take

place in order to transform the Empire into a modern centralist state. The military obligation were extended over all the communities within the Empire in accordance with the principle of equality. The program was all-embracing and comprehensive so that no problem remained without seeking a solution for it.³¹

The events which ultimately developed towards the rebellion first appeared in the struggle for power between the C.U.P. and Kâmil Paşa.³² After the augmentation of the Assembly on December 17, the Palace lost its vitality in the balance of power. The contemptuous feeling of Kâmil Paşa against the C.U.P., assuming that it did not have real power, made him disregard the C.U.P.'s advice. His "irrespectful" manners caused a serious crisis especially in the case when he arbitrarily changed the Ministers of War and Navy without informing the C.U.P. (November 30, 1908).

The C.U.P., from the beginning, did not trust Kâmil Paşa too much, mainly because of his bias towards the Liberal Party throughout the elections which were held from the end of November to the beginning of December on two levels. However, it had to put up with him as the Grand Vezir for his popularity among the foreigners, especially British.

The Liberal Party (Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası) which was formed immediately after the arrival of Prince Sabahaddin on September 14, 1908, represented the discrepancy between the Young Turks which have already been mentioned. The C.U.P. which succeeded the revolution was not a continuity of the

movement which had been carried out for years by the exiles in the foreign capitals. The first sign of the fact was the C.U.P.'s rejection of Mehmed Murad Bey's (that is, Mizancı Murad) suggestion which he published in his Mizan (July 30, 1908). Murad stated in his open letter to the C.U.P. that he was ready to carry out the duty from where he left by his resignation from the Committee in 1897. Unfortunately, it was too late, and the C.U.P. declared in the papers that Murad Bey would not be recognized as a member of the Committee, and that it did not permit him to act in the name of the C.U.P.³³

b. The Formation of the Opposition.

The case of Murad Bey was an alarm for the Parisian Young Turks who realized that the new regime was not set up by the officers for bringing them to power. Therefore, the spirit of fraternity which brought together all of the Young Turks after the revolution, ceased in a short time; and preparations started for an opposition party. It was the Ahrar (Liberals) which was formed as a continuation of the decentralist wing of the Parisians, led by Prince Sabahaddin.³⁴ All of the founders were famous associates of Prince Sabahaddin: Ahmed Fazlı, Mahir Sait, Celaleddin Arif and Nureddin Ferruh Beys.³⁵

The challenge against the centralist-nationalist policy of the C.U.P. by the newly formed Liberal Party was apparent. A deepening struggle between the two parties increased the political tension more and more. The Liberals

wanted the C.U.P. not to interfere with the performances of government and to become a parliamentary body leaving secrecy. On the other hand, the C.U.P. accused the Liberals of injuring social solidarity by settling enmity among people.³⁶

The crisis reached its peak by the fall of the Kâmil Paşa government on February 13, 1909. However, the existence of armed soldiers in the corridors of the Assembly during discussions about the performance of the cabinet, made the opposition believe the illegitimacy of the decision about the Kâmil Paşa cabinet. This view can be found in the articles of the opposition papers written on the Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa government which was formed on February 17.

The political discussions penetrated even among the young officers some of whom took an active part in the fall of Kâmil Paşa. There were others who inclined to the Liberal Party and protested the events. Eventually, a common political unrest made its headway all over Ottoman society.

2. The External Crisis

The external crisis which occurred in October 1908, also deserves attention before explaining the social grievances that were involved in the Incident. It too had an impact in social life in terms of arousing a nascent nationalistic outcry among the people, indicating that the C.U.P. ideas of nationalism were taking root.

On October 5, Austria declared her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the example of the Austrian Emperor, Prince Ferdinand sent a telegram to Abdulhamid proclaiming himself as King. Bulgaria had been a principality dependent on the Ottoman Empire since the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. However, this dependency was only on paper; de facto Bulgaria was a national state. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new status had been devised for some territories within the Empire which were called "political sovereignties" (hâkimiyet-i siyasiye). This was the case for either Bulgaria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nevertheless, the events caused such an intense anger amongst the people that the meetings against those aggressive acts followed one after another. The papers were full of inciting articles on the matter.³⁷ Kâmil Paşa, the Grand Vezir, asked the Minister of War, Ali Rıza Paşa, whether it was possible to go to war against Austria and Bulgaria. The answer was negative because of the apparent weakness of the Ottoman army.

The boycott against Austrian goods which was led by Tanin indicated the enthusiastic nationalism which enchanted the people. Since it was produced by Austrian factories, Fez, a longtime symbol of Ottoman westernization, now taken out of use and replaced with the Enveriye, or fur cap.³⁸ By arousing a rather exaggerated national spirit, the external crisis was of importance because it facilitated the grounds for the nationalist policy of the C.U.P. in the following years. The official result of the crisis was

the recognition of the new status in both cases, and, in return taking a certain amount of compensation for the loss to the Empire.

IV. DAILY LIFE IN TRANSFORMATION: IKDAM

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the radical changes reflected in the daily life of the city which seems to have been noticeable just after the revolution of 1908; it was also these changes that instigated the reaction of the traditional strata. The collections of Ikdam which was one of the oldest papers of the Ottoman press, is able to grasp the social changes within the flow of daily life, towards which the traditional groups directed their reaction during the 31st March mutiny. Thus, the traditional strata which had not westernized like State bureaucracy, remained excluded from western-style institutions and affairs can be read in between the lines of Ikdam. The data is a good source to understand one of the dimensions of the mechanism of reaction which would lead to the rebellion.¹

A. Recreational Activities

The changing sound mentality toward recreation shows itself in every issues of Ikdam which includes various advertisement about activities such as concerts, conferences, balls, theater performances, games in excursion spots as well as the traditional (recreational) amusements such as Karagöz, Ortaoyunu and ince saz. Interesting aspect of these activities is that almost all of them were organized for the benefit of "İane-i Milliye" ('National Fund').

1. National Fund

This fund was formed to buy two cruisers which would be named 'Niyazi' and 'Enver', two heroes of the revolution. The initiative came from Hüseyin Cahit, the editor of Tanin. He explains the reasons for the campaign as such:

"Niyazi and Enver's valuable efforts to obtain freedom, their patriotism and devotion confirm the merit for the never-ending gratitude of nation."
(Tanin, 24 July, 1324)

Therefore, a decision was taken to show the gratitude of nation by giving their names to the cruisers which would be bought by the donations of people.

Various institutions and unions organized recreational activities for the benefit of the National Fund. Individuals who wanted to share the national feeling contributed to the Fund. For example, it is interesting that the cobblers left 22.000 piasters which the Municipality owed them, to the National Fund (10 Sept., 1908)! Another instance is the donation of 1716 piasters given by the inhabitants of Üsküdar, Selimiye and Harem. The practice was so much extended that even some unions and individuals from abroad participated in the campaign. Goltz Pasha sent, for example, D.M. 300 (9.Sept. 1908), while the Alliance Israélite of Paris sent FF 2000 and Jewish Charitable Society of Berlin FF 2500 (1.9.1908). On behalf of the president of France, M. Faliye(-?), the French Ambassador gave FF 10.000; and Frenchmen living in Istanbul began to collect money for the Fund (1.9.1908) and Italians followed them (9.9.1908). Mme Catherine, a

German, left 15 Ottoman Liras of the money which she would get from the Customs Administration (30.8.1908). Finally, the special group formed by the C.U.P. to collect money for the fund should also be mentioned (17.8.1908). This was a precaution against swindlers.

However, the cruisers were never bought. A succession of fires which erupted in most quarters of Istanbul throughout August, forced the Fund Commission to change their aim and use the money for aiding the victims of fire.

Nevertheless, the situation proves the extent of national feeling. The foreign contributions reassured the public in their hope for Europe's supportive attitude toward the Ottoman Empire after the reannouncement of the Constitution. Probable support of Europe excited people so much that the populace of Istanbul welcomed Sir Gerard Lowther, the British Ambassador, in an exceedingly cheerful manner (Tanin, 25 July, 1324).

These two contradictory attitudes, that is, the search for the European support and the powerful nationalist orientation, actually present a coherent character which reflected in the boycott against Austrian goods. The boycott was initiated again by Tanin an independent paper, which was however serving as the promoter of C.U.P.'s ideas. The paper now aimed at exciting the people and giving them national consciousness.²

In sum, the National Fund as well as the boycott against Austrian goods indicated an entirely new formation. The common factor between these two attitudes is their inspiration from nationalism which had been unprecedented

within the politics of the Empire until 1908. However, the nationalist ideology caused a reaction among not only traditional strata within society, but also pro-westernization groups like the Ahrar advocating Ottomanism and decentralization. For the latter, the nationalist ideology would only accelerate the separatist currents among the minorities; in other words, it meant an adventure which would end in the disintegration of the Empire. The reaction of traditional strata against nationalism originated from their concern about the elimination of religion as the solidifying factor and its replacement with an alien ideology.

There were other donation campaigns as well. Nevertheless, since most of them were set up by women's organizations which were formed after the announcement of the Constitution, they will be considered separately.

2. Activities of the National Fund

a. Conferences.

Conferences functioned not only as courses for the education of democracy during the second constitutional period; they also extended to all aspects all life. For instance, Selim Sırrı Bey explained the principles of body training at Tepebaşı Park (22.9.1908). The journalist of Terceman-ı Hakikat, Hüseyin Kâzım Bey's conference at Şevkî Efendi Theater consisted of such topics as "The Constitutional Regime", "Freedom", "Why can not we still think about elections?", "How should we analyze the present problem?", "What is the boycott about?" (24.10.1908). Another interesting conference was held at Mühürdar Park, Kadıköy, in honor of

the union of various nationalities (i.e., minorities) of Ottoman Empire by the Adjutant Major Ihsan Bey (The content of the conference consisted of "the way of our youth at learning age", "to love and be loved", "my advices to my son", "the child." (Tanin, 8.8.1908). The conference was so successful that a joint stock company which would finance a school for the children of various minorities was upon. (Tanin, 13.8.1908). Rıza Tevfik's speech in Spanish at the School of Alliance Israillitè of Salonica deserves attention (10.9.1908). Selim Sirri and Rıza Tevfik repeated their subjects "Body Training and Sports" on 15.9.1908; the Ottoman Jewish Fraternity Union organized a conference to explain the aims and objects of the union (9.10.1908). One of the minority groups in the Empire, the Armenians left the revenue of their Liberal Union's conference to the needy students of Kadıköy Armenian Lyceè (29.9.1908). Prince Sabahaddin's conferences on 15 Sept. at Beyoğlu Variety Theater and 18 Sept. at Bebek Park have significance indicating the formation of the opposition to the C.U.P. itself through such conferences.

b. Concerts.

Concerts held after the reannouncement of the constitution are definitely different from what we understand as a concert today. First, they were carried out by military bands of various troops, so that they played marches and the like. Second, these concerts functioned to strengthen the national feeling, and to celebrate freedom and liberty just obtained through the constitution. Nevertheless, not only Turks in

the Empire, but also minorities organized concerts. For instance, by the initiative of the inhabitants of Tatavla, mostly Greeks, a concert was organized with the participation of the military band at Acropolis Park, Tatavla (16.9.1908). The students of Haydarpaşa Military Medicine School, performed at their school for the benefit of the National Fund (23.8.1908). The band of Ertugrul Imperial Steamer played the marches "Young Turk" and "Fatherland" for the same fund (14.8.1908). A concert for women only was held at Kadıköy Aleksî Park for the benefit of the victims of fire (1.9.1908). During the reward ceremonies at Gülşen Maarif Mektebi, the Big Band of the Imperial Arsenal of the Artillery played marches (4.9.1908). Varna Music Association's concert was held at Tepebaşı Park under the conduct of Monsieur Frank (9.9.1908). Some of the concerts also played alla turca music, as well as military bands (e.g., Haydarpaşa Military Medicine School concert on 31.8.1908).

c. Balls and Movie Shows.

Balls and cinematographe were the most powerful indicator of the changing daily life with regard to their unprecedance befor the revolution. Nevertheless, balls seem to have been common mostly among the foreigners and minorities. For example, a ball was organized at the Opera Society (Societa Operia) to which the Italians living in Istanbul attended (25.8.1908). For the grand ball organized at the Jacome Hotel on Prinkipo, the paper informed that a steamer was assigned for the guests (27.8.1908). Another interesting instance

event worth noticing was held on 6.9.1908 at the house of M. Aleksandr Ralink (-?). This ball was organized for the benefit partly of the C.U.P. to show their gratitude and partly of the Yalova (?- يلوز) Hotel at Fenerbahçe.

Balls organized by Ottomans present an interesting and different recreational mentality which were accompanied with bands playing fasıl music (ince saz). For instance, at the ball, organized by the Ottoman inhabitants of Maltepe Kariye on 22.8.1908, it was decided to invite a fasıl group consisting of famous Ottoman singers and players. At the end of the advertisement, all men of futuwa were invited. Another 'alla turca' ball was held at Çengelköyü, Tarlabası for the benefit of the Enver and Niyazi cruisers at which the Imperial Artillery Band participated. The price of tickets was five piasters (21.8.1908).

Movie show advertisements informed that "perfect cinematograph films arrived at the Beyoğlu Variety Theater to be shown evry night" (15.8.1908). An adjutant major, Mehmed İhsan Bey and a lawyer Said Bey gave speeches after the movie show at Kadıköy Kuşdili Theater for the benefit of exiles of Abdülhamid who could not go back their home for the lack of money (15.9.1908).

d. Countryside Feasts.

Since the reannouncement of the Constitution fell on summer, amusing races at sea and in the countryside as well as wrestling matches, gymnastic shows, etc., and traditional countryside amusements were commonly held to celebrate the event at well-known excursion spots of Istanbul. An example

of the traditional amusements in the countryside is the Ortaoyunu performance at Çiftehavuzlar by Hamdi Efendi accompanied by Mesudiye Band for the benefit of exiles (25.8.1908). At Beylerbeyi, boat races and greasy-pillar games (yağlı direk) were held in the afternoon; and an ortaoyunu was performed next to the concerts of the band of Ertuğrul Imperial Steamer and a fasıl group at night (30.8.1908). The officials of Customs Administration organized a countryside feast at Beykoz Pasture (Çayırı) (19.8.1908). Under the protection of Egyptian Prince Aziz Pasha, a boat race was organized at Moda with the participation of Prinkipe, Aya Stefanos and Kadıköy Yatch Clubs (4.9.1908). For the benefit of the National Fund, bicycle races were organized at Fenerbahçe under the protection of the Tenth Municipality (5.9.1908). Wrestling games were organized under the surveillance of Izmid Educational Administration for the benefit of Izmid primary schools (15.9.1908). The famous Turkish wrestlers Koç Mehmed and his companions who had won championship on the European rings competed with each other at Büyükkasaba (18.9.1908) for the victims of Çırçır fire.

e. Theater.

Theater functioned as a school for political socialization which basically taught national consciousness during the second constitutional period. In fact, even from the time of Young Ottomans, theater had had a similar identity. So that, from the first days of the revolution of 1908, the nationalist plays of Namik Kemal, Şemseddin Sami and others were staged at once. These plays were performed by profes-

sionals such as Menak (or Menakyan) Efendi, Benliyan Efendi, Abdülrezzak Efendi, Şevki Efendi, Komik Hasan Efendi, etc. as well as amateurs who were mostly students from the military schools and were dedicated themselves to the constitutionalist regime.

The plays oft-performed were:

"Fazilet Mağlub Olur mu?" ('Can Virtue be Defeated?'):

The play was performed by the Nenak Efendi Theater under the organization of the Büyükdere Youth Club at Büyükdere Francesco Theater for the benefit of the National Fund (21.8.1908). Another performance was carried out by the same troupe at Kadıköy Zambaoglu Open-air Theater on the behalf of the exiles (29.8.1908).

"Vatan (yahud) Silistre" ('Fatherland (or) Silistria'):

The play Vatan was of special significance for the Young Turks, written by Namık Kemal, a name identical with the "Warrior of Freedom" and had great respect among revolutionary circles. Almost all of the performances of the play were carried out by amateur groups; and it deserves the quality of being the most-performed play during the four months after the revolution. The first performance was held at the Naval Officers' Academy on Halki (Heybeli) Island to which all non-muslim inhabitants of the island were invited, and had great success (17.8.1908). Another performance was organized by Tanin at Tepebaşı Open-air Theater for the benefit of the National Fund (21.8.1908). Second performance of the play by the students of Naval Officers' Academy with the participation of Ertuğrul Imperial Steamer's band was carried out (31.8.1908). For the victims of Çırçır fire, under the

protection of National Youth Club of Sarıyer, Büyükdere and Yenimahalle, Vatan was staged at Tepebaşı Open-air Theater by an amateur troupe (2.9.1908). Another amateur group performed the play at Kadıköy Zambaoğlu Theater (3.9.1908). Following the concert of military band, Vatan was performed by the students of the Military Lyceè of Çengelköy (3.9.1908). Students of The Kuleli Military Lyceè also performed it at Tophane Training Square (4.9.1908). The performance of the Amateurs Union (Heveskâran Cemiyeti) was followed by the concert of students of the Military Academy at the square of the Ministry of War for the benefit of victims of Çırçır fire (6.9.1908). Under Prince Sabahaddin's presidency, at Emirgân National Park, amateurs performed Vatan by the organization of Emirgân-Boyacıköy C.U.P. for the benefit of victims of fire (8.9.1908).

"Akif Bey", by Namık Kemal: During the graduation ceremonies of Rehber-i Tahsil Mektebi (School of Guide for Education)?- , located in Küçükavgacılar, the Ottoman Theater Troupe performed "Akif Bey" at night for the benefit of National Fund (9.9.1908). By the Union of Kadıköy Youth, the play was again performed this time at Zambaoğlu Open-air Theater (11.9.1908). An advertisement published on 14.10.1908, informs that Namık Kemal's play of seven acts will be staged at Tepebaşı Municipal Theater in Pera by the Union of Amateurs.

Another play of Namık Kemal, "Gülnihal" was performed by the students of the Artillery and Engineering Academy together with a comedy of one act, namely "Sevgili Üstad"; and the recitator of Tefik Fikret's famous poem entitled "Sis" ('Mist') and "Rücu" ('Return') (15.9.1908).

"Gazi Osman" was staged by Eşref Mustafa Efendi and his companions who were the students of Rolling-mill Factory (Haddehane Fabrikası) (24.8.1908). For the benefit of victims of the Çırçır fire and of the National Fund, "Gazi Osman" was reperformed by the students of Engineering School at the Tophane Training Square and Kadıköy Zambaoglu Theater (14.9.1908).

Şemseddin Sami's "Besa (yahud) Ahde Vefa" ('Loyalty to the Oath')³ was also staged various times mostly by the Menak Efendi Troupe. While the play was on the papers note that the people became excited and shouted "Long live the Army!", "Long live Fatherland" (16.8.1908).

Plays were written in a few days to meet the demands for the revolutionary atmosphere. Of them "Nasıl Oldu?" (How Did the Revolution Happen?) was written by Kâzım Bey from the Third Army Corps. and performed by the Union of Amateurs at Tepebaşı Theater (3.10.1908). It was reperformed at Şehzadebaşı Amateurs' Stage Theater beside "Zor Nikâh" (Ahmed Vefik Pasha, 1869) for the educational needs of children in Istanbul schools (6.10.1908). Menakyan Efendi staged a play entitled "Kör Cızal"(?) for the benefit of National Fund and the victims of Çırçır fire at Zambaoglu Open-air Theater (4.9.1908). Tahsin Nahit Bey wrote a play of five acts namely "Jön Türkler" ('Young Turks') which was staged at once by again Menak Efendi at Vezneciler Theater (11.10.1908). The profit of an Ottoman author's historical play "Pano", written in French, performed by amateur actors was left to the C.U.P. (9.9.1908). "Tahammül" ('Long Perseverence Suffering'), introduced as a 'national play' was staged by Şevki Efendi

Theater at Vezneciler (4.10.1908). In the same theater, "Hürriyet Neticesi" ('The Outcome of Liberty') was performed; in the mean time, Menak Efendi did not waste time and staged "Osmanlı Kahramanları" ('Ottoman Heroes') (14.10.1908). The Ottoman National Theater Troupe who consisted of amateurs, performed "Sabah-ı Hürriyet" ('The Morning of Liberty') (15. 10.1908 ; and 24.10.1908). Menak Efendi staged "Zeybekler" at Direklerarası, Şehzadebaşı (19.10.1908). A play of three acts, "Plevne" written by Nuri Bey, was staged in French at Tepebaşı Theater (1.10.1908). Komik Hasan Efendi staged "İki Ahbab Çavuşlar" (Two Chums') at Şehzadebaşı on behalf of the victims of Çırçır fire (21.9.1908).

f. Traditional Ottoman Entertainment.

Traditional performing acts such as Ortaoyunu, ince saz and Karagöz entertained the Ottomans for centuries. The newspapers also reflect the existence of the traditional Ottoman amusements. However, it is noteworthy that they were much less in number umpared to the excess of western-style ones. Hevertheless, it is not clear whether the traditional type of amusing activities were really seldom; or just that they need not to have been advertised in newspapers. At any rate, however, only a few advertisements informing them can be observed.

One of the traditional Ottoman entertaintments is the ortaoyunu performed for women by Komik Hamdi Efendi at Kuruçeşme, Maltepe for the benefit of National Fund (22. 8.1908). At Kuşdili Theater, an ortaoyunu performance was realized by Komik Hasan Efendi under the protection of the

"As of tomorrow the famous deer⁴ who had joined Niyazi Bey's guerilla group will be exhibited at the first flat of Letâfet Building opposite the First Municipality Administration, Direklerarası; for women from 5 to 10 a.m., and for men after 10, for the benefit of the victims of fire and of the educational institutions of Resne!"
(3.10.1908)

B. Changing Daily Life

1. Changing Position of Women

For the first time, women began to participate in social and political life as soon as the proclamation of freedom. On the next day of the imperial rescript informing the reannouncement of the Constitution, and during the celebrations of liberty held in front of the Sublime Porte, a woman gave a speech. She finished her words, "in fact, our Padişah had wanted the prosperity of the nation. Thank to God, he gave us liberty. Long live Padişah, long live liberty!" (İkdam, 13.7.1908). İkdam describes the woman as such: "The zealous lady was the representative of the Ottomans' conscience." Again İkdam informs a speech by Fatma Aliyye, "the virtuous literary woman" (16.9.1908). The copy of the speech was published in full. Following the declaration of freedom, women began to write in newspapers and magazines. In this respect, Tanin presents a more modernist approach represented by the various articles of Fatma Aliyye, Halide Salih (Edib) and Nigâr Münir. Halide Edib tells in her memoirs how she began to write in Tanin:⁵

"In the general enthusiasm and rebirth I became a writer (...). To me, at the time of which I speak, it was flattering to collaborate with the famous writers of the day; I was entirely unknown and was just at the beginning of my career as a writer (...). Among the progressive thoughts which "Tanine" advocated and which aroused the bitterst opposition was that of emancipation of woman. The very mention of giving her an equal chance in education and of elevating her social status enraged the conservatives. (...) I had become a very busy journalist and writer in three months. I received a great many letters on widely varied subjects. Beside these letters I received visits from a great many women belonging to different classes who came to me their personal troubles and asked advice."

Women sent letters to papers about problems of woman, for example, the letter of Fatma Sabiha Hanım from Bostancı entitled "Education of Woman" (1.9.1908). There appeared numerous women's organizations which organized various activities for maintaining the constitutional regime. They collected money to help the exiles, victims of fire, families of the martyrs of the despotic regime. Women went to newspaper administrations to inform the public of their charitable societies. For example, Sabiha, Bedia, Mediha Hanıms visited İkdam to declare they founded a society for the Ottoman exiles (22.8.1908). Osmanlı Kadınları Cemiyet-i İttihadiyesi (The United Society of Ottoman Women) organized a mevlid meeting at the holy Yeni Cami for the spirits of martyrs of freedom (12.9.1908). Another mevlid was held at the holy Şehzade Camii, organized by İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Kadıköyü Heyet-i Merkeziye-i Nisaiyyesi (C.U.P. Kadıköy Women Assembly) (14.9.1908). A women organization, namely Selanik Tahsil Görmüş Kadınlar Cemiyeti (The Union of Educated Women of Salonica), changed their colors to red and white, because

their previous colors blue and white did not correspond to national colors (12.9.1908). At a meeting held by United Society of Ottoman Women, Fehime Hanım made a speech to motivate these present to make donations for victims of fire; and 2500 piastres were collected at once (27.8.1908). Kadıköy Women's Organization formed a representative group to visit sultan the women of the Ottoman royal family and the family of the Khidiv of Egypt who spent summers in Istanbul. The group first visited Hatice, Fatma, Naima and Zekiye Sultans, then, went to the palace of Khidiv; and got a great deal money (22.8.1908). The wife of Dr. Rafet Husameddin Pasha gave 600 Ottoman liras which she collected from the women of Göztepe (21.8.1908). An organization was formed under the name of Ta'lim-i Nisvan-ı Osmaniye (Education of Ottoman Women), and Fehime Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Murad was elected the president (12.10.1908). Thus, the status of women began to change so swiftly that the reaction appeared at once demanding that they should to in their traditional place.⁶

2. Boycott Against Austrian Goods and Demonstrations Related to Bosnia-Herzegovina

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria irritated people so much so that demonstrations against the Austrian government were started, and influenced all over the country. For instance, it was informed that a mob consisting of Turks, Rums and Englishmen protested Austria holding a demonstration in Dedeağaç (16.10.1908). On the same day, the people of Tekirdağ both from villages and towns demonstrated

against Austria before the British Consulate. A general meeting to protest the Austrian and Bulgarian governments and to show the national gratitude to the Great Powers was held at Sultanahmed Square (14.10.1908). The first demonstration was started by people of Unkapanı, Fatih, Küçükmustafapaşa going to the British Embassy to thank the British government. On the same night another group consisted of the Rums, Armenians and Muslims also went to the British Embassy (7.10.1908). Following these examples, demonstrations were continued the next day in a similar way. The mob went to the embassies of France, Russia and Great Britain, then, they gathered in front of the building of Ministry of War, declaring that they trusted the government's decisions (8.10.1908).

Nevertheless, some incidents shaded the common national feeling. For instance, it was noticed that the popular white fezs now worn in protest instead of the traditional red fezs commonly made in Austria, symbolizing the hatred toward that country, were in fact manufactured in Austria as well. (14.10.1908). A certain Koçu of Karaman in the mob protested the event in front of the Serbian Embassy tried to persuade the crowd to empty the Galatasaray Prison, but he failed (9.10.1908). The Rum attacks on Bulgarian citizens of the Empire in Samatya, was another example which compelled the Bulgarians to close their shops (13.10.1908). It is understood that some rumours about the probable attacks of Muslims to the non-Muslims were so common that warning denying those rumours were published (14.10.1908).

3. Strikes

Following the revolution, some interesting events occurred because of the various understanding of 'freedom' inspired from the Constitution. Some considered it, 'the freedom of not going to work', so that the C.U.P. had to publish two communications on August 7 and 10, 1908 to persuade people to go back to their work. In the course of time, this attitude was replaced with common strikes against which nothing could be done, due to the lack of any specific regulations on strikes. Nevertheless, one was hastily prepared and admitted on Oct.6, 1908 to prevent the strikes which atrophied the economy.

Strikes were started by the typesetters of all French papers, except Le Moniteur Orientale (18.8.1908). Porters of Istanbul harbor striked on 20.8.1908. Coal transportation laborers followed them, demanding an increase in their wages (22.8.1908). Employees of bakers joined in the strike waves complaining about their low wages, and got what they demanded (23.8.1908). Workers of the train factory (şimendifer fabrikası) near the Customs Administration at Sirkeci Station, striked for higher wages, however, they began to work when they obtained a promise from the company (24.8.1908). Laborers of the Haydarpaşa Station applied to the director with the demand of equal wages and declared that otherwise they would strike (28.8.1908). When bakers of Beyoğlu, Taksim, Boğazkesen, etc. tried to stop cooking bread, people attacked their shops and beat the bakers so that the municipal police forced the bakers cook bread and distribute them to the public (28.8.1908).

In the mean time, strikes became common all over the country. For instance, clerks and other employees of the Aydın Railway Company striked (Aug.18, 1908). Employers of Salonica Rumeli Railways (5.9.1908), Anatolia Railways (14.9.1908), and Orient Railways (14.9.1908) followed them. Strikers who worked in Aydın Railways derailed the train at Develiköy Station and caused great damage (3.10.1908). To prevent such events, two detachments of troops (bölük) were decided to form by the Ministry of war (3.10.1908). The two detachments sent against the strikers who worked in Zonguldak Mine Company were recalled, because the strike was over (10.10.1908). Tobacco laborers of Samsun disrupted public security by their terrorizing demonstrations during the strike. They were joined by some "idiots" from the people and attacked the house of the Regie Administrator. Therefore, the administrator mentioned decided to hide (12.10.1908).

It was heard that because of the officials of Şirket-i Hayriyye decided to strike, the board of directors of the company met and took some measures (15.9.1908). On the same day, the İkdam informs about the strike of laborers of the trolley company, employers of the Anatolian Railways Company, next to the petition of the porters of Haydarpaşa Harbor contending their complains and demands about the Anatolian Railroad Company which they gave to the goverment. The officials of trolley company striked, demanding the resignation of M.Predikaris, the director. After a member of the C.U.P. gave them advice, they went back to work (17.9.1908). Porters of the Customs for Foreign Goods (Emtia-i Ecnebiye) presented a petition demanding the examining of their kethüda

Izzet Bey's inagling 3000 Ottoman liras (19.9.1908). The officials and employers of Evruzdibak Commerce House striked in order "not to remain behind the fashion for striking" (23.9.1908). The waiters of beer houses at Beyoğlu striked to end the 12-hour-workday, and demanded extra wages. They wandered on the streets with flags and when they saw the waiters of Tokatlıyan Hotel, still working, they gathered in front of the hotel demonstrating against their colleagues (18.10.1908).

4. Crimes

Following the revolution, the increase in the crime rate both in Istanbul and in provinces, stemmed from the amnesty which had been immediately transformed into a general one. Although the revolutionary circles had envisioned the amnesty for only political prisoners, the mob poured out into the streets and emptied all prisoners without differentiation between political prisoners and ordinary criminals. Beside the amnesty, the hesitant attitude of the police who did not know the extent of their legal jurisdiction, made especially the capital become a den of thieves, swindlers, murderers and the like.

For instance, a certain Sabri who had been convicted repeatedly was arrested for collecting money at Kısıklı and in other quarters of Istanbul pretending he was a member of a charitable society (20.8.1908). During the church worship (ayin-i ruhani) held at the Armenian Church for "comforting" the souls of people who sacrificed their lives under despotism

pickpockets who stole money, chains and watches were arrested by the people and handed over the police station (14.8.1908). Some "upstarts" dared to violate and offend Muslim women, encouraged from the wandering of prostitutes around the Grand Bazaar. To punish them, "virtue" teams were formed by the Ministry of Public Security (14.8.1908). A communication by the same ministry warned people about false five-piastre pieces which were being circulated (2.10.1908). A known trouble maker Ayvacı Yorgi having become drunk, assaulted a woman at the Gamrinus Beerhouse in Beyoğlu, and he fired his gun to the people who wanted to stop him. Yorgi was arrested near the Saint Maria Church (23.9.1908). On the other hand, Hasan Basri who swindled the officers of Harbour Master Office, disguising as a member of the C.U.P., was sentenced to one year in prison (18.9.1908). Mehmed of Çemişkezek who was the tablakâr of a baker in Küçükmustafapaşa, and his friend Süleyman tried to violate a prostitute. When the servant of the brothel, Mehmed interfered with the aggressors, they wounded both him and Pandeli who was an apprentice of a coffee house (20.9.1908). Accompanied by Osman, the watchman, Mustafa and Hasan, the people of a village tied to Makriköyü, named Pirinç, entered with arms the pasture of Istrati Çorbacıyan at Boğazköyü. After they wounded the herdsmen and seized 362 goats, they withdrew shouting "Long live freedom!" (20.9.1908). Handritten papers which included threatening and loathsome paragraphs against the Seyhulislam were plasted on the walls of the holy Ayasofya, Bayezid and Süleymaniye mosques (21.9.1908). Again, three men with hats, fired into the air walking on the Hamidiye Road

at night. The bullet entered a house through the window and a woman named Vasilika and her son were wounded (20.10.1908). Another accidental event occurred in Sakızağacı. A clerk of Zırbki (?) Bank, Hektor Kiryokidi visited the Tahidromus Paper and told that bullets fired by unknown men entered his home in the same way and almost wounded his son (17.10.1908). Because the theater owners at Şehzadebaşı insisted on not paying the donation on behalf of the Darüşşafaka and Hidjaz Railway, the Ministry of Home Affairs informed and instructed the Ministry of Public Security to deal with the matter (5. 10.1908). In other news, rich Egyptians who came to Istanbul to celebrate "liberity", attempted to buy cariyes although slave trade was long before forbidden! (31.8.1908). Some drunk men cursed and swore as they were passing by a boat in front of the yalı of an honorable person living at Çubuklu, Boğaziçi (18.8.1908). The lieutenant Ahmed Efendi caused a scandal in a brothel at Bülbülderesi, and the police interfered with the matter; he said that he was a member of the C.U.P. showing a stamped paper. The superintendent handed him over to the regimental police officer of Beyoğlu. The officer freed him considering the matter unimportant. When the importance of event was noticed, however, he was prosecuted again (23.8. 1908). A non-Muslim, named Levka a known criminal who lived in Büyükdere, and his friend Koti of Yenimahalle who used to give "journals" to the Beşiktaş police, started to drink and enjoy themselves at Domuzdere. Drawing their guns and firing, they terrorized the people. When adjutant major Habib Efendi, the commander of Ağaçlı troops, tried to stop them, they attacked him and dared threaten to cut him down, for being he

one of those responsible for the redeclaration of the Constitution. Then, one of the culprits rode on his back saying "Now, everybody is equal. Knell down! I will ride on you. I will give you a pitcher and you will bring water to me." The people asked for help from the military police at Kısırkaya. The lieutenant Kadri Efendi came with ten soldiers. When he tried to arrest them, however, Levka fired at him, and soldiers responded in kind. Finally, he was arrested (21.8.1908). In other news, there was a decision concerning the Bahriye Rüştiyesi whose students had organized a meeting. In spite of the advice of the police, the students did not obey. The paper notes that children of ages 8 to 10 "pouring into the streets", acted against the wishes of their parents and teachers, thus proving the inefficient disciplinary system of the previous regime. (28.9.1908).

5. Newspapers, Magazines and Books

Especially during the first months which followed the revolution, the Ottoman press gained a large number of new newspapers. Nevertheless, most of them ceased circulation after two or more issues.⁷ The press boom stemmed from a real need brought on by the revolution of 1908 which got its strength largely from the press. From the first days, it had a privileged status within society, and usually was against the government. Hüseyin Cahit's article which he wrote about the complaints against the press by governmental circles explains the situation very well. In the article, he tells about his dream of an imaginary morning on which the papers

are not published. The people, confused by terrorizing rumors, panic and almost go mad. Then, the author supposedly woke up and the first action he did was to snatch the papers and start reading them. (Tanin, 21.8.1908, "Bir Korkulu Rüya"). As a result of the general encouraging attitude toward the press, papers daily and weekly magazines began to circulate following one another. Just after the revolution, journalists joined together and formed an organization named, Osmanlı Matbuat Cemiyeti (Union of Ottoman Press).⁸ Hüseyin Cahid says in his memoirs that "there appeared an epidemic of publications, and everyone who wanted to tell anything that occurred in their minds" started to publish a paper.⁹

İkdam informs that the amount of the papers which was permitted to publish in Turkish and foreign languages in Dersaadet and in the provinces reached two hundred and eighty; while the number of printing offices which were permitted to work increased to thirtyeight until the end of September alone (19.10.1908).

Not only papers, but an excessive number of books appeared as well, mostly about the revolution. For example, Hatırat-ı Niyazi Bey (yahud) Tarihçe-i İnkılab-ı Kebir-i Osmaniye'den Bir Sahife (Memoirs of Niyazi Bey or A Page from the Ottoman Great Revolution) was published (1.10.1908). Another work which appeared written by Mehmed Rüşdü Efendi who belonged to the Anzakiye ulama, was entitled İkaz-ı Millet ('Awaking of the Nation') (6.10.1908). Among the works of the late Muallim Naci, Heder ('The Loss') which describes the years of despotism and the formation of national consciousness, consisted of two sections and a four act

play which was also published around the same days (3.10.1908). Abdülhak Hamid's latest work Ziynet began to be serialized in the Ikdam (25.10.1908). In the end, the unpeacedented freedom of the press lasted until the Press Regulation of 1908.

6. New Educational Institutions

The declaration of the Constitution gave the various nationalities within the Empire the motivation of forming new schools, most of which were named as "uhuvvet" (fraternity), "ravza-i terakki" (the paradise of progress) hinting at the principles of the revolution. Not only individuals but the state, too, also initiated the foundation of schools such as a Topcu Endaht Mektebi (Artillery Firing Academy) (30. 8.1908) at Salonica, a Polis Mektebi (Police Academy) by the Ministry of Public Security (5.9.1908). The above-mentioned schools, Ravza-i Terakki at Üsküdar was conceived as a perfect educational institution which was as sound as the European schools (17.9.1908). To help the body training of Muslim, christian and Jewish youth, Selim Sirri and Dr. Rıza Tevfik Beys decided to form a Terbiye-i Bedeniye Mektebi (Body Training School) (12.9.1908). Uhuvvet Mektebi was formed by a joint-stock company with 5000 Ottoman liras (23.9.1908). The founding of the Mekteb-i Sanayi (School for Industrial Education) was decided to serve the interest of the Ottoman economy by procuring the progress and perfection of industry. (21.8.1908). A school for fine arts was established in Üsküdar under the name of Fünun-u Nefise Mektebi (14.9.1908).

Aside from those mentioned, lots of new iptiadis, rüşdiyes and idadis were opened.

Educational institutions, especially higher ones, functioned as political and social centers for revolutionary circles. The students and graduates of these schools formed numerous organizations for progress and helped one another. One of the first formed, Mülkiye Mezunları Ittihad ve Teavün Cemiyeti appeared as the most active organization. They frequently met at school to discuss the reforms in the administrative, political and financial areas which were to be undertaken (16.8.1908; 24.9.1908, etc.). It was decided to form an organization called Mekteb-i Sultan-i Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Galatasaray LyceéCharitable Society) (20.8.1908). An organization which would help the progress and elevation of the Darüşşafaka students and graduates was established in a similar vein. (20.8.1908).

7. Organizations

During the second constitutional period, hundreds of organizations were formed by different nationalities and interest groups. Even the unions of separatist currents such as the Tashnak and Hincak of the Armenians began to propagandize their thoughts and programs freely through the papers and conferences. (The program of Tashnak-Sutyan Union, 1.10.1908; the conference of Sabahliyan Efendi from the Hincak Committee at the Üsküdar Armenian Church, 30.9.1908). A group representing Beyoğlu Rum Cemiyeti Edebiyesi (The Greek Literary Society) visited the Grand Vezir who was himself an

honorary member, to invite him to the conference which would be held in honor of the Greeks visiting the capital (28.9.1908). To provide the Kurds with the educational institutions fitting the necessities of time and the civilized world, befitting the provisions of the Constitution, the Kurdish notables living in Istanbul decided to form an association, too. (27.9.1908). Memalik-i Osmaniyye Musevi Uhuvvet Cemiyeti (Ottoman Empire Jewish Fraternity Society) organized a conference which would explain the aims of the society (9.10.1908). Ermeni Hürriyet Cemiyeti (Armenian Freedom Society) organized a concert for the benefit of Armenian orphans at Kadıköy Theater, during which the Bahriye Muzıkası (the Naval Band) played (4.9.1908). Osmanlı Uhuvvet-i Arab Cemiyeti (Ottoman Empire Arab Fraternity Society) was formed by Arab citizens who lived in Istanbul (1.9.1908). Another society called Arnavud Ittihad Cemiyeti (Albanian Union), to the society Abdülhamid gave 100 Ottoman liras, was formed by the Albanians who gathered in Beyoğlu (30.8.1908). Albanians formed another society to assure the usage of Albanian as the educational language of Albania, called Arnavud Başkım klubü (21.9.1908).

Organizations for the progress of professions followed in abundance those already mentioned. For example, Osmanlı Ziraat Cemiyeti (Ottoman Agricultural Society) was formed in order to promote agricultural activities within the Empire (27.9.1908). All employees of drugstores were invited to discuss the regulation of an association which would be called Eczacı Mektebi Müdavimi Cemiyeti (Society for the Students of Pharmacy School-16.9.1908). A Makinist Klubü (Society for

Engine Drivers) would be formed in Adana in order to provide progress in the profession of engine driving concomitantly with agriculture which was considered to be one of the most important aspects of modern agriculture (15.9.1908). Ittihad ve Terakki Osmanlı Kimyagerleri Cemiyeti (the C.U.P. Ottoman Chemists Society) was formed by Ottoman chemists who met at the Library of Aşir Efendi, and they chose Faik Pasha as the irhonorary president, Şükrü Pasha as the vice-president, Cevad Hüseyin Bey as the Turkish secretary and Sengros Efendi as the French secretary (8.9.1908). Osmanlı Müstahdemin-i Ticariye Cemiyeti (Ottoman Trade Employees Society) and Müret-tibbin-i Osmaniyye Cemiyeti (Ottoman Type-setters' Society) were among other organizations formed to provide progress to their members by cooperation in their professions (17.8.1908). By the initiative of an architect Kemaleddin Bey, the graduates of Hendese-i Mülkiyye and Sanay'-i Nefise Mektebi, and persons who were among the famous architects and engineers of the time met at the garden opposite the Sirkeci Station. They decide to organize a society called Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti (Ottoman Engineers and Architects Society-29.8.1908). An advertisement invited veterinary surgeons, organizing in a society at Tepebaşı Open-air Theater (2.8.1908).

V. TRADITIONAL STRATA OPPOSITION¹

An analysis of the 31st March Incident, requires the differentiation of the political unrest from the social discontent activated by the Incident. Represented by the alayl officers, the N.C.O.s and the lower-ranking ulama, the first category has been closely examined in various sources about the period given in the Introduction. In the case, the opposition of the ulama and the soldiers against the C.U.P. stemmed from the reorganizations concerning their legal status. In a larger context, however, it should be noted that the second constitutional period had also opened up a new era for the Empire, especially in terms of life style which was, step by step, westernized. For those in the second category, therefore, the other sections of the traditional strata of society suffering from the transformation of daily life, should be distinguished from the aforementioned components of the mutiny. Nevertheless, both groups ended up on the same side insofar as the mutiny of 31st of March stayed alive. Although their vengeance originated from rather different sources, it was directed towards the same adversary: the C.U.P. as the symbol of the revolution. The differentiation is necessary because of the inherent difficulties in analyzing an event, which first occurred within a legal framework, yet, then deteriorated into a typical traditional rebellion. Thus, such a categorical analysis of the Incident enables us to grasp the complex nature of this deterioration.

Unlike the first attempts at military reforms in the eighteenth century, during the Tanzimat period, the westernization process was extended to various aspects of life. However, the state-oriented reforms had been imposed from the above. Furthermore, during Abdulhamid's conservative reign, the political aspect of the process was entirely neglected, or, contained, while the transportation, educational facilities within the Empire were irreversibly westernized, or, modernized. Despite the despotism of Abdulhamid, however, the westernization process of the state had managed to continue. The lower-ranking bureaucrats, the ulama, and the alaylı officers who belonged to the traditional strata of the state were also westernized somewhat, and had come to form a viable public in terms of expressing their views. On the other hand, the common people who consisted of artisans, tradesmen, and the like whose traditional characteristic was the lack of direct patronage relations with the state, were all along primarily excluded from the westernization process. Although the traditional-style expression of opposition, in other words, the traditional channels of communication were eliminated with westernization, they were not replaced with modern, or, western ones. In other words, the neglect of social aspects of modernization resulted only in the transformation of the state and its employees including the traditional components.

While the political opposition of the traditional strata should be examined through an account of the political events; the dimensions of daily life in transition which resulted in the reaction of people, can be found in newspaper collections. For example, Ikdam exhibits the changes; in contrast, Volkan exposes the grievances of the traditional strata.

SUFFERINGS OF THE TRADITIONAL STRATA

A. Political Opposition in the Guise of Religious Opposition

When Kâmil Paşa came to power as the Grand Vezir, he first attempted to reorganize the administration and the military, which resulted in the dismissal of a large amount of alaylı officers and lower-ranking officials. The Young Turks severely opposed the administration that characterized the previous regime, which they considered overstocked with unqualified officials who had been appointed only because for their allegiance to Abdulhamid shown through "journals", or, some other way. Furthermore, they felt that the alaylı officers under Abdulhamid's rule had been upgraded by oft-repeated promotions in rank and salary, and honored with nişans in the capital, while the "patriotic" young officers had had to work under dangerous conditions especially in Macedonia without regularly getting their salaries.

In terms of the reforms brought on by the new regime, the emphasis was on the army, indicating that the

officers of the Third Army Corps who had proclaimed the Constitution, focused especially upon the existing military system which was deemed to be incompatible with the requirements of the time. As a result of the need for reform, changes occurred also in the training system, now based on Prussian-style discipline. According to the new system, military training was so regular and severe that religious rituals such as namaz, abdest, etc., which decreased the attendance of the soldiers, were minimized as much as possible. Considering that in the previous system, the soldiers had need not to work at all, their immediate protestations was, to some extent, understandable. Heavy training conditions which they were not used to, and the restrictions on the performance of religious duties were among the important stimula which led the Incident of 31st March.²

One of the most radical precautions in the Army which would lead the Young Turks to become efficient in the long run, was the prohibition of the N.C.O.s to become officers (that is, alaylı officers), an attempt which was a delayed completion of the reforms of Selim III, Mahmud II and the Tanzimat. From the first efforts of westernization, the alaylı officers had preserved their status in the army side by side with the mektebli ones who had graduated from the western-style military schools. Furthermore, they had managed to have the advantage of maintaining their status during the reign of Abdulhamid, because of his mistrust of educated officers and officials who had caused, in his view, the abdication and then, the suspicious death of Abdulaziz, his predecessor and uncle.

To be precise, in the army, the discontented groups consisted of the alaylı officers who were, or might be dismissed from the army; the N.C.O.s who had had the potential right to be an officer; and the rank and file of the army who were now subjected to strict discipline and heavy training conditions, at the expense of religious duties. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, unlike the first two groups, the discontented rank and file of the Army were at the same time in concert with the opposition within the common people.

2. The Ulama and Secularization

It is necessary to glance at the transformation of the ulama through the modernization process, before looking at their participation in the opposition which gathered around Volkan during the Incident of 31st March.

Throughout the Classical age of the Empire, the ulama were the most privileged group among the other groups of the Ottoman bureaucracy. This position not only came from the administrative power they had, but also stemmed from the social and financial duties. The autonomy which they had vis-à-vis the Palace strengthened their efficacy on all aspects of life.

Socially they had a direct relationship with the people. The ulama carried out educational duties as hodjas in mektebs (primary schools) and as müderrises in medreses (Islamic higher educational institutions); in the religious ceremonies they were the mosque functionaries; furthermore, they carried out judicial duties as judges. In the administ-

ration, holding the highest ulama post, the Seyhulislam (Chief Mufti) executed the Sultan's edicts (kanuns) by issuing fetwas. The ulama were not considered as kul in contrast to the other members of the ruling class.³ As a result, their heirs could enjoy having their own personal estates. The wakf administration of religious endowments, enabled the ulama further strengthen their financial power.

By the eighteenth century, eventhough the ulama had acquired significant gains in their privileged status, a division occurred between the ulama that estranged the members of the high and lower strata to each other. Mardin notes that the official ulama (ulama-i rüsum) were a new group, who had mostly obtained their diplomas in return for money or by the help of some other material interest.⁴ On the other hand, the ulama-i tarik, that is, the genuine, educated ulama, felt discontented about such developments. Accordingly, the children of the upper group ulama became members of the ulama class from birth (beşik ulaması). Thus, the diversion between the lower and upper group gradually became antagonistic, and, finally, these two groups estranged each other on the whole part.

Westernization which seemingly took place from the beginning of the eighteenth century was accomponied with the eventual secularization of the Empire. In the past, whenever the West gained superiority over the East during their numerous clashes, it was assumed to be due to the deviation from, and/or, insufficient practice of Islamic principles. In a gradually accelerating process, a new type of ruling

elite replaced the ulama. During the Tanzimat period, the new ruling elite began to withdraw power from the ulama who had traditionally participated in the political center. For Mardin, the consequent decline of the Islamic institutions, especially medreses, was an indication of the peripherization of the ulama.⁵ Reforms and reorganizations in the educational and administrative fields, substituting the westernized institutions in place of the traditional-Islamic ones, confirmed this phenomenon. Relations with the West necessitated the training of statesmen who could speak European languages and were acquainted with western-style life and thought. This need gave birth to the westernized educational institutions, starting first with the technical military schools. Then, followed rüşdiyeler which were supposed to bridge Islamic primary education with western-style university education, and increased in number especially during Abdulhamid reign.⁶ Another aspect of the decline of the ulama can be observed in the abolition of the Janissaries who were their traditional allies. During the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Istanbul was shaken with rebellions kindled through the cooperation of these two groups. When the Janissary Corps were replaced with the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye⁷ by Mahmud II in 1826, the ulama lost a most convenient ally.

The reorganization of the wakfs by the same Sultan, was the final blow to the ulama in terms of financial power and administrative autonomy. From then on, the revenues of the wakfs would flow to the Evkaf Müdiriyeti (later Nezaret)

This also meant that the revenues of medreses were controlled by the state. The decline of medreses seemed inevitable due to the continuing westernization policy of the State which lasted at the expense of Islamic principles.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, therefore, the degradation of the ulama was almost complete. Under Abdulhamid's pan-Islamicist policy, this degradation further extended. In spite of the standard view that under Abdulhamid's regime, the modernization process stopped as a whole, in fact, the process continued, even accelerated in most areas, except in the political field. This was a period when the means of mass communication such as railroads, telegram and telephone networks were extended; the rüşdiyes increased in number together with the augmentations one after another of western-style technical schools. Abdulhamid's Islamicist policy rather functioned to legitimize his rule uniting the people within the Ottoman boundaries which had been shrinking day by day, only to the lands on which Muslims lived. This policy was directed towards the sheiks, nakibs, seyyids and the like, who were not from the orthodox ulama but had power on people who lived on the Arab territories of the Empire.⁸ In other words, Abdulhamid's Islamism rested on folk-Islam, and opposed orthodox Islam which showed an alliance to the Young Ottoman movement.⁹ In many ways, the participation of the ulama with the Young Turks' opposition was not a coincidence, but stemmed from the ulama's

expectation of recovering their privileged status within a democratic platform.

Nevertheless, the ulama realized in a short time after the revolution of 1908 that their expectations overlapped the Young Turk regime. The lower group ulama faced new limitations after the revolution. The modernization process accelerated covering all aspects of social life, in education, in administration: Now, even daily life, in contrast to Abdulhamid's reign, was not exempt from the effects of westernization.

Together with general westernization and secularization of life, minor changes concerning the ulama, for example, the obligation about military duty for talebe-i ulûm, infuriated the members of the ulama. Considering the medreses as the "home of deserters,"¹⁰ the Young Turks required that the medrese students' exemption from military service be determined through an examination.

In sum, the ulama, especially the lower group ulama opposed the Young Turk regime which stopped them from regaining their former privileged status, in addition, forced them to be more and more peripheralized from the political center. In their view, the Islamic based of the Empire would not tolerate the Young Turks because of their secular policy. For the ulama, the illegitimate character of the regime was not only the secular tendency of the government, but also stemmed from the despotic attitudes of the Committee. In this regard, an alliance appeared at once between the Liberal Party (Ahrar) and the lower group ulama's voice, the

Volkan paper.

On the 31st of March, when they shouted "We want the Şeriat!", the ulama, in fact, wanted their former status. Although secularization of life was not peculiar to the Young Turk period, the democratic atmosphere of the Revolution must have helped the ulama voice their demands in contrast to Abdulhamid's reign. Contrary to the popularly accepted view of the Incident, scholarly research indicates that, in fact, the ulama, even the lower ranks, did not try to destroy the parliamentary regime, knowing their helplessness during despotism, but were trying to endeavor to regain their powerful position.

B. The Flight of the Traditional Strata

As Seen in the Volkan

Although it invoked the name of God, and announced that it would be the promoter of the ideology of Islam, Volkan also had parliamentary and humanist characteristic confirming the aforementioned differentiation between the traditional strata. When one reviews the issues of Volkan, it can be easily noticed that the articles and letters are in large part written by the lower ranking ulama and by the N.C.O.s and şaylı officers. Hafız Derviş Vahdeti himself was not a member of the orthodox ulama but a salik of the Nakşibendi order. Bedi-üz-zaman Said-i Kürdî¹¹ who wrote in Volkan was another famous representative of the religious-political opposition. Farhi notes that this opposition consisted

of a "a mixture of Sufi concepts, popular Islam and political extremism, combined with concessions to the new reality and to reforms showing European influences."¹²

The political opposition against the C.U.P. had already come to an excess when Volkan first appeared just before the elections on the second level.¹³ In terms of political opinion, Volkan was biased towards Kâmil Paşa and the Liberal Party which the C.U.P. tried to repress by force. In line with this policy, the assassination of Hasan Fehmi, a journalist from the oppositionary Serbestî, infuriated a large number of people. His funeral became a demonstration of strength of the opposition against the C.U.P.. The murder of a journalist was conceived to be a severe blow to the democratic regime and the responsibility fell on a government which had, in their eyes, already lost its legitimacy.

In short, Volkan was born in an extremely disorderly atmosphere not only in the social and religious sense, but also amidst political events. Therefore, the illegitimacy of the C.U.P. on the political platform because of its despotic inclinations was an oft-repeated theme on the pages of Volkan.

One can see the political complaints of this stratum as a whole in the article which was written by Derviş Vahdetî about the telegram sent to the papers by Niyazi Bey, one of the revolutionary heroes (March 19, 1909; Volkan). Niyazi denied the rumors about his joining the Liberal Party and blamed the Press for being ungrateful towards the C.U.P. which had saved the fatherland from despot-

in some provinces like Monastır, Kula, Söke, Edirne, Kastamonu, Ankara, which was the strongholds of Islam. Vahdeti declares on the same article, that he got some letters threatened him with murder. At the end of this article, he repeated his offer about the union in which he saw the prosperity of people.

It is quite easy to notice the similarity of views between the opposition of Vahdeti and of the Liberals which stemmed from their common political conflict. It reveals the dual character of Volkan : one representing the political opposition and the other is religious. To the first category, the letters from soldiers who complain about the reorganizations in the Army may be added. Some theological students and Bedi-üz-zaman Said-i Kürdi represent the other group in the Volkan circles. The themes of the second group are, on large part, religious, relying upon the volk-Islam.

Said-i Kürdi, in his article about Islam ("Long Live Seriat-ı Garra"/Islam/; Volkan, February 29, 1909), asks the question that what makes the Constitutional regime come into force, guarantees the future in this and the next world; protects national life, (hayat-ı milliye); magnetizes and creates the public opinion which is the essence of the union; saves us from being "beggars" of Europe imitating western notions, (Avrupa dilenciliginden koruyan); proclaims false the previous vicious opinions of Europe about us; makes all the ulama and vaizes become servants for the unity and happiness of the people and the performances of legitimate constitutional government (hükümet-i meşrûta-i meşruiyye);

stops you from the intention of murder against the spiritual life of three hundred thousand people, is Islam. On another issue (March 18, 1909), he speaks of the Şeriat stating that their way is to be armed with good virtues of Ahmedî, that is, Mohammedan; to recover the Sunnah of the Prophet; to exalt the word of God (ilâ'-yî kelimet-ullah) under the guidance of Islam (Şeriat-î Garra) armed with the sword of absolute proofs (berahin-î kat'a). Some days later (March 24, 1909), a series of articles written by Said-î Kürdî appears, entitled as the "Program which includes the Content of the Objects and Opinions of Said-î Kürdî (Said-î Kürdî'nin Fihriste-î Makasîdî ve Efkârının Programıdır). Because of his adherence to Islam, the ulama, the Ottomans, the Caliphate, the Mohammedan Union, and to the Kurds, he puts forth some ideas about the progress of these institutions and communities. Accordingly, the first requirement is to rest the constitutional regime upon the four sects of Islam (that is, the orthodox schools) instead of imitating Europe in ordinances and morality (ahkâm ve ahlâkta). In spite of Islam's superiority over all other civilizations, some over-ambitious people with "childish nature" have attacked the Şeriat and blame Islam for being the basis of despotism; a claim he declares to be non-sense. He stresses the necessity to rely on the Şeriat for the endurance of the constitutional regime.

Kürdî goes on explaining his views on the need to remove the differences of opinions and dissimilarities of temperament which causes humiliations and makes the men of

tekke, medrese and mekteb strangers to each other. Thus, fundamentally destroying Islamic morality by infringing upon concord and progress. He suggests that in western-style schools, religious learnings must be added to the curriculum, while in medreses modern sciences must be studied. The third article is about the ulama who must keep in step with the constitutional regime exercising the principle that the strength of an administration should base on law, and the strength of "science" must be based on virtue (Idarede kuvvet kanunda olmalı ve ilimde de kuvvet hakda olmalı); otherwise the despotism will occur. In medreses, although the principle of the division of labor (taksim el-mesa'i) has been experienced, it is better to accept public opinion as the moral expert which stems from the debates and exchanges of views in the meetings of theological students. Mosque functionaries, according to Said-i Kürdi, must have the ability of scrutiny and wisdom (muhakkık ve hakim olmalı) so that they can give proper advice as circumstances require. Another principle is to provide the progress of Ottomanism relying upon the Seriat. The duty of the Sultan is to work toward recovering Islamic learning and to make the sheikdom (Meşihat) and the Caliphate of Islam become prosperous, and to rescue the people from ignorance. He adds that the Muhammedan Union will return towards friendliness with friendliness, and only when shown hostility will it show in kind so the non-Muslims and foreigners need not worry about their attitudes towards them. The last article is written to enlighten the public opinion of the Kurds with the concept of

national union (ittihad-ı millî) in order to develop the great potential of the Kurds which has been lost until now because of the controversies among them. Said-i Kürdî's interesting program consisted of these nine articles and manifests the desires and hopes of the majority of the traditional strata.

Together with these articles, some letters from the mosque functionaries, theological students and soldiers must also be evaluated. These letters, on large part, are full of complaints about the attacks against the Şeriat. For instance, Eskişehirli C.Fehim from the ulama criticizes (on March, 7, 1909) the articles published on Neyyir-i Hakikat which he calls the "organ of the Monaster C.U.P." In his letter, he opposes intentions to stop the people from demanding Şeriat and states that just in case this propaganda continues, the people become angry saying "Yes, we want the Şeriat if they want to survive. In his article entitled "A Cry from the Fatherland" (March 22, 1909) Derviş Sukutî speaks of the damage which the fatherland had to face during the years of despotism, and demands to adorn it with the splendid garment of sacred Şeriat (Şeriat-ı mutahhare li-bas-ı mutahhâresi ile techiz edilmesi).

One of the functionaries of Bayezid Mosque, Divriğili Mehmed Emin Hayretî's letter (March 24, 1909) manifests better the lower-ranking ulama's approach to the rank and file of the army. Hayretî begins with the protectors of Islam, first God and the Prophet, then, the ulama, and talks about the friendliness between the ulama and soldiers, a

relationship which resembles that between the body and the spirit. He continues the letter saying that the ulama's great service ensuring the obedience of soldiers by giving advice to them is not appreciated in this period. "To prove this claim, it is sufficient to look at the bad treatment of the theological students." These sweet-natured and devoted people find happiness in performing their sacred duty. It is extremely wrong to look at them as deserters; on the contrary, they are the combatants of Islam who are ready to sacrifice their lives. "You, the people who are proud of your low quality education (üç günlük tahsillerine mağrur olup da), look down on the ulama; you are the most ignorant of men! You do not have the right to talk about and criticize the Şariat of which you are incapable of learning even one line. All you know are the rifles from Europe which is the distorted version of the truth they had taken from Islam and mixed with all sorts of fraud!.." says Hayretî.

A letter from the Fifth Regiment (Niday-ı Mazlumane- 'A Mild Cry') completes the circle, complaining the distribution of soldiers who had been in the same units to different battalions (March 28, 1909). The letter wonders if they opposed to the Şariat in order to deserve this treatment, adding that they are not the kind of former soldiers who did not read and write. On the contrary, the Turkish soldier is able to explain his troubles through such just papers as Volkan, especially after the reannouncement of the Constitution which was possible due to their efforts. In his reply to soldiers of the Fifth Regiment, Derviş Vahdetî says that

the Mohammedan Union is aiming to remove any obstacles on the way of the endurance of din-i mübin, that is, Islam. After eulogizing the soldiery, he declares that Volkan and the ulama work for them. Vahdeti opposes the imitation of Europe saying "We have not accepted the Constitution to import European practices, from they who have the intention of distorting our religion." Nevertheless, he warns the soldiers becoming too proud of their power and committing wrongdoings. He advises them to be absolutely obedient towards their commanders who are experienced and educated.

C. REACTION AGAINST SOCIAL CHANGE

1. Kör Ali Incident

"The Ministry of Public Security found out that the mosque functionary of Halicilar Cami'i, a preacher named Blind Ali, an ignorant bloke, dared to defame the Constitution and our Constitutional government at the Hoy Fâtiḥ Mosque; and yesterday, firm orders were given to the police officers to arrest the said person at once. The duty of a preacher is extremely important and delicate. A preacher should know all sorts of "sciences" (ulûm-u şetta) comprehensively, so that he should be aware of the possible damage of his words on the Şeriat. Otherwise, if anyone who happens to sit down in front of a rahle ventures to give advice to the people, much harm will occur both in civil administration (mülken), and in polity. In fact, a decision which prevented non-qualified persons from functioning as preachers has been held. The arrest of

Kör Ali showed that the decision is in force which deserves our gratitude."

This piece of news was published on Ikdam on October 7, that is, on the ninth day of Ramadan of 1908. As mentioned in the paragraph, Kör Ali who was a preacher, together with his supporters who consisted of 'Ramazan Busybodies' (that is, owners of coffee houses, restaurants and food shops who had nothing to do with themselves during the day on account of the fast)¹⁷ after the Friday prayer at Fatih Mosque, they walked together as a mob and gathered in front of the Yıldız Palace. When the Chief Secretary, Ali Cevat Bey asked what they wanted, Kör Ali and his friend İsmail Hakkı shouted "We don't want the Constitution." Abdulhamid came to the window and assured them that necessary instructions would be given. Of the mob, Kör Ali and İsmail Hakkı were arrested and judged by the Criminal Court for attempting to alter and destroy the present form of the Ottoman government (Ikdam, October 22, 1908). The indictment wrote that during the Friday prayer Ali and İsmail Hakkı had said that the Constitution and the Assembly were contradictory to the Seriat; the words of liberty, fraternity and equality were nonsense; a flock could not be existed without a shepherd. After exciting the crowd, Kör Ali and his friend made some people wear turbans on their fez, got armed, and went to the palace. When the Minister of Public Security tried to stop them, Kör Ali shouted that he was appointed by God to put the Seriat into practice again. İsmail Hakkı added that they did not want the Assembly; they

only wanted the Şeriat and the Shepherd.¹⁸

During their trial, when the magistrate asked Kör Ali if shouting against the government did not mean to rebel, he rejected the crime ascribed him, saying that in a liberal period everybody had the right to utter their thoughts (İkdam, October 27, 1908). He went on saying that the Şeriat was not in force at the present time; the bars were kept open, women removed the veil, adding that he wrote the Kelam-ı Kadim on the flag for the manifestation of the Şeriat. In his statement, İsmail Hakkı enumerated their demands as such: that bars should be closed, photographs and pictures should be removed; women of Islam (muhadderat-ı İslamiye) should be prevented from being indecent (açık saçık); theaters should be closed; and that the Şeriat must be brought into force. İbrahim Efendi, a theological student stated as an eyewitness that he had tried to stop the people from conforming to Kör Ali's advice which was aiming at intrigue against the Constitution, but he had failed.

Actually, Kör Ali incident was regarded a reactionary movement and was violently among the revolutionary circles. When similar events occurred in succession, the common belief was that a reactionary organization had been formed against the constitutional regime (İkdam, October 10, 1908).

Of these reactionary movements some deserve attention. For instance, a piece of news entitled "Mad People Are Wandering without Chain," ('Deliler Zincirsiz Geziyor'-İkdam, October 10, 1908), mentions a certain Ahmed Hamdi who provoked an incident during the Friday prayer at the Holy Fatih

Mosque. He apparently brought out a dagger saying that he is a volunteer of Islam who came there to die. When he was arrested a petition addressing to the Sultan and two letters written in Arabic were found in his pockets. Because he was wounded when he was beaten by the people, he was carried to the Hospital of the General Prison. The paper mentioned the deranged manners of Abdülkadir, as told by told by the attorney of the Imam of the Yeni Cami' of Scutari, at the beginning of the news. This event was later called "Karagöz". After making the community swear an oath to follow him, Abdülkadir raided theaters and Karagöz places and destroyed them.¹⁹

2. Beşiktaş Incident

" A widow living in Zincirlikuyu, Beşiktaş, named Bedriye, left home to marry Todori, a gardener. Police was warned by her father and when they were brought to the Station House, the people tried to lynched them. The woman was injured seriously, while the gardener died."

(İkdam, October 15,1908)

On the day after the Beşiktaş incident, it took place on the papers as a simple police event. Nevertheless, it divided public opinion into two parts and the pro-western Turks accepted it as the symbol of the reactionary spirit. The event showed that the basis for fraternity which was supposed to have been ensured by the reproclamation of the Constitution, still remained as an utopia. This event frightened the non-Muslims and foreigners, as well as the pro-west-

tern Turks, and from then on, a rumour about the probable attacks against these circles made headway especially in the papers of minorities.²⁰

When the legal investigation ended, of the culprits, it was decided that eight were to be judged according to the article 170 of the Criminal Code, and the rest in accordance with article 175. (The Culprits of the Beşiktaş Incident, İkdâm, October 26, 1908). The news goes on as the following:

"Who are the men who do not recognize the statute of Şer'iye (ahkâm-ı Şer'iye); raided a police station threshing the laws and humanity; committed murder during such a delicate period of our country? To understand what kind of persons they are, we write down their names as the following: Blind Halil, the Warden of Coppersmiths (Bakırcılar Kethüdası); Ali of Bolu; İsmail of Balıkesir; Halil, the butcher; Bekir Hoca, the porter; Mehmed, the butcher; Hüseyin, the weigher of firewood (odun çekicisi) are decided to be judged according to the 170. article. The others who will be judged in accordance with article 175. are Tefvik, Ali, Şahin, Hamid, Mehmed, Osman the sergeant."

1. The 'Legal Strike' of the Rank and File of the Army

On the whole part, the reorganizations in the army mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, irritated most of the soldiers who belonged to the traditional strata. They were aware of their discreditation, and complained about the restrictions on performing their religious duties. Under these circumstances, the gathering of the of piling arms

of the rank and file of the Infantry Battalion in Taşkışla, was naturally interpreted as a rebellion, in contrast to the ancien regime in which these sort of acts were regarded as almost legal. On October 19, 1908, The Third Light Cavalry Battalion of Salonica came Istanbul and settled in Taşkışla; in return, the Infantry Battalion was decided to be sent to Jidda. Some of the soldiers of the Infantry Battalion protested the decision demanding their discharge from the army (October 31, 1908).²¹ They did not listen to advice and resorted to arms against the Salonica Battalion. Their demonstration was damped down after murdering some soldiers among them. This violent treatment against the Taşkışla Battalion is an explicit proof of the Young Turks' attitude about the ideal disciplinary system in the army. A similar event stemming from the replacement of the battalions, occurred on April 6, 1909. The Albanian Battalion of the Yıldız Palace was sent to Salonica by train, while the Arab Battalion of the same palace was sent to Syria by ship. Albanian soldiers protested the situation by firing into air when the train was leaving.

Although they both belonged to the traditional strata, the difference between the alaylı officers and the rank and file of the army becomes more visible here. The dismissed officers organized a meeting at Fevziye Coffee House in Şehzadebaşı to protest the government (March 31, 1909). The petition addressing the Ministry of Education which was written by the theological students (Ulûm-u Aliye-i Diniye) must be mentioned, too. They stated that if a reorganization of the

curriculum was not held , they would not enter classes (November 12, 1908). The students remained faithful to the framework of the Constitution and conformed to the rules of the regime, using the modern media to utter their desirata. However, among the theological students, some preferred the traditional way of exposing their complaints. For example, the students of medreses gathered in Bayezid Mosque, and demanded that the examination which they had to take for exemption from military service should be postponed on February 27, 1909;

The above-mentioned events indicate a significant dichotomy within the traditional strata, and in line with the differentiation proposed at the beginning of the chapter.

4. Attacks Against Women

One of the most important changes which occurred in the Constitutional period appeared in the status of women. They simply began to participate in social life for the first time. By giving speeches to crowds, writing articles in papers and magazines, going to theater shows, forming various organization, women gradually left their traditional position. The process was to continue throughout the Constitutional period, and reached its climax during the Republican Period. However, at the beginning, the transformation of the status of women was considered as an attack against the values of Islam by a certain group within the society. Infuriated with the developments, they talked

about the necessity of putting presumptuous women in their places in the name of the Şeriat. The changing position of women deserves attention, as an outstanding phenomenon indicating the stimula to the traditional strata to become opponents of the present regime.

"The overgarments (çarşaf) of some Islam women who went to the Holy mosques to listen to the sermon and advice were cut by some unreasonable persons (münasebetsizler tarafından). Yesterday, at Holy Sultanahmed Mosque, the culprits of the same crime could not be arrested. Poor ladies went their home gloomily."

(İkdam, October 10, 1909)

" Today, two women and an officer who were all dressed tidily, got into a phaeton with a closed folding hood; they let their agha sit down nearby the driver, and moved to Gedikpaşa. On the way, they were attacked by a crowd of three hundred or more rough men. Consisting of paper boys, firemen, rank and file of the army, the mob ran after the carrier until they arrived in front of the Police Station near the Mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud. The mob shouted at the officer "You get into the same carrier with prostitutes," and pulled him down; they severely beat the agha; cut the harness of the horses; and tried to remove the veils of the women."

The practice of ~~st~~acking women became so common that even the editor-in-chief of İkdam, Ali Kemal Bey, who belonged to the opposition, had to write articles about the subject. For example, on October 19, 1908, in İkdam, his article is entitled "The more religiosity is praiseworthy, the more fanaticism is discredited" (Diyânet ne kadar memduh ise ta'ssub o kadar mezmumdur: Şemsettin Sâmî- Kamus-u Türki).

rebellions which will be summarized below are Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730, Kabakçı Rebellion of 1807, Kuleli Incident of 1859, and the suhte demonstrations of 1876.²

B. Patrona Halil Rebellion

The period of Ottoman history called the Tulip Age which coincided with the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730), exhibits the first steps taken in order to modernize the institutions and social life of the Empire. A most famous character of the period was Damad Ibrahim Paşa, the first Ottoman Grand Vezir to believe in the importance of knowing about Europe for the foreign affairs of the Empire. During his term of office, the first Ottoman ambassadors were sent to several capitals of Europe, not only for commercial or diplomatic relations but also to learn about European institutions and way of life in order to adapt them to the Ottoman Empire. The reports of Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmed Efendi, Nişli Mehmed Agha, Mustafa Efendi, etc. which they prepared during their missions to Europe, provided for the Ottoman ruling class a new outlook on life-style. Palaces modelled on European, especially French-style architecture on the coasts of Haliç and Boğaziçi were constructed; very big, ornamented fountains, gardens and parks were arranged luxuriously, and, of course, the tulip was the most favorable plant, so much so that a bulb could be misused as a favor to obtain official posts. In these palaces, the Sultan, the Grand Vezir and other members of the upper class enjoyed themselves in an unprecedented way. As a matter of fact,

historians claim that throughout the Ottoman history, there had never been seen such a period of squandering. The economic crisis which resulted in the devaluation of money decreased the standard of living, basically from absence of war booty. The campaigns now resorted to Iran which lasted long years and did not produce much profit, angered the people. The efforts of the Grand Vezir about the renewal of the army and the reforms in the administration caused the reaction of the Janissaries and lower-ranking bureaucrats. The duties which had been recently imposed, though originally meant to be only temporary, were now heavier than what the people could bear. Above all, it was the life-style of the ruling class that infuriated the common people, since it did not fit the Islamic-traditional ways. They also complained about the women immodestly dressing.

Finally, during the preparations for another campaign against Iran, a rebellion broke out (28 September 1730). Patrona Halil who was an Albanian belonging to the Janissaries, and his friend gathered in front of the Bayezid Mosque under the slogan of the Şeriat, claimed that the Sultan and the Grand Vezir had acted against the Şeriat by giving Muslim lands to infidels. Hundreds of civilians and soldiers joined them and walked towards the Ayasofya Square. Under the fear of death, Ahmed III dismissed the Grand Vezir and his associates and let them kill by the rebels. However, he also had to abdicate as a result of the ulama's demand, and leave the throne to his successor, Mahmud I during whose reign, the modernization process would

also be continued.

2. Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion

Selim III is known to be one of the most famous modernizers among the Ottoman Sultans. First, when he came to the throne (1789), Europe was being shaken with the French Revolution, a period which lasted several decades. The conditions of the world capitalistic system and the effects of the Ottoman integration to it can be seen to have forced him to take certain measures. Due to the decline of traditional institutions, the Sultan also had a board of twenty-two members, including one Swede and a Frenchman, convene to decide what measures were to be taken. The board divided into three fractions; one desired to turn back to the age of Suleyman the Magnificent, the other approved of the necessity for radical transformations, and the last had a more moderate approach. As a result of the Board advice, sending regular missions to European capitals, opening of some western-style higher educational institutions and the foundation of a new army called Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order) were realized.

The financial difficulties of the state and new shifts in the economy had resulted in the weakening of central authority vis-à-vis the feudal beys. Bonaparte's continuous attacks on Ottoman territories were followed by the British and Russian transgressions. The immediate external crisis which was supported by an continuous economic one, began to cause the discontent of the people. This time, another rebellion broke out to dethrone Selim III on 29 May

1807 which was led by Kabakçı Mustafa, a Janissary. Squandering was also a basic theme of the rebels, and the Sultan's inclination to poetry and music was regarded as a sign of weakness. New equipments for the new army had caused a great expense, and together with the new taxes and the recent devaluation of money, had again made the people angry. Another familiar theme was the over-westernized and secular attitudes of the ruling class, which disgusted the ulama. Uniting on the Büyükdere Pasture, rebellious Janissaries went to Istanbul and as a well-known sign of mutiny they "overturned the traditional kettle".³ Selim accepted all their demands and avoided taking any action against the Janissaries.

3. Kuleli Incident of 1859

Although it was called an incident, the Kuleli event did not corresponded to a physical rebellion or an incident as such. It was no more than an effort of a secretly founded society whose name is not even correctly known today. According to the minutes of the court, which later tried the rebels, they tried to depose Abdulmecid (1839-1861) and to destroy the Tanzimat order by the help of Abdulaziz, the heir to the throne. The members consisted of a variety of people, several high-ranking officials, medrese students, intellectuals, a sheikh, a mufti, and a hodja. There is no common opinion about what their ideology was; some authors

claim that they opposed the over-westernization of the Palace circles, and wanted to reaffirm the principles of Se-riat against the despotism of the Sultan. On the other hand, other authors think the Kuleli incident was the first example of a revolt to set up a constitutional regime. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that the economic crisis which resulted from the foreign debts, popularly criticized as having been spent to build palaces, the Ottoman meekness against Russia, administrative inefficiency, and the rights given to the minorities by the Islahat Fermanı (1856), all irritated the members of this society. As a result, they seemed to have founded it to bring about a constitutional order based on the Şeriat by the help of the heir to the throne who shared their ideas.

4. Demonstrations of Medrese Students in 1876

While the Tanzimat order was weakening in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Islamic currents continued to spread among those who opposed the establishment. Deprived of their power, the ulama opposed the secularization process after the administrative and judicial reforms which followed the Crimean War. Thus, when the state weakened, the ulama united vast masses around the idea that it was the Tanzimat and its secularism which caused all of the present day abuses. They also complained about the privileges of the foreigners, the equality recognized to the minorities, and the excessive European influence on the state institutions. Some Young Ottomans shared these opinions, too.

As a matter of fact, the impact of Jemaleddin al-Afgani on the Islamic current was of great importance. He was invited to Istanbul in 1870 by Ali Paşa, and participated in several admonitions in Istanbul mosques. Just about that time, pan-Islamicism came into existence as a political and social movement, as a result of the strengthening of Islam, some measures were officially taken against foreigners, and secularist tendencies. For the first time since the period of Selim III, people attacked foreigners on the streets. Some Ottomans even changed their clothes to follow the older traditions. In the mean time, the external crisis which emerged from Balkans (Bosnia-Herzegovina) strengthened the hatred against the "infidels" among the people. In 1876, when the events intensified, a disorder broke out in the city. Muslim merchants began to sell guns to everyone who had money and Christians began to close their shops and ran away. On May 8, the students of the medrese (suhtes) left their schools and participated in the meeting organized in several mosques and quarters of the city, blaming the meekness of the government against European pressures in spite of the Muslim massacre in the Balkans. The suhtes succeeded in their desires when the Chief Mufti and the Grand Vezir were replaced with ones they wanted.

B. EPILOGUE

The similarities between the above-mentioned incidents will be examined in order to conceptualize a pattern of traditional Ottoman rebellions. At first glance, their location was always Istanbul; in other words, the rebellions usually occurred in the capital city. Second, it was an alliance of Janissaries, esnaf (tradesmen), the ulama, and the lower class city population. Janissaries took action against the government because they were badly-paid, or, they were forbidden to practice another side occupation as an esnaf. The second component of the rebellion was the esnaf because they had to pay high and extra taxes to contribute to the campaigns and the like. The lower group ulama and suhtes were another component of the Ottoman rebellions who expressed discontent about westernization and secularization, a process which increasingly excluded them from the center of power. A rebellion usually began with the complaints of the Janissaries about the incapacity of government. In this phase, if there was no economic crisis, the Janissaries will remain by themselves and could not attract the other components. Shopkeepers inevitably followed them in other cases. Although esnaf were part of the economic and commercial life of the city, they always had an ideological identification with the Janissary Military order. Then, the ulama and the medrese students joined the rebellion, which legitimized the movement in turn. Another basic character of these rebellions is that they did not demand radical transformations,

but usually demanded only minor changes.⁴ None of these rebellions really opposed the system. Furthermore, the rebels did not correspond to a certain class, that is, they were not a distinct class movement.

Among the complaints of the rebels, some common themes appeared. One of these is the necessity of putting women to their places (haddini bildirmek) meaning those who overstepped the acceptable "limits". Another is the "squandering" attitudes of the upper class and the Sultan. Over-westernization and all its implications also play an important part in these rebellions.

Rebels made the use of the Şeriat to legitimize their action. Since Islam makes the community of believers responsible for the continuation of Islamic traditions and principles on an individual basis, the Koran's permission of the right to resistance against an oppressive ruler (the principle of hurûc, that is, rebellion) gave legitimacy to the rebels.

The hisba, actually a non-Koranic term, seems to be another customary control mechanism which had a function during these rebellions. Used to enforce the correct practice of the Şeriat, the hisba means "to promote good and forbid evil".⁵ The oft-repeated themes used during these rebellions, such as 'over-westernization', 'unsuitable attitudes of women'; and the 'digressions from the Islamic way of life', emerge from this traditional principle of hisba. Thus, a rebellion meant the fulfillment of the Şeriat.

It is the thesis of the present work that the modernization process compelled the peripherized strata who consisted of the ulama and other traditional groups of society to develop an Islamic attitude which was different from the previous Islamic traditions, for it emerged from their need to defend their values. Before the dichotomy which stemmed from westernization between the upper and lower classes, the central authorities had shared a common ideology with the general public. Now, uniting around Islam in self defense, the traditional sections of society tried to hold on to their traditional way of life.

In the case of the 31st March Incident, nothing seems to have changed. Although it was started by the constitutional opposition, the mutiny became like a scene from the Janissary rebellions of the preceding centuries. What continued to be an anachronism in 1909, can be said to have been the mentality which pointed out to the obligation to start action for the sake of some social (traditional-Islamic) values in order "to promote good and forbid evil." Yet, the new usages of Islam by the traditional strata indicates that the event portrayed a contemporariness which was to form a discourse used by political oppositions in the future.

FOOTNOTES

I. INTRODUCTION

- (1) For a review of the literature on the Incident of the 31st March, Bibliography-A which also covers the Young Turk revolution and the following years, has been added at the end of the study.
- (2) The Unionist thesis: Ecvet Güresin, 31 Mart İsyanı (İstanbul,1969); Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Türk İnkılabı Tarihi (Ankara, 1940-1957), FFI, p.295(v.d.) ; Celal Bayar, Ben de Yazdım (İstanbul,1965-1966), vols.I-II, pp.126-214, 330-413.
- (3) "Journal" refers to secret, private reports sent to the Sultan in order to defounce 'trations', report of an informer.
- (4) The Hamidian thesis: Mehmed Murad, Tatlı Emeller, Acı Hakikatler (İstanbul,1330)pp.62-81; İsmail Hami Danişmend, İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi (İstanbul,1955), v.IV, pp.370-373; Musatafa Baydar, 31 Mart Vak'ası (İstanbul,1955) passim; Sadık Albayrak, Türkiye'de Din Kavgası (İstanbul,1975), pp.54-71.
- (5) Cevat Rifat Atilhan, Taşkısla'da 31 Mart Faciası, (n.p.,1959), passim.
- (6) Doğan Avcıoğlu, 31 Mart'ta İngiliz Parmağı(Ankara, 1969), passim.

(7) See, Edwin Pears, "The Crisis in Turkey," Contemporary Review, v.XCV (May,1909), pp.511-26; Pears, "Turkey: The Developments and Forecasts," Contemporary Review, v.XCVI (June,1909), pp.707-25; Time collections; etc.

(8) Sina Akşin, 31 Mart Olayı (Istanbul,1972), passim; Mevlanzade Rifat, Inkılâb-ı Osmaniden Bir Yaprak yahut 31 1325 Kıyamı (Kahire,1329), passim; David Farhi, "The Seriat as a Political Slogan- or the 'Incident of the 31st March,'" Middle Eastern Studies, v.7, pp.275-300; Çetin Yetkin, Türk Halk Hareketleri ve Devrimler (Istanbul,1984), 3rd ed., pp.359-63.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE 31st MARCH MUTINY

(1) Sina Akşin (1972), ibid., pp.60-61, from McCullagh, The Fall of Abdulhamid, pp.81-88, quoting the explanation of Mahmud Muhtar Paşa to Yeni Asır.

(2) David Farhi, ibid., p.276.

(3) Hüseyin Cahid notes the demands of the soldiers and the ulama as the following:

" Şeriatin tatbıkı; Sadıazamın, Harbiye Nazırlarının, Hassa Kumandanı Mahmud Muhtar Paşa'nın, II.Fırka Kumandanı Cevat Paşa'nın, Taşkışla Kumandanı Esat Bey'in azılleri; Ahmed Rıza Bey'in riyasetten istifası; ve ba-husus, askerın hareketti, vakı'asından dolayı hiçbir neferin kılına dokunulmaması."

Tanin, the Salonica issue.

- (4) Mustafa Turan, Taşkıyla'da 31 Mart Faciası (İstanbul,1964), pp.47-56; Volkan, 1 Nisan 1325, "Dünkü Hal" (see Appendix-C at the end.)
- (5) Farhi, ibid., pp.278-78.
- (6) Nigehban-ı Hürriyet: From the point of view that it was the Macedonian troops which forced the Sultan to proclaim the Constitution. Thus, they were called the protector of the Consitution. Some authors like Mehmed Murad, C.R. Atilhan, etc., says that it was such a discrimination between the troops that caused the reaction of other soldiers. Mehmed Murad, ibid., p.69; C.R.Atilhan, ibid., p.126.
- (7) Danişmend, 31 Mart Vak'ası (İstanbul,1961), p.23.
- (8) Akşin(1972), ibid., p.70.
- (9) Babanzade İsmail Hakkı, Tanin (the Salonica issue), 3 April 1325.
- (10) Of them Hüseyin Cahid writes in his memoirs about the Second Constitutional Era (in Fikir Hareketleri), how he applied for refuge in the Russian Embassy and then escaped to Salonica (i.105,106, 107, 108; pp.21-22, 37-38, 53-54.).
- (11) For an estimate of the ulama's peripherization from the center, see the chapter entitled "The Traditional Strata Opposition," and the conclusion of the present study.
- The declaration of the Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye on Beyan-ül-Hak:

" Esselamünaleyküm,

Mebusan-ı kiramdan bazılarının emniyet-i hayati-lerince endişeye düşerek istifa etmek niyetinde buldukları ve ahalimizce istibdad n avdeti ihtimalinden korkulmağa başladığı hakkında bazı hissiyat ve istila'at hasıl olduğu anlaşıldığından meşveret ve meşrutiyetin şer'-i şerif-i ahmedi ahkâmına kat'-iyen muvafık olduğunda zerre kadar terddüdü olmayan ve devr-i istibdadda kütüb-ü İslamiyemizin külhan-larda yakıldığını henüz unutmayan Cemiyet-i İlmi-ye-i İslamiye'nin ahkâm-ı şer'iyeye hâdim olacak Meclis-i Mebusanımızla meşrutiyet-i meşru'amızın muhafazası uğrunda bütün efradile son dereceye kadar sarf-ı mesa'ie azmetmiş olduğu ve meşrutiyetin muhafazası için terk-i hayat etmeği bir fari-za-i diniye bildiği cihetle bugüne kadar istifa edenler veya firara tasaddi etmek suretile müsta-fi addolunacaklardan ma'ada müslim ve gayr-i müslim mebusan-ı kirama ulema ve bütün milletin itimadı ber-kemal olup, badema istifaya teşebbüs edenler hüin-i vatan addedilecekleri cihetle cüm-lenin kemal-i hakkaniyet ve adalet ve istikamet dairesinde if-yı vazifeye müdavemetleri ve tev-fikat-ı rabbaniyeye mazhariyetleri hususunda kemal-i hulus-ü kalb ile dergâh-ı icabeti rabb-ı mütala'a ref'i nida-yı tazarru edilmekte olduğu ve ruhaniyet-i Muhammediyeye müsteniden bütün millet zahiriniz bulunduğu arz ve beyan olunur. Şanlı asker evladlarımızdan rica şudur ki sükunet ve itaatlerini muhafaza ederek ulemayı şer-aitin nasihatleriyle amel olsunlar ki Cenab-ı hak da vatanımıza selamet ve dünya ve ahiretde cümle-mize saadet buyursun Amin."

(İkdam, 3 Nisan 1325)

(12) The 'Operation Army' consisted of the troops of the Salonica Army as well as volunteers including Bulgarians,

Rums, Jews, and other minorities who, later, it is said, would cause the disintegration of the Empire by their independence movements.

(13) There appeared a declaration in the İkdam warning women on April 3, 1325:

" Çarşılara bil-mecburiye çıkacak olan muhadderat-ı İslamiyenin adâb-ı Şeriat dairesinde hareket etmeleri derkâr olup, aksi halde bulunmamaları muhadderat-ı müsliminden rica olunuyor."

(14) An example of these telegrams is the following:

" Meşrutiyete layık surette teşekkül etmeyen ve maksad-ı mel'anetkâranede in'ikad ettirilen kabine hey'eti şimdi sukut etdirilmeli ve eski kabine yerine gelmeli. Hey'et-i merkezîyemiz olan İttihat ve Terakkî cemiyetininin protestosu wechile mütecasir ve caniler paça-ı kanuna çarptırılmalı. Hali hazır kabineye külliyen itimadımız yokdur. Anasır-ı muhtelif-i milletle İstanbul üzerine yürüme-yi ahd-i misak etmişizdir."

Umum memurin-i hükümet namına
Vali Ali Rıza, Vali muavini Todori,
Defterdar Fazıl, Naib Nasreddin,
Müddeiumumî Sadeddin, Mektubi-i Vilayet Hakkı, umum asker namına Kumandan Mustafa, umum ahali-i Museviye namına Bohoraki, umum ahali-i hristaniye namına Metropolit Yerosimos, Yanya İsti'naf Reisi hakkı, Salahaddin.

(15) Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., i.112, p.118.

(16) The declaration of Martial Law is the following:

İdare-i Örfiyye Beyannamesi:

Mesrutiyet-i meşru'a idaremizin mükemmelen te'şhid ve takviyesi ile beraber âtiyen ednay-ı mertebe duçar-ı za'af ve tezlezül olması ve vatan-ı mukaddesimizle mevcudiyet-i mulkiye-i Osmaniyemizin te'min-i selâmet ve bekası eşbabının istikmali zımnında, bu kere mübaşeret olunan hareket-i askeriye avn ve inayet-i halk ile rehin ve muvaffakiyet olmuş ve bunun netayic-i hasene ve hayriyyesinin iktitafı ve mesrutiyet-i mukaddesemizin metin bir surette te'sis ve takviyesi fevkalâde haiz-i ehemmiyet olan payitaht-ı asayişin istihsal ve idamesine men'ut bulunmuş olduğundan bugünden itibaren İstanbul ve bilâd-ı selase ile İzmid ve Çatalca sancaklarında ve Adalar ve Beykoz ve Kartal ve Gebze kazalarında idare-i örfiyye ilân ve tatbikine karar verildiği ve binaenaleyh bu sırada muhal-i asayiş en efak bir harekt idare-i örfiyyece pek ağır mücazata müstelzim olacağından herkesin ona göre kemal-i basiret ve intibah üzere hareket eylemesi lüzumu ilân olunur.

Üçüncü Ordu ve Hareket Ordusu
Kumandanı

Birinci Ferik

Mahmud Şevket

(17) The text of the fetwa:

*İmam-ül-müslimin olan Zeyd bazı mesail-i mühimme-i ser'iyeyi kütüb-ü şer'iyeden tayy-u ihraç ve kütüb-ü mezkûreyi men'-ü-hark-u ihrak ve Beyt-ül-mal'de tebzir-i israf ile müsevveg-i şer'i hilâfında tasarruf ve bilâsebeb-i şer'î katl-ü-habs ve tağrib-i raiyye

ve sair gûne mezalimi i'tiyad eyledikten sonra salâha rücu' etmek üzere ahd-ü-kasem etmişken yemininde hânis olarak ahvâlve umur-u müsli-mini bi-l-küllîye muhtel kılacak fitne-i azime ihdâsında ısrar ve mukatele-ikaa etmekle mene'a-i müslimin Zeyd-i mezburun tagallübünü izale ettiklerinde bilâd-ı İslamiyenin cevab-ı kesiresinden mezburu mahlu' tanıdıklarına dair ahbar-ı mütevaliye vürud edib mezburun bekâsında zarar ve muhakkak ve zevalinde salâh melhuz olmağın Zeyd-i mezburu İmamet ve Saltanattan feragat teklif etmek veya hal' etmek suretlerinden hangisi erbab-ı hall-ü-akd ve evliya-yı umur tarafından ercah görürse icrası vacib olur mu?

El-cevab: Olur.

Ketebehu-l-fakîr Es-Seyyid
Mehmed Zığaüddin

(18) The official report which was presented to the government by the Martial court is cited in Avcioğlu's work (ibid., in Appendix) in simplified language.

III. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

(1) This chapter will be mainly based on the major works listed in the Bibliography about the Young Turks, not necessarily given as a reference in the text are all showed in the bibliographies at the end of the study.

(2) E.E.Ramsaur, The Young Turks (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1957), pp.47-51; Sina Akşin, Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki (Istanbul, 1980), pp.31-34.

(3) Ramsaur, ibid., pp.100-108; Akşin(1980), ibid.,

pp.57-62.

- (4) Akşin(1980), ibid., p.45.
- (5) Ramsaur, ibid., p.117; Akşin(1980), ibid., p.46.
- (6) Ramsaur, ibid.,p.130.
- (7) Şerif Mardin, "Yenileşme Dinamiğinin Temelleri ve Atatürk," in Çağdaş Düşüncenin Işığında Atatürk (Istanbul, 1983), pp.32-36.
- (8) Y.H.Bayur, ibid., v.I, pp.434-36. Abdulhamid is said to have kept the Navy "imprisoned" between the two bridges on the Golden Horn.
- (9) Bayur, ibid., p.225; Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London, Oxford, New York, 1968), p.211.
- (10) Şerif Mardin, Jön Türklerin Siyasî Fikirleri (Istanbul,1983), 2nd.ed., p.24.
- (11) Mardin(1983), ibid., pp.56-59; about the social origins of the Young Turks.
- (12) Prince Sabahaddin's a few unsuccessful coup d'tat attempts can be regarded as interesting exceptions to the general indolence of the Parisian groups.
- (13) Ramsaur, ibid., pp.15-16; Hüseyin Cahid, "Meşrutiyet Hatıralarım," Fikir Hareketleri, i.71, p.294.
- (14) During an interview published in Les Temps (August 20,1908), from the Causes of the World Unrest, p.145.

- (15) Ramsaur, ibid., p.110-14.
- (16) The revolution was planned for the autumn of 1908, instead of July. Akşin(1980), ibid., p.69.
- (17) The victims were Şemsi Paşa, Mustafa Efendi, the İman of the troops, Hüsnü Bey the Governor, etc.
- (18) The royal edict is the following (Düstur, Tertib-i Sani, v.I, pp.1-2) :

Numara 1: Meclis-i Mebusanın ictima'a da'vet olunması hakkında İrade-i Seniye.

24 Cemaziyelahir 1326 / 10 Temmuz 1324

Meclis-i Mahsus-u Vükelâ Mazbatası:

Manastır, Kosova ve Selanik vilayetleri ahal-i umumiyesinin ve Üçüncü Ordu-yu Hümayun'un bazı mıntıkalarında bulunan asakir-i şahanenin efrad ve zabitanının şu son günlerde ittihaz ettikleri harekât-ı serkeşane mahiyatına dair vilayat ve menatik-ı mezkure velat kumandanlarından ve mufettiş-i umumilikten 8,9 ve 10 Temmuz sene 1324 tarihlerinde varid olan altmış yedi aded telgraflarla muharrerat ber-mantuk irade-i seniye-i cenab-i hilafetpenahi miyané-i bendegânenizde yegân yegân mütala'a olundu. Evrak-ı varideye nazaran ekser mahallerde bulunan ahalinin kıyamı ve mevakı'-i kegirede zabitan ve efrad-ı askeriyenin onlara iştirakiyle bazı askerî depolarının kapılarını şikest ederek bir çok esliha ve cebhane ve topları sandıklarından meballig-i mevcude ahz ve gasb ve kendilerine muhalefet edenleri esed-i ukubat ve itlaf ile tehdid ve nihayet toplar endahtıyla ve nutuklar iradiyle ilan-ı hürriyet sadedinde bir takım nümayislerde buldukları ve dün gece Manastır'da bazı kumandanların ve hattâ Müşir Osman Paşa'nın ikamet ettikle-

ri mevaki'i abluka ederek Osman Paşa'yı ahz-ü tev-kıf eyledikleri işbu harekât-ı bagıyanenin Kanun-u Esasinin meriyet-i ahkâmiyle meclis-i mebusanın ictima'a da'vet ettirilmesi esasına müstenid ol-
duğu ve bu babda her gûna nesayihi ısga etmeyip gittikçe tevsi-i daire-i igtışaş edecekleri anla-
şılmış ve gerçi kanun-u mezkûr mer'i olup meclis-i mezkurun bir müddeti muvakkate için ta'tili ilca'-
at-ı haliye ve mukteziyat-ı memleketden olmasıyle bir müddetdenberi da'vet ve küşad olunmamış ise de
beyn-el-ahali sefk-i kimanın vuku'unu men' etmek
ve düvel-i ecnebiyenin müdahalâtına sebebiyet
verilmemek vacibat-ı umurdan bulunduğundan mezkûr
meclisin küşadı zarurî olmağla keyfiyetin miyane-i
ubeydanemizde bi-t-tezekkür şerefmend-i telakkısı
olduğunuz irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilâfet-pena-
hî icab-ı âlisinden olup filvaki memleketin istik-
rar-ı asâyişi noktasına ma'tuf olan mütaleât-ı
seniyye-i hazret-i sehriyarî mahzı isabet bulun-
duğundan intihap hakkında zaten mevcut olan usule
tevfikan sıfât-ı lazimeyi haiz azanın intihabiyle
peyderpey iş'arı hususunun ta'mimen vilayat-ı şa-
hane ve elviye-i gayr-i mülhakaya tebliği ve bu
kararın eşhas-ı merkumeye tefhimi ile cemiyetle-
rinin dağıtılması tezekkür ve tensip kılınmış ve
ol-babda kaleme alınan telgrafname sureti leffen
arz-u takdim olunmuş olmağla emr-ü ferman-ı hüma-
yun-u hâzret-i hilafetpenahî her ne vechile şeref-
sudur buyurulur ise isabet anda olmağla ve katıbe-i
ahvalde emr-ü-ferman hazret-i veliyy-ül-emir efen-
dimizindir.

24 Cemaziyelahir 1326 10 Temmuz 1324

İrade-i Seniyye-i Hazret-i Padişahîvi mübellig

Meclis-i vükelânın manzur-ı âli buyurulan
işbu mazbatası üzerine mucibince irade-i seniyye-i
cenab-ı hilafetpenahi şerefsudur buyurulmuş olmağla

ol-babda emr-ü-ferman hazret-i veliyy-ül-emrindi.

24 Cemaziyelahir 1326/10 Temmuz1324

(19) Hüseyin Cahid describes well the common hesitation and astonishment in his memiors abut the second constitutional period, ibid., i.71-72, pp.292-94, 309-310.

(20) Huséyin Cahid, ibid.,l.72, p.310; Halide Edib, The Memoirs of Halide Edib, (London,n.d.), p.256; Hasan Amca, Doğmayan Hürriyet (İstanbul,1958), p.10.

(21) Hüseyin Cahid decribes the city as the following:

"İstanbul sahibsiz, hâli bir dağbaşı vaziyeti arz ediyordu. Hükûmeti temsil eden makamlar ortadan kaybolmuştu. Dünden beri sansür kendini göstermiyordu. Zabıta yoktu. Hükûmet susuyordu. Hâlâ bir hâkûmet, bir Padişah var mıydı? Belli değil. Elinden tutulup kalabalık arasında uslu uslu yürütülen çocuklar gibi idare edilmeye alışmış olan İstanbul şimâi lalası, muhafızsız, bekçisiz, sopa korkusu olmadan, kulağı çekileceğini düşünmeden, yalnız basına sokaklarda koşuyordu. Çekinecek bir şey var mıydı acaba? Mechul!.. Abdulhamid neden Meşrutiyeti iade ediyordu? Mechul!. Hangi kuvvet o müstebid padişahı mağlab etmişti? Mechul!. Ne bir beyanname, ne bir tebliğat; hiç, hiçbir şey. Ortada ne hükûmet, ne teşkilât ne cemiyet. Başsız kalan koca şehrin her tarafında bir baş peyda oluyordu, ve her başdan hedefsiz, gavesiz, hattâ şursuz bir sürü lâf çıkıyordu."

(...) "İstanbul'a artık ilk hareket işareti verilmişti. Kabaran halk dalgası, karşısında hiçbir mukavemet ve kuvvet görmekten bütün bütün çöşmüştü; nefse bir itimad gelmişti. İlk dakika-

larda Beşiktaş Muhafızının bir öksürüğü belki bir soğuk duş te'siriyle herkesi sindirirdi. Fakat şimdi İstanbul'da sanki esrarlı, her şeye hakim bir kuvvetin hakimiyeti var gibi. Her taraftan nümayiş akınları fışkırdı. Şehrin muhtelif taraflarında kimbilir kimlerin hazırladığı alaylar, takım takım, askerî bir intizamla Babıali Caddesine doğru her gün, günün her saatinde akıp duruyordu. Babıali artık geçilmez bir hale gelmişti. Gazeteler eski tarz baskı makineleriyle halkın talebini karşılayamıyorlardı. Gündüzleri bile geç vakte kadar gazete basılıyordu. Türk bayraklarına sarılmış, koca bir bayrak sırığı kucaklamış nümayişçiler, hatipler, fedakârlar, vatanperverler, ihtilalciler peyda olmuştu.

(...) Tebrikler, kardeşlikler, saadetler. Sonra yazınız, şunu da yazınız sözleri. Rica mı, hatırlatmak mı, emir mi? Belli değil. Bir halk mantığı, bir kalabalık iradesi."

(ibid., i.74-75, pp.343, 357.

(22) Halide Edib, ibid., p.258.

(23) Edwin Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople: Recollections, 1873-1915 (London, 1916), p.238.

(24) Pears, ibid., p.237.

The imperial edict which was read by Faik Paşa to the crowd who gathered in front of the Yıldız Palace in order to show their gratitude to the Sultan, is the following:

"Efendiler, hocalar, beyler, ağalar!

Şevketmeab efendimiz hazretlerinin cümlenize selamını tebliğe me'mur buyurdum. İste selam-ı

şâhâneyi cümledenize tebliğ ediyorum. Efendimiz bu hissiyatınızdan dolayı fevkâlâde memnun ve müteşekkîr oldular. Güzel güzel geçinin, işinizle meşgul olunuz.

(Sabah, 13 Temmuz 1324)

(25) - For instance, there appeared, on several occasions, swindlers collecting contributions disguising themselves as the members of the C.U.P., and/or misusing the name of the Committee.

(26) Halide Edib, ibid., p.260.

(27) This was the first event that caused the notoriety of the Constitutional Regime, for some of these prisoners did commit offences as soon as they left prisons.

(28) The text of the declarations are cited below:

Artık herkes işiyle meşgul olsun. (Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti) bütün vatan kardelerini, Allah'a hamd-ü-senalar olsun ittihad ve muhabbet bayrağı altında topladı. Herkesi birbirine sevdirdi: El birliğiyle, yürek birliğiyle vatanı zincirlerinden kurtardı. Artık herkes hür, herkes mes'ut ve mesrurdur. Fakat bunun için, cümledenize cemiyetin bir nasihati, bir ihtarı vardır: Zerre kadar namusdan, doğruluktan, itidalden ayrılmayınız. Heyecanlı nümayişler, bilhessa heyecanlı ve nâ-ma'kûl nümayişler maksadı yalnız bulandırır. Kimse başkasının malına, ırzına, canına ta'arruz etmesin. Herkes birbirine hürmet ve sahabet göstereyin. Bilhessa memleketimizde yaşayan ecnebî dostlarımızın malı, canı, ırzı kat'iyen bizim kefalet ve emniyetimiz altında bulunmalıdır. Namus, muhabbet ve intizam altında yalnız vatanın selâmetine çalışmakla tarihimizde

tarihî âlemde pâk, şanlı ve ebedî bir nam bırakalım. Çalışmak için cemiyetin vesait-i mahsusa ile millete tebliğ edeceği beyanttan kıl kadar ayrılmayınız.

Cemiyetin ihtarât ve ikazâtı hilâfında hareket edecek olanların sebebiyet verecekleri nâ-sezâ hallerden dolayı pek büyük mes'uliyet yüklenmiş olacaklarını bilelim. Bilelim ki, Osmanlılık şânını muhafaza etmek nâmus ve hamiyetden ayrılmamakla olur. Vatan bizden bunu istiyor.

Osmanlı
Terakkî ve İttihat Cemiyeti

(29) Feroz Ahmad, İttihat ve Terakkî (Istanbul, 1984), pp.40-46; Akşin(1980), ibid., pp.84-85. This was the case until 1913, the year in which they raided the Sublime Porte and came to direct power.

(30) Hüseyin Cahid tells the situation in his memoirs as the following:

"Memlekette ayrı ayrı birleşmemiş kuvvetler vardı: Padişah, resmî hükümet, Cemiyet. Bunlar tek bir makinenin muayyen çarkları halinde muntazam işlemiyorlardı. Vidaları eksik, birleşmemiş parçalar idiler. Makine boşa dönüyor ve beri tarafda, Meclis-i Mebusan çene çalıp duruyordu."

(Ibid., i.97, p.294.)

(31) Feroz Ahmad, ibid., pp.50-54.

(32) Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., i.100-101, pp.342-43, 357; Akşin(1980), ibid., pp.109-15.

(33) Later he was accused of reaction and was sent to exile in the October of 1908.

(34) There was an insistent silence about the leader of the opposition party, leaving the Presidency open; an act which seems curious.

(35) Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler (İstanbul, 1984), v.I, p.143.

(36) For Hüseyin Cahid, the opposition party consisted of those:

"Bu gayr-ı mêmnuolar kimlerden terekküb ediyordu? İçlerinde istibdad rejiminiâ yıkılmasıyle menfaatlerinden mahrum kalanlardan ve eski hafiyelerden başlayarak güya hürriyet mücadelesi için oraya kaçıp da oradaki karaktersizliklerinden dolayı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ile araları açılanlar, yahud başka türlü bir anlaşmazlık yüzünden cemiyete darılanlar, cemiyetden yüz bulamamış maceracılar, Türklüğe düşman Arap ve Arnavutlardan bazı serseriler bu grup arasında ekseriyeti teşkil ediyordu. (...) Türk düşmanlarının emellerine hizmet eder görünen ve Türk düşmanı unsurlarla beraber yürüyen bu Türkler bizim gözümüzde en fena bir vatan düşmanı, bir vatan haini mevka'inde kalıyorlardı. Siyasî mücadele kızıştıkça, Türklük ve tek bir vatan idealine bağlı kalan İttihat ve Terakki azaları kalbinde Ahrar Fırkası mensublarına karşı nefret ve emniyetsizlik derinleşiyor, acılaşıyor; keskin bir kin halini alıyordu."

(Ibid., i.88, 95, pp.151, 262.)

"Bütün nefret ettiği, yıkmak istediği eski rejim, istibdad ve ahlâksızlık rejimi, şimdi si-

yasî bir fırka siması altında karşısına dikilmeğe ve kendisini ezmeğe kalkıyordu. Binaenaleyh, karşıda siyasî bir fırka yoktu, bir düşman vardı. Bunların arasında Türk vatanını parçalamak isteyen başka unsurlar da görülünce artık vatan haini bir teşekkülle karşılaşmış olmak hissi bütün bütün kuvvet buluyordu."

(Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., i.99, p.327.)

(37) Hüseyin Cahid's article in Tanin is a good example:

"Osmanlıların sükun içinde çalışmağa muhtac oldukları şu sırada, âdi, murdar bir hırsla Bosna-Hersek üzerine saldıran Avusturya'nın çürük metallerini almayınız!

Osmanlıların umum medenî devletlerden, medenî milletlerden hüsn-ü niyet, teşvik ve teşci' bekledikleri bir sırada hubb-u nefis-i millete hainane bir darbe vuran Avusturya'nın kalb metallerini almayınız!

Osmanlılar hükûmet ve idarelerini adalet ve hakkaniyet esaslarına bina etmek için çalışırken dahilî bir kargaşalık, haricî bir harb çıkararak istibdadın iadesini te'min etmek fikriyle hakki, insaniyeti, ahdi ayıklar altına alan Avusturya'nın murdar metallerini almayınız!

Evet, Avusturya'dan ne geliyorsa: kumaş, esvab, çorap, mendil, fanile, hiçbirine bir Osmanlı parası vermeyiniz! Bugün Avusturya gösterdiği zebunküşlükten, namerdlikten medeniyetin vicdanı karşısında nasıl medhûl ve hakir ise, memleketimize doldurduğu renkleri kalp, kendileri çürük, dayanmaz, işe yaramaz metalleri da pazarlarımızda, dükkanlarımızda öyle muhakkar, zelil dursun!..

(Tanin, 27 Eylül 1324)

(38) A head gear in the shape of a kalpak, or, fur cap, which was named enveriye, inspired from the name of the revolutionary hero, Enver Bey. It is also interesting that the Young Turks soon realized that the kalpaks also were made in Austria.

IV. DAILY LIFE IN TRANSITION: IKDAM

(1) This chapter is mainly based on Ikdám collections, beginning from the first days of the revolution. The enthusiastic activities appeared during the following months, to celebrate the reinstatement of the Constitution and help the new regime become strong. Thereupon, the general excitement was directed towards the electoral activities, and, in general, the political area. Therefore, this chapter covers the first four months of Ikdám collections. However, on occasion, news from the Tanin paper will also appear.

(2) Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., i.82, p.53.

(3) "Besa" means 'oath' in Albanian language.

(4) It is noteworthy that "geyik" ('deer') is a popular theme within the Bektashi literature. It may be interesting to find out whether the Young Turks used the "geyik", in the Bektashi context as a religious symbol legitimizing their movement.

(5) Halide Edib, ibid., pp.260-70.

(6) See: "The Reaction Against Social Change" in the following chapter.

- (7) "During the first weeks of the revolution a large number of newspapers appeared, each putting forth a new idea at random and each fighting the ideas of another paper."
(Halide Edib, ibid., p.267.
- (8) Ahmed Emin Yalman, Gördüklerim Geçirdiklerim (Istanbul,1971), v.I, p.62.
- (9) Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., p.359.

V. TRADITIONAL STRATA OPPOSITION

- (1) The references of this chapter correspond to the Bibliography-B.
- (2) Mehmed Murad, ibid., pp.67-69.
- (3) This was a result of the devşirme system. According to the system, children were recruited from well-known Christian families in order to be educated as civil servants of the state through the Enderun, the palace school. They were taught Turkish and Islamic values and became kuls of the Sultan. On the other hand, Turkish boys entered the medreses to be educated in Islamic learning, Arabic and Persian. Thus, the system paradoxically made Christians become Turks, and Turks estranged to Turkish culture.
- (4) Şerif Mardin, The Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought (Princeton,1962), p.219.
- (5) Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to the Turkish Politics," Daedalus, v.102, pp.171-72.

- (6) In view of Abdulhamid's Islamicist policy, the fact may seem contradictory, though it confirms the dichotomy mentioned above, between the ulama.
- (7) "The Triumphant Soldiers of Mohammad", was a westernized army that was formed during the reign of Mahmud II. It was, to some extent, a continuation of the Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order) Army of Selim III that had been set up as part of an unsuccessful attempt at military reform.
- (8) The Hijaz Railroad was an example of the Sultan's interest in the welfare of the Arabic territories and the people who lived there.
- (9) Şerif Mardin(1962), ibid., passim.
- (10) Mardin.(1983), ibid., p.59.
- (11) Later he would be called Said-i Nursî who was the founder of Nurculuk.
- (12) David Farhi, ibid., p.283.
- (13) The first issue was published on November 10,1908.
- (14) "Camiyet her ne isterse yapar, biz böyle istedik, böyle yaptık (der)".
- (15) He means the defeat against Russia called the "93 Taksimi" when the Russian army came all the way to Ayastefanos, a suburb of Istanbul. Abdulhamid who had allowed the Constitution to be proclaimed in 1876, is said to have taken the opportunity to revert back to despotism after this defeat.
- (16) For these associations, see Tarık Zafer Tunaya, ibid., v.I.

- (17) David Farhi, ibid., p.282.
- (18) It meant that they wanted the return of the previous regime.
- (19) Tanin informs of another incident called the Çarşı Vak'ası given below:

Cemiyet ve meşrutiyet hakkında en can alıcı tahrikler ise din örtüsü altında yapılanlardı. İttihatçılar halk arasında dinsizlikle suçlanıyorlardı. Bütün bu hürriyetler, meclisi mebusanlar "gâvurluk" telakki ediliyordu. Halkın en kör, en azgın hislerini ayaklandırarak memleketi alküst etmek isteyenler artık işi bütün bütün açığa vuracak kadar cüretkâr davranmağa başlamışlardı.

Şubat'ın onbesinci Pazar günü, Kapalıçarşı açılır açılmaz hoca kılığında bir iki kişi, orta yere bir masa koyarak başına otururlar. İstibdadın fenalığından, hürriyetin faydasından bahseden ve meşrutiyet devrinde tanzim olunacak kanunlarla nizamların şer'i şerife uygun olmasını isteyen bir mahzar çıkarırlar. Gelene geçene bu kâğıtları imza ettirmeğe başlarlar. Ne olduğunu sonanlara "Şeriat istiyoruz!" derler. Dini bütün müslümanlar bu kâğıdın altına imzalarını atmaya büyük bir sevab bilirler. Halk birikir, Şeriat isteyen kâğıdın altı imza ile dolar. İş nihayet zabıta haber alır ve cemaati dağıdır.

Kör Ali vak'ası tekerrür ediyor demekti. Fakat daha üstadca bir tertib karşısında bulunuyorduk. Görünürde meşrutiyet aleyhinde bir şey yoktu.

Fakat yapılacak kanunların "şer'-i şerife" uygun olmasını istemek milletin kanun yapma hakkını kaldırmak demekti. Dünya işlerine din hakim olacak olduktan sonra teşri kuvveti olan meclisi mebusana ne glüzum kalırdı?

Böyle bir Meclis'te hıristiyan mebusların yeri ne olurdu? Bu mevkide "şeriat isteriz" diye bayrak açmak "meşrutiyet istemeyiz" demekden başka ma'na ifade etmezdi.

(Hüseyin Cahid, ibid., i.97-98, pp.295,310)

"İstanbul'da meşrutiyeti müteakıb teşekkül eden cemiyetler arasında bir de Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i İslamiye vardı. Çarşı içindeki "Şeriat isterizcileri" bu cemiyet müdafaaya kalktı.

Bu cemiyetin fikirlerini neşreden Beyan-ül-Hak gazetesinde verilen bir malumata göre, kanunlarımızın İslam fıkhından alınacağına dair Kanun-u Esasiye bir fıkra ilave haberi ri herkesde büyük bir memnuniyet uyandırmıştı. Bunun neticesi olarak, üç kişi bir teşekkürname tanzim etmeyi ve takriben 200 kişiye mühürllettikten sonra Meclis-i Mebusana takdim eylemeyi düşünmüşler. Hüsn-ü niyetden ibaret olan su teşebbüse bittabi "bütün müslümanlar" alkışlarla iştirak etmişler. Fakat ufak mikyasda olan çok teşebbüs iki gün zarfında birdenbire genişleyerek "şeriat isteriz" suretinde birbirlerinden haberdar olmaksızın ayrı ayrı mahzarlar tertib ve temhir edilmesine kalkışmayı intac etmiş.

Din ile oynamanın, dini siyasete karıştırmmanın nasıl ateşle oynamaktan farksız olduğuna bu da bür misal teşkil eder. Çarşı içinde şeriat isteriz diye ortaya çıkanlarla daha evvelki Kör Ali ile arkadaşlarının, daha sonraki 31 Martçılarla münasebetleri var mıydı, danışıklı dövüşük bir iş mi görüyorlardı?"

(20) An example of the severe criticism was quoted by Tanin (March 17, 1325) from Proodos, a Greek paper in Istanbul:

"Istanbul'da Valide Hanı önünde, zabıta, asker ile beraber üç Rumu açık tütün satarken yakaladı.

Bu askerler Rum unsuru aleyhindek i bütün kuduzluklarını bu üç şahsa karşı göstermeğe niyet ederek elbiselerini na-meshut bir vahşetle yırtarken tüfeklerinin kundaklarıyla dahi merhametsizce dıpcikle vurmağa başladılar. Bî-çareler her ne kadar mukavemet etmeyeceklerini beyan ediyorlarsa da, kundak dıbcikleri yağlur gibi üzerine düşüyor, kurtların yırtılmış şikârları gibi bi-çareler sürükleniyorlardı. Halk bu yamyamlığa karşı protesto etmeğe başladı. Askerler ise daha ziyade kudurarak vurmağa devam ettiler. Bir çok adamlar bunları fevkalade hırzlanmış askerlerin elinden kurtarmak istediler, fakat bunlar silahlarını ahaliye karşı çevirdiler. Ve onları tefrik etmeğe cesaret edeni vuracaklarını makam-ı tehdidde söylediler. Osmanlı silahlarının bu gürültüleri arasında bir hoca geldi ve bir taş üzerinden askere:

"Vurun gâvurlara!" diye bağırmağa başladı. Bu tehdidatdan zabıtamızın vahşetimin darbe-i mezalimini ödemek üzere kanlar içinde götürüldü. Zabıtanın ve askerinin bu hareketine ta'assub denilmezse biz başka ne isim vereceğimizi bilmiyoruz. Yoksa bir ihtilâl-i tam arasında bulunup da herkes kendi sevk-i tabi'isiyle, insaniyetsiz hareketde serbestse, o başka."

(21) Hüseyin Cahid tell the event in his memoirs as the following:

Taşkıyla Vak'ası:

Istanbul'da ikinci fırka denilen bir askerî kuvvet vardı. Bu fırka, doğrudan doğruya Abdulhamid'in şahsına merbut zann olunuyor ve meşrutiyete karşı bir hareketin bu kuvvet vasıtasıyla yapılacağı hakkında rivayetler dolaşıyordu. Bu rivayetler İttihat ve Terakkî Cemiyetini de uyanık olmağa sevk etmiş olacak ki Rumeli'den İstanbul'a bir Avcı Taburu gönderilmiş ve meşrutiyete bilkassa sadık ve merbut olduğuna güvenilen bu asker Taşkışla'daki İkinci Fırka yerine ikame edilmek istenmiştir. İkinci Fırkadaki efrad ise sevkedilecekleri Cidde'ye gitmemek için ayak direyerek ... kışlanın dışına çıkmışlardı. Gelen avcı taburunu kendi üzerlerine te'dib için gönderilmiş zann ederek silaha sarılmışlar ve ateş etmişlerdi. Vuku'a gelen müsademede dört beş kişi ölmüş ve bazıları da yaralanmışlardı. İstanbul'da meşrutiyetin müdafii ve muhafızı olmak üzere gönderilen bu güzide kuvvet dört beş ay sonra ilk isyan bayrağını açıyordu!"

(Ibid., i.87, p.134.)

VI. CONCLUSION

(1) Imanuel Wallerstein, Reşat Kasaba, "Incorporation into the World Economy: Change in the Structure of the Ottoman Empire," OTDÜ Gelisim Dergisi, v.8, 1-2(1981), pp. 537-70.

(2) All of the summaries are based on the following works: MEnir Aktepe, Patrona İsyanı(Istanbul,1958); Niyazi Berkes, Türkiye'de Çağdaslaşma.(Istanbul,1978); İsmail Hami Danişmend, İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi (Istanbul,1961); Enver Ziya Karal, Osmanlı Tarihi (Ankara, TTK?,1962) vols.

V, VI, VII; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, Kabakçı Mustafa (Istanbul, 1968); Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (Oxford U.P., 1963), 3rd.ed.:, Stanford Shaw, Ezel K. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (Cambridge U.P., 1976).

(3) "Overturning the kettle" was a manifestation of rebellion. When they rebelled, Janissaries overturned their food kettles showing their refusal of food as well as the directions given by the state.

(4) For instance, to kill the Grand Vezir, to depose the Sultan, etc.

(5) Encyclopedia of Islam, "Hisba", p.485.

APPENDIX - A

ŞEHİRİMİZİN DÜNKÜ HALİ
(İkdam, 13 Temmuz 1324)

Gulgüle-i hürriyet, vecd-i müsavat, neşve-i uhuvvet,
şevk-i adalet hatıra birden şairin:

"Efkâke çıkdı velvele-i arsa-i zemin
İndi zemine gulgüle-i asmaniyet"

beyti tebadür ediyor. Oh, büyük şükür olsun!

İşte dün biz de doya doya, sevincimizden ağlaya ağla-
ya, bütün mevcudiyetimizle titreyerek, taninlerini ~~te~~ âmâk-i
ruhumuzda hiss ederek, damarlarımızdaki kan galeyan ettikçe,
fikrimiz yükseldiği halde, bütün küşayış-i kalbimizle, bütün
saffet-i vicdanımızla, bütün safa-i hürriyetle işitdik, duy-
duk, haykırdık ve tekrar ettik:

Yaşasın Padişahımız. Yaşasın hürriyet... Yaşasın a-
dalet, yaşasın müsavat, yaşasın uhuvvet... Evet, yaşasın bü-
tün Kanun-u Esasî... Bütün Meşumtiyetî idare... Yaşasın...
Yaşasın... Yaşasın...

Oh! Hamiyetli kalblerin bu kalbî, derunî zemzemele-
rini lisan ile de tekrar etmek ne hoş, ne ulvî, ne ruhanî,
ne saadet-bahş imiş yâ-rab...

Dünkü hali tafsilatıyla yazmak mümkün değildir. Hür-
riyet, müsavat ve adalet nail olan bir milletin hal-i vecd
ve istiğrakı tawvire sığar mı? Muhabirlerimizin müşahedatını
şöylece yazmakla iktifa ediyoruz:

Şehrimizin her noktasında, her köşesinde, önde mu-
zafferâne, muvaffakiyetkârâne dalgalanan Osmanlı bayrakları,
elvah-ı dâiyye, hürriyet.

Oh, işte hürriyet şenliği kalpleri titretiyordu.

Gazetelerimiz sabah saat sekizde neşr edildiği ve
akşama kadar lâyenkati' tab' edildiği halde yine kâfi dere-
cede yetiştirilememişti. Herkes, herkes okumak bu kelimeleri
okumak istiyordu.

(Hürriyet, adalet, müsavat, uhuvvet). Sokaklar erken-
den fevc fevc gelen ahali ile dolmuşdu. Ne kadar edibane, ne
kadar kanun-şinasâne, ne kadar hukuk-perverâne. Evet kimse,
kimseden incinmeyerek, kimse kimseden gücenmeyerek, kimse
kimsenin hakkına tecavüz etmeyerek, kimse kimsenin tecavüza-
tına haksız taarruzuna uğramayarak kemal-i hürriyetle dol-
muşdu.

Saat yedi raddelerinde vükela hazeratı Bâbıali'ye
gelmişlerdi. Sadriazam fehâmetli devletlu Sait Paşa hazret-
leri Babıali'ye teşriflerinde Köprü üzerinde ve yollarda
kemal-i samimiyetle alkışlanmışlardır. Müşarünileyh hazret-
lerinin daire-i sadaret vurudlarında Mekteb-i Hukuk ve Mek-
teb-i Mülkiye mezunlarıyla talebesi ve memleketimizin genç-
leri ellerinde Osmanlı bayrakları olduğu halde arz-ı şükran
ve ilan-ı bahtiyarî için Babıali'ye geldiler. Divanhane'ye
kabul edildiler.

Sadriazam fehâmetli devletlu Sait Paşa hazretleri
Dahiliye Nazırı ve Şura-yı Devlet Reisi devletli paşalar
hazeratı ile o esnada beray-ı ziyaret orada bulunan Romanya
Sefiri ve zevad-ı saire bulunduğu halde daire-i mahsusadan

dan dışarı çıkmış ve alkışlanmıştır. Bu alkışı müteakib içle-
rinden biri Sadriazam paşa hazretlerine hitaben:

"Zat-ı hazret-i sadaret-penahiyelerini bütün Osmanlı-
larla şurada bulunan huzzar namına tebrik ediyorum," mukaddi-
mesiyle bir nutuk irad etmiş ve Sadriazam fehmetli devletli
Sait Paşa hazretleri de:

"Hepimiz sizin saadet ve selâmetiniz için çalışıyoruz.
Evladlarım hürsünüz, serbestsiniz. Bahtiyar olunuz. Arzu-yu
şâhâne, milletinin ve memleketinin mazhar-ı refah ve saadât
olması merkezindedir. Vâ meserretinizi hâk-i pâ-yi şâhâneye
arz edeceğim," dedikten sonra oradaki erbab-ı hamiyet tara-
fından Padişahımız çok yaşasın; hürriyet, müsavat, adalet
yaşasın, nidaları i'lâ edilmiştir. Bu duaya binlerce halk
iştirak etmiştir. Ulemadan, askerden, mülkiyeden, tüccardan
ve ahaliden ihtiyar, genç, kadın ve çocuk, müslim, hıristi-
yan, fesli ve şapkallı ahaliden binlerce halk hazır bulunmuş-
dur. Bu hey'et Babıali'ye geldiği zaman önde bir hanım bulu-
nuyordu. İşte bu hanım kapıdan içeriye girileceği zaman
bülend-âvâz ile tercüman-ı kalb-i millet olmuş ve "zaten
Padişahımız milletin iyiligini istiyor idi. Çok şükür bize
bunu bahş etti. Yaşasın Padişahımız, yaşasın hürriyet" de-
miş ve herkes ağılaya ağılaya alkışlamıştır.

Bu hamiyetli hanım, Osmanlıların bir temsil-i vicdan
ve samimiyeti idi.

Bu hey'et daire-i Sadaretden Hariciye Nazaretine,
sonra Maarif Nezaretine gitmişler ve caddede Maarif Nazırını
görmek istemişlerdir. Maarif Nazırı devletli Haşim Paşa

hazretleri hey'eti daire-i nezaretin kapısından istikbal eylediği sırada huzzar tarafından:

Yaşasın Padişahımız. Yaşasın hürriyet, zenzemesi ay-yuka çıkarılmış ve müteakıben Ordu-yu Hümayuna mensub hamiyetli bir zabıt:

"Paşa hazretleri, velinimet Pađiřahımız efendimiz hazretleri bize hürriyet ve müsavat bahş eylediler. Maarif ruh-u millettir. Her türlü âsâ-ı terakkı, saye-i maarifde arayış-yâb-ı vücud olur. Bundan sonra sizden ciddî, devlete ve millete ciddî ve hayırlı işler bekleriz. Cenab-ı hak cümleye umur-u hayriyede mazhar-ı muvaffakiyet kılsun," mealinde bir nutuk irad eylemiş ve ondan sonra Maarif Nazırı Paşa hazretleri de umur-u maarifin terakkısı ve mekteblerin islahı için vus' ve iktidarı derecesinde sarf-ı gayretten hâli kalmayacağını hey'ete tekrar tekrar yemin ederek te'min eylemişlerdir.

Bunun üzerine bütün efrad-ı ümmetin dehanından çıkan nida-yı meserret etrafa velvele-saz olmuş ve hey'et oradan Adliye Nezaretine gitmişlerdir. Adliye Nazırı übuhetlu devletlu Abdurrahman Paşa hazretleri makam-ı usefanelerine gelemedikleri cihetle Müsteşar-ı Adliye semahetli Ahmed Şükrü Efendi hazretleriyle Dersaadet İstinaf-ı Müdde-i Umümiyesi semahetlu Necmeddin Beyefendi hazretleri muvacehe-i hey'ete gelerek irad-ı nutku müteakıb devlet ve memlekete hüsn-ü hizmet ve umur-u Adliyede kemal-i adl vehakkaniyetle ifa-yı vazife edeceklerine dair yemin etmişlerdir.

İşte daire-i resmîyeyi ziyaret eden efrad-ı millet her hatvede ziyadeleşmekte ve her hatvede bir nida-yı meser-

ret-i diğ er çıkarmakda idi.

Yüzbinlerce halk Adalet Nezaretinden Harbiye Nezaretine doğru Divanyolu tarikiyle gitmekte iken Babıali'yi ziyaret eden diğ er bir hey'ete iltihak etmiş ve o zaman sokaklar cidden temaşasına doyulmayacak ve unutulmayacak bir hâl almışdır.

Harbiye Nezareti meydanına varıldığı esnada nezaret-i müşarünileyhden beray-ı istikbal gönderilen bir bando muzıkamarsı-ı âli-yi Hamidiyeyi terennüm etmiş ve müslim-hıristiyan, kadın-erkek yüzbinlerce halk "Yaşasın Padişahımız, yaşasın Osmanlı ordusu, yaşasın şanlı asker kardeşlerimiz, yaşasın hürriyet" âvazesini göklere çıkarmışlardır. Bunu müteskib Harbiye Nazırı devletlu Ömer Rüşdü Paşa hazretleri bir nutuk irad etmişler, devlete ve millete sadakatle hizmet edeceklerini ma'al-kasem te'min etmişlerdir.

Hey'et yüzbinlerce kadın erkek, büyük küçük, müslim-hıristiyan ahali ile birlikte makam-i mu'alla-ı Meşihatpenahiye azimet eylemiş ve orada Şeyhulislam ve Müftü-l-enam semahetlu devletlu Cemaleddin Efendi hazretlerine bir nutuk irad ederek beyan-ı tebrikat eylemişler ve müşarünileyh hazretleri de ahkâm-ı şer'-i şerifi hiçbir kimsenin hatırına bakmayarak icra edeceklerini ma'al-kasem yemin etmişlerdir.

Şehrimiz muteberan tüccarından Mehmed Balcı ve kardeşleri, Mehmed Karakaş Kardeşler, Kibar Ali, Kâni İpekçi, Mehpare, Selânik Bonmarşesi sahiplerin önleğinde bir bando muzıka terannüm-saz olduğu halde Babıali'ye glerek Sadriazam fehametlu devletlu Saıt Paşa hazretlerini ziyaret etmişlerdir.

Orada bu heyet tarafından irad olunan nutka Sadriazam hazretleri şu mealde bir nutuk ile cevap vermişlerdir:

"Tebrikât-ı kalbiyenizi velinimet efendimize arz edeceğim. İnşaallah muhzuzyet-i seniyyeyi mucib olacağını şimdiden tebşir ederim. Hissiyat-ı vatanperveraneminden dolayı sizleri tebrik ederek hakkımda gösterilen teveccühe de ayrıca teşekkür ederim. Cenab-ı Allah cümle... atimizde muvaffak bilhayr eylesun." Heyet Harbiye Nezaretine gitmiş ve Nazır devletlu Fevfik Paşa hazretleri:

"Bu, mahza-i velinimet bân-nimet efendimiz hazretlerinin ihsan ve lutf-u hümayunlarıdır. Hissiyat-ı sadakâtkârânemizin nezd-i şâhânedede mucib-i mahzuzyet olacağı bi-istibahdır" mealinde bir nutuk irad eylemiştir.

Badehu Maarif Nezareti pişgâhında ed'iyeye-i hayriyye-i Padişahî yad edilerek Harbiye Nezaretine gidilmiş ve orada da Nazır devletlu Ömer Rüşdü Paşa hazretleri erkân-ı kiramı nezaketle pencere önünde ahd-i mevki' eyledikten sonra bil-mukabele nutuklar teati etmişlerdir.

Badehu Bâb-i Meşihat'e gidilmiş ve devletlu semahetlu Şeyhulislam Efendi hazretlerine hey'et tarafından "Biz millet namına geldik. Ahkâm-ı Şer'-i Şerife sadakatle hizmet edeceğinize yemin eder misiniz" istirhamı üzerine müşar-ünileyh hazretleri:

"Bil-fiil ve bil-nefs sadakatle hizmet edeceğime yemin ederim" demişlerdir. Bunun üzerine alkışlarla buradan infikak edilerek Köprü'den Galat cihetine geçilmiş, Banka-yı Osmanî önünde Türkçe ve Fransızca nutuklar irad olunmuştur. Bu hey'et-i muhtereme matbaamıza dahi gelerek nutuklar irad

eyledikleri gibi mezkur magaza Balcı Kardeşler Ticarethanesi müstahdemininden Receb Sabri Bey'i bilhassa beyan-ı teşekkürat için matbaamıza göndermişlerdir.

Artık bu iki hey'eti, bütün hey'et-i millet ta'kib etti. Yüzlerce hey'et-i hamiyet, yüzbinlerce vatanperver, yüzbinlerce kadın, erkek, müslim hıristiyan Osmanlı peyderpey Babialî'ye, makam-ı mu'alla-yı Meşihatpenahiye, Harbiye, Adalet ve Maarif Nezaretlerine giderek orada ilan-ı hissiyat ve şükran etmişler ve vükela hazeratı devlet ve millete sadı-kane ve hamiyet-perverane hizmet edeceklerini ma'al-kasem te'min etmişlerdir. Sadriazam fehametlu devletlu Sait Paşa hazretleri Harbiye Nazırı devletlu paşa hazretleri ile birlikte Babialî'den avdetlerinde arabaları yüzbinlerce ahali tarafından ihata ve ta'kib edilerek alkışlanmışlardır.

Debistan-ı İraniyan talebesi dahi dün Harbiye Neza-retine giderek (Yaşasın hürriyet, yaşasın Meşrûtiyet, yaşasın Sultan Hamid) nidalarıyla izhar-ı meserret eylemişlerdir.

(İkdam)ın i'fa eylediği vazife-i millete lutfen tak-dir buyurulduğu i in dün ve dün gece matbaamıza binlerce sa-hib-i hamiyet gelerek "Yaşasın Padişahımız, yaşasın hürri-yet, Yaşasın matbuat" avazlarıyla alkışlar icra ettiler. Hakkımızda layık olduğumuz derecenin pek çok fevkinde izhar buyurulan âsâr-ı teveccühe vicdanımızla, kalbimizle, ruhumuz-la teşekkür ederek Matbuat-ı Osmaniye'nin ilelebed hizmete muvaffakiyetini temenni eyleriz.

İslam ve Hıristiyan ecnebi ahali dün gece Tepebaşı Bahçesi'nde hürriyet, adalet veren Padişahımıza dualar etti-ler. Tepebaşı mızıkası marş-ı ali-ül-şl-ı Hamidî'yi terennüm

etdi. Bahçenin muzİKası önlerinde bulunduĐu halde tahminen sekiz-bine karib ahali dün gece saat dört buçuk raddelerinde BeyoĐlu Mutasarrıflık Dairesi önüne gelmişlerdir. Cümlesinin ellerinde râyât-ı Osmanî bulunduĐu halde gelerek Kanun-u Esasî'den dolayı teb'a-yı şâhânenin nail olduĐu hürriyet ve serbestînin kıymetini ber-âver- zeban eylemişlerdir. Umum Osmanlı tarafından mükerreren "Zito, Viva, Yaşa: Sultan Hamid" sadaları ile olunmuştur. Canib-i mutasarrıfdan "İzhar ettiĐiniz hissiyat-ı minnetdariyi, hakıpay-i şâhaneye arz edeceğim" kelime-i tatyibiyle mukabele eylemiştir. Ahali muzıka ile bütün cadde dolaşarak ilan-ı şadı eylemiştir.

BÜYÜKADA'DA İZHAR-I ŞAD-MÂNİ

Dün saat on ikide Adalarla giden İdare-i Mahsusa yolcuları dahi Kanun-u Esasî'nin bahş ettiĐi nimet-i hürriyetle pür-neşve oldukları halde mütemadiyen (Padişahım çok yaşa) ve (Yaşasın hürriyet) nidalarını ile ve iskelelere yanaştıkça alkışları tezyid etmişlerdir. Yolcular Büyükada'ya çıkınca istikbale çıkan bir cemm'-i gafir kendileriyle yek-âvâz olmuş ve hey'et önde muzıka olduĐu, bir çok kimseler ellerinde bayrak tutdukları halde Hükümet pişgahına ve karakol önüne gitmişler ve orada mevkı'e münasib nutuklar irad ederek biİdefaat (Padişahım çok yaşa) ve (Yaşasın hürriyet) (Yaşasın Kanun-u Esasî) sadâlarını tekrar eylemişlerdir. Nümayişe iştirak eden binlerce kimse hamıyyet-perverane ve vatan-perverane zemzemeleri âsâl kân-ı gareng-i âsmân etmişlerdir. Ahali Büyükada'nın en büyük caddelerini bu minval üzere

re muzıka ile dolayarak ge vakte kadar icra-i şad-mâni eylemişlerdir.

TEVÂLİ- İ MESERRAT

(İkdam, 14 Temmuz 1324)

Şehrimizde hal-i meserret dün de devam etmiştir. Yine şehrimizin etraf-ı eflâkında dün gece, ge vakte kadar Yaşasın Padişahımız, yaşasın; Padişahım çok yaşa; hürriyet, adalet, millet sadaları aksetmiştir.

Dün şehrimizin anasır-ı muhtelifesini teşkil eden ahalî bizzat hak-i payı muhikk-aneve arz-ı şükran için Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu civarına giderek izhar-ı şad-mani eylemişlerdir. Mekâtib-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâhe, Hukuk, Dar-ül-fünun, Mekteb-i Mülkiye, Darülmualimin, Mekteb-i Sultani, Baytar Mektebi ve daha birçok mektebler şakirdanı, İstanbul, Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy ve sairede bulunan gayr-i muslim mektepleri şakirdanı, müderrisler, talebe-i ulûm, manzumeler kıraat ederek Beşiktaş tarikiyle Saray-ı Hümayun civarına azimet eylemişlerdir. Binlerce halk refakatinde olarak azimet eden bu hey'et-i muhtelifenin ellerinde liva-el-Hamidi Osmanî bulunmakta idi. Bayraklar üzerinde Padişahım çok yaşa, yaşa hürriyet, adalet, vatan kelimeleri muharrer bulunmakta idi. Bu hey'etler fevc fevc ve önlerinde muzıka bulduğu halde yürüyorlar idi. Bu takımlar Mabeyin Dairesi pişgahında tecemmü' eylediler.

Canib-i hazret-i Padişahiden, Teftiş-i Askerî Komisyonu azasından Yaver Ekrem Hazret-i Şehriyar devletlu Şakir, yaveran-ı hazret-i şehriyardan Faruk, sadetlu Şakir Paşa-

tarafından cümlesine selam-ı şahane ve muhuzuyet-i mülukane tebşir edilmekte, Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu civarında bu müna-bebetle müslim ve gayr-i müslim yüzbinlerce kadın erkek, milletin âmâl-i halisanesine iştirak etmekte idi.

Zat-ı hazret-i mülukane, Mabeyn-i Humayun muzikası-nın ahali için muzika çalmasını emir ve freman buyurdıklarından Marş-ı Hamidi çalmış ve ahali tarafından muzika alkışlan-mışdır. Mab-yn-i Humayun Muzikısından sonra ahali tarafından tekrar muzika istirham olunmuş olduğundan İkinci Fırkanın Beşinci Alay Muzikası halkın peşine düşerek latif havalarla terennüm-saz olmuş ve Beşiktaş'a kadar halkı bu minval üzere teşyi' eylemiştir.

Akşam saat on ikide sadrazam paşa hazretleri refaka-tinde Tahsin Paşa hazretleri bulunduğu halde Daire-i Mahsu-sadaki pencereye çıkarak selam-ı şahaneyi ahaliye tebliğley-lemişler, ve ahalinin gösterdiği hissiyat-ı hamiyet ve sa-dakatten dolayı beyan-ı tebrikât ederek Anun-u Esasınin ah-kâmı muhafaza edileceğini te'min etmişlerdir. Bunun üzerine ahali tarafından takdim-i teşekkürat olunmuş ve Sait Paşa hazretleri (Padişahım çok yaşa) diye dua edince ahali tara-fından aynı dua tekrar olunmuşdur. Halk saat bir raddelerin-de yavaş yavaş dağılmıştır.

Dün Beyazıt Meydanında yüzbin kadar kadın, erkek, müslim hıristiyan musevî ahali vardı. Ecanibden nisvan ve sükur pek çokları Osmanlıların bu sur-ı milliyesine iştirak etmişlerdi. Burada nutuklar irad edilmiş, alkışlar icra

olunmuş ve sonra bu hey'et-i muhtereme namına hak-ipayı şâhaneye teşekkürü ve istirhamatı havi bir telgrafname keşide kılınmıştır. Mabeyn-i Hümayun Başkitabebinden hey'ete cevaben ber-vech-i âti telgrafname keşide edilmiştir:

Telgrafla Atebe-i Aliyeye arz-ı ubudiyet eden zevata:

Atebe-i Aliye-i Hilafetpenahiye telgrafname ile arz ve beyan olunan hissiyat ve teşekkürat-ı habise-i ubudiyetkâri pek ziyade mahauziyet-i seniye-i padişahiyi mucüb olduğunu ve velinimet bi-n-nimetimiz Padişahımız Efendimiz hazretlerinin en büyük âmâli teb'a-yı sadıka-ı şâhanelerinin refah ve saadeti bulunduğundan şevketlu Padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerinin vaz' ve te'sis buyurmuş oldukları Kanun-u Esasi'nin tatbikatıyla Meclis-i Mebusan'ın küşadını emir ve ferman buyurdıklarını ve teb'a-yı şahanelerini canibinden hatt-ı hümayun-u mülukanede ibraz olunan mâ'essir sadakatten pek ziyade memnun olduklarını ve cümlenizi selam-ı şahaneyle taltif buyurdıklarını tebşir eylerim.

Serkâtip Hazret-i
Şehriyari

TAHSİN

Bu telgrafnamenin Merkez Kumandanı devletli paşa hazretleri vasıtasıyla Hey'ete kiraat edilmesi de cümle emir ve ferman-ı padişahiden bulunmasıyla kumandan paşa dairesinden inerek bu telgrafnamenin okunmasını hey'etden bir zata rica etmiştir. Telgrafnamesin kiraatini müteakib alkışlar icra olunmuştur.

Mekteb-i Hukuk telebesi ellerinde Osmanlı bayrakları olduğu halde Babıali'nin önüne gelerek Kanun-u Esasi'nin mevki'-i tatbika vaz'ından dolayı nutuklar irad eylemişlerdir.

Muahharen Beyoglu ve Galata Ermeni Mektepleri şakirdanı yanlarında muallimleri oldukları ve ellerinde râyat-ı zafer-i ayât-i Osmanî bulunduğu halde manzumeler irad etmişlerdir.

Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhâne ve İdadî ve Baytar mektepleri şakirdanı dahi ellerinde râyat-ı zafer-i âyât-i Osmanî olduğu halde Babıali'nin Nallımesaid Kapısından girmişler ve Meclis-i Mahsus-u Vükelâya mahsus dairenin önünde durarak nutuklar irad eylemişlerdir.

Altı kişiden mürekkeb bir hey'et-i mahsusâ Sadriazam fehame tlu devletlu Sait Paşa hazretleri tarafından kabul edilmiş ve hey'etin ifadesi istima' edildikten sonra Meclis-i Vükela da buna dair icra-yı müzakerat edileceği ve verilecek kararın hak-i payı şahaneye arz edileceği beyan edilmiştir.

Dünkü gün dahi binlerce eshab-ı hamiyet matbaamıza geldiler; Padişahımızı, Kanun-u Esasi'yi, hürriyeti alkışladılar. (Yaşasın Padişahımız! Yaşasın hürriyet!) nidalarını ref' etdiler. Gazetemizin bu teveccühe-layık olmadığı halde na'il olması bizi erbab-ı hamiyete cidden minnetdâr etdi. Bütün kalbimiz ile teşekkür ederiz. Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Askeriye, Mekteb-i Mülkâye, Mülkiye Baytar Mektebi şakirdanı, daha bir çok gençler, hamiyet sahiplerinin na'il oldukları

nimet-i hürriyet ve adaletin kıymetini takdir eyleyerek tasviri mümkün olmayacak bir surette izhar-ı sürur eytemelerine ve bu sırada matbuat-ı Osmaniye ve bilhassa gazetemiz için bizce pek kıymetdar bir teveccüh ve muhabbet göstermelerine mukabil uhde-i sadakatimize düşen vazifeyi daima ifa etmeye bütün kalbimiz, mevcudiyeti izle çalışacağımızı beyan ederiz.

Mülkiye Baytar Mektebi şakirdanı namına matbaamızda kıraat edilen nutku ber-veche zir derc ediyoruz:

Cenab-ı rabb-i mennan Padişah-ı kâdirdan ve şehinşah-ı cihan efendimiz hazretlerini ila-ahr-el-v-Şiran taht-ı âli-i baht-ı Osmaniyelerinde pertev-i efşan buyursun. Amin.

Biz ki her an Padişah-ı keremkârımızın inayet-i bigâyatına mazhar ve şimdi dahi adalet, müsavat, hürriyet gibi ruh-u beka-yı devlet ve millet olan takım-ı eltaf-ı günâgun ile mütene'im oluyoruz. O Padişah-ı a'mim-el-ihāsana ne kadar teşekkür etsek, ömür ve afiyet-i şahaneleri için Cenab-ı Hakka karşı secde-i şükranı ne kadar kapansak yine azdır. Serbesti-i matbuat ahas-ı amal-i halife-i enam, sebeb-i yegane-i terakki-i vatandır. Hepimiz bir vatan evladıyız. Hepimiz birbirimizi seveceğiz, hem de bütün hissiyatımızla, kalbimizle, namusumuzla seveceğiz.

Biz baytarlar sıhhat-ı umumiye nokta-i nazarından velev ki cüz'î olsun ehemmiyeti haiziz. Biz de bugünlerde nail-i refah-hal, mazhar-ı adalet ve müsavat olunca artık bundan sonra el birligiyle çalışarak istihsal-i rızay-ı rab-mennan tesrir-i kalb şehinşah-ı cihan edeceğiz. Devlet-i ebedümmüddet-i ilahinin, millet-i muazzama-i Osmaniye'nin bunca zamanda beri perde-i zulmet altında mestur kalan

kalan efkâr-ı ila-ma-şah bugün münkeşif olduğu ci-
 hetle cümlemiz Anun-u Esasiyi takdir ve mü'essisi-i
 al-i tebarinini bütün hissiyatımızla takdis eyleriz.
 İdare-i aliyenize serbesti-i matbuat namına beyan-ı
 tebrikât eyler ve nail-i muvaffakiyet olmanızı dile-
 mekle beraber şu ma'ruzatımızın ceride-i feridenizle
 neşrini istirham eyleriz.

Seyyar Topçu Zabitan ve Efradının Dünkü Sur-u
Pür Süruru

Sabah talimi:

Beyoğlu Kışla-yı Humayununda aramsaz-ı besalet seyyar
 topçu zabitan ve efrad-ı gazanfer-nihadı ta'lim programları
 mucibince her Pazar günü saat on iki raddelerinde dahili
 ta'lim meydanında Tophane-i Amere-i Muzika Bandosuyle icra
 etdikleri resm-i geçid ta'limlerini dün yine kemal-i şevk ve
 meserretle ifa etmişlerdir. Lakin bu manzara cidden gârül-
 meye layık idi. Şöyle ki:

Padişah-ı eşfak ve erkamımızın bahş buyurmuş oldu-
 ğu hürriyet, istikbalimiz için açtıkları şehrah-ı terakkî-i
 ulviyetten dolayı paydos borusuyle beraber bando tarafından
 terennüm edilen marş-ı Hamidiyi metekâb verilen selam işa-
 retini üzerine semavata kadar yükselen:

"Padişahım çok yaşa".

O avaze-i meserret, fart-ı sadakat, vatanperverane
 ile o tertemiz kalplerden kopup gelen o duayı mes'adeti sa-
 dık, müste'id, gayyur, fedakâr zabitan ve askerimize ne
 bir mevcudiyet bahş ediyordu. Bütün zabitan ve efrad yek-

diğerini tebrik ediyor. Çalışalım kardeşlerimiz! Çalışalım! Milletimizi, memleketimizi layık olduğu mertebe-i kemâlâta is'ad için gece ve gündüz çalışalım! diye ilan-ı şad-mani ediyorlar ve bu ihtisasat-i ulviye- mezkur kıışlada bulunan etfaiye, piyade ve nakliye taburları da iştirak eyliyorlardı. Hemen cenab-ı rabb-mennan velinimet bi-n-nimetimiz sevgili başkumandanımız şevketlu Padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerine bitmez, tükenmez ömürler ve afiyetler ihsan buyursun. Amin.

BOĞAZIÇİNDE

Hıristiyan mektepleri ile aileleri dünkü gün Şirket-i Hariyye'nin 33, 48, 51, ve 19 numaralı vapurların her taraflarını defne dalları ve râyât-ı zafer-i ayat-ı Osmani ile tezyin etmişlerdir. Vapurlar iskelelere muvasalatlarında muzıka tarafından Marş-ı Hamidi terennüm-saz olmakta onu müteakıb "Padişahım çok yaşa" duası işitilmekte idi. Mezkur vapurlar Boğaziçinin her tarafını dolaşarak Beykoz'a gitmişlerdir. Beykoz, Hükümet Konagı önlerine geldiklerinde muzıka tarafından Marş-ı Hamidi terennüm edilmiş, ve "Padişahım Çok Yaşa", "Yaşasın Hürriyet" nidaları tekrar olunmuştur. Akşam saat onbuçuk raddelerinde avdet edilmiştir.

BÜYÜKDERE'DEN

Buyukdere'de her yerden bil-iltizam gelip toplanmış binlerce teşnegan-ı zilal-ı hürriyet garık-ı enam M

Meşrutiyet ve ibraz-ı sürur ve mefharet olarak Marş-ı
 Hamidiyi kaimen istima' etdikden sonra ilk defa olmak üye-
 re ^{است بد دست و داد} olduğumuz halde icti-
 ma'-i siyasiyede bulunduk.

APPENDIX - B

BESA OYUNUNDA

(Tanin, 12 Ağustos 1324)

Köprüye ayak atdığım dakikadan itibaren bütün bu günün bozuk vapurlarını, hazret-i Nuh zamanında ancak olabilecek bir usul-ü iptidai ile ta'mir edilen Ada iskelemizin, kırık Köprümüzü, pejmürde hal memurları, pis sokakları, hürriyeti bu kadar acaip tefsir eden cahil ekseriyeti unuttuyor, yarını düşünmeye karar veriyordum. Şehir içinde bir yerden öteye gitmek için uzun bir seyyahat kadar süren yorgunlukları, arabalarda, tranvaylarda, hususiyle hiç bir idarenin gene mikyas olamayacağı kadar mudar olan Sirkeci İstasyonundaki uzun intizarı, bunun cismen ve manen verdiği yorgunluğu, füturu hissetmemeye karar vermiştim.

Simendifer Makriköyüne müteveccihen hareket ettiği zaman etrafıma baktım. Şarklıların biraz esrarlı, biraz mamum ruhları ile bir rabıtası olan o gayr-ı muntazam sokaklar, çarpık çurpuk, birbirinin üstüne çıkmış siyah evlerle iki tarafı muhat buldum. Biraz ileride delik deşik harap duvarlar, tek tük tüten ince bacalı bir iki köhne fabrika, sonra bunların arasından adalara doğru hiç vekarını bozmadan köpürerek akan mai dalgalar... Bunları ilk defa görüyordum. Fakat bunları görmemeğe, bu maziye ait kıyafetlerin gözümüzün önünden birer sinematograf levhası gibi kapanarak kayıp olduktan sonra yarının dilfirib zarif yeni çehreleriyle tasfire karar vermiştim. Ne kadar

dilber bir şehir olacaktı!

Makriköyü'ne "besa"yı görmek için ihtiyar edilen bu seyahati hayalen parlak âtimizde bir gün yapıyordum: Gözlerimi kapadım, tirenin ser'atiyle çökük damlar, viraneler, göçecek sefil kahvehaneler, çamurlu sokaklar, uçar gibi umuk-u mazinin siyahlıklarında gömülüyorlardı.

Burgaz iskelesinde idim. Rihtımın üzerindeki yeşil sarmaşıklarını, mu'attar hanımellerinin sarıldığı pembe misafirhaneden halk vapurun varudunu görmek için çıkıyordu. Bir çok beyaz tuvaletler birkaç tane siyah çarşaf vardı. Bilet gişelerinin önü kalabalıklaşıyordu. Yeni idarenin temiz, tendürüst iki m'muru parlak düğmeli, kırmızı zihli siyah kostümleriyle vapurun yanaşacağı köşedeki parmaklığın başında bekliyordu. İstanbul Seyr-i Sefain şirketi daha yeni işlemeye başlamıştı. Bir tiz düdüğü sesini mütekip beyaz boyalı, seri uzun bir vapurun "pide" adasının burnunu döndü; Telaşsız, sessiz fakat büyük bir maharetle rihtıma yanaştı. Memurlar demir parmaklığı açtılar; Ben halkın ayaklarını ezen, kadınların fistanlarını lime lime eden mahut tahta iskeleyi, ve onu sürükleyen hammalları arıyordum. Hammal namına -paket taşımak için- kumpanyanın üniformasını giymiş zeki çehreli iki çocuğun halk arasında dolaştığını görüyorduk, vapurun kadınlara mahsus büyük temiz güvertesi dolu idi. Temiz uzun kanapelerin üstünde genç, ihtiyar bir çok hanımlar kimi gazete okumakla, kimi çantasından çıkardığı bir işle meşgul; bir kısmı güverte de koşuşarak açık ince esvapları üzerine ipek saçları dağılan sahil bünyeli neşeli çocuklar ile beraber gülerken konu-

şarak geziniyorlardı.

Vapur Akdeniz'in kurşunı, engin vüs'ati üzerinde suları yararak, arkasında beyaz mevcirleriyle fıskıran uzun bir hat bırakarak ilerliyordu. Anadolu sevhili âli kâşaneleri, morumsu müphem renkleriyle uzanan tepeler yumuşak hututiyle uzaklaşıyordu. İstanbul müdebdeb binaları, dumanlı simasına yükselen narin zarif minareleriyle yaklaştı ve bir kaç dakikada limana girdik. En evvel nazarl dikkatimi etrafında tahta kulübelerden ari mu'azzam mürtefi' demir bir köprü celbetti. Elektrikli taranvayları, arabaları bin şehirden gelmiş bin kıyafette zengin bir insan güruhu, canlı bir ticaret vesaiti bir taraftan öbür tarafa daima akıyor, yenileşiyordu.

Vapurların bir kısmı Galata rıhtımına bir büyük kısmı da Sarayburnu'na tevsi' edilerek yapılan büyük İstanbul rıhtımına yanaşiyordu. Vapurumuz aynı sukunet, aynı maharetle manevra ederek, yüzlerce yelkenlilerin, kayıkların, vapurların arasından süzülerek Galata rıhtımına rampa etti. Köprünün bu başından omnibüsé atlayarak Sirkeci'ye kadar gidiyorduk. Eminönü, o eski mezbeleyi tanıyamadım. Burada Bahçe kapısına kadar uzayan vasi' , müzeyyen, temiz bir meydan vardı. Rıhtımda bir çok küçük güzel vapurlar yanaşıp uzaklaşıyordu. Yenicami' bütün haşmet ve azameti, büyük kubbesi ile bu yeni meydana bir kıymet-i tarihiye veriyor; rıhtımın üzerinde sade büyük bir saat kulasi, orta yanda kanatlarını açmış, kollarını semaya uzatmış, canlanmış zannedilen mermerden azim musanna bir hürriyet heykeli yükseliyordu. Postahanenin önünde

nihayetlenen meydanın büyük caddeye çıkan noktasında onbir Temmuz namına bir ták-ı zafer görölüyordu.

Köprünün üzerinden biraz sıkışan izâihâm burada açılıyor, muhtelif semtlere ayrılan omnibüs merkezlerinden muhtelif istikametlere dağılıyordu. Köşelerde vakur, ciddi çehreli, yakaları ayyıldızlı, üniformaları, ellerinde yine ayyıldızlı tüfekleri ile dik, ciddi polis memurları görünüyordu. Mübareze-i hayatta azalmamak ve mevki-ini tutmak için kemal-i tahalükle fakat kemal-i cesaret ve şevkle koşuşan halkın, kanun kelime-i mukaddesesini anlamış olan şu milletin arasında dolaşan bu polis çehreleri tecessüm etmiş vazifeye benziyordu. "Kanun namına" ihtariyle tüfeğini kaldırıncaya yirmi kişiyi birden durdurabilecek polisler, artık kadınlar da kaldırımların köşelerine büzülerek sık adımlarla kendilerinden uzaklaşmağa sevk eden eski ihtiraz ve nefreti uyandırmıyorlardı. Kendileri kadınları taciz etmek değil, öyle bir fikir taşıyacak kadar medeniyetten bi-nasip olanları bile o muhterem üniformaları görünce kadınlara yol vererek savuşuyorlardı.

Şimendifer durunca aklım başıma geldi, güneşli yollarda bizi sürükleyen eski bir kira arabası ile Makri-köyündemillet bahçesindeki tiyatroya gidiyorduk. "Ah, dedim; bu tiyatroyu da hayalimi bir kaç dakika evvel kopardığım atiden, görmüş olsam!" ve hemeh muhayyilem yakın bir istikbalin tecceddütlerine terakkilerine doğru kanatlan-
dı.

Bir gece fakat elektriğin bütün son tarz dilnişini ile parlandığı münevver bir gece hanımlara yeni bir piyes

oyunacaktı. Harici eski Panteon'u takliden yapılmış cephesi mermer direkli büyük bir tiyatronun mükellef merdivenlerinden çıkıyorduk. Herkes çocuğunu Karagöz'e, sinamatografa, cambaza göndermiş olduğundan tiyatroya giriş kemal-i sükunetle oluyordu. Tavanlarda pek sanatlı yazılar, çiçekler tersim eden elektrik ziyaları açık renk sade tuvaletleri örten beyaz, yumuşak borozlu nazik vücutları, pembe beyaz kolların şairane düşüşüyle setr ettiği güzel başları bütün şaşaa-i maranesiyle yıkıyordu. Koyu kadife döşemeli localarına dayanmış henüz medeniyetin, sefahatin kirletmediği taravetli, genç simaları tiyatroyu hıncakınç dolduran, bütün beyazlar içinde büyük bir insan buketine benzeyen memleketimizin kadınlarına baktım, mütebessim, müşevveş çehreleri, bekaret-i ruhları parlayan saf alınları sadeliklerini muhafaza ettikleri biraz yeknesak fakat nezih ve ahenktar tuvaletleri karşısında kalbim derin bir iftiharve minnetdari ile doldu. Fakat perdenin de oynayacak piyesle münasebeti vardı. Her Osmanlı'nın kalbinde o kadar aşına o kadar muharrem bir ubudiyet uyandıran hilâl, gümüşten büyük bir hilâl, gine gümüşten bir yıldız ile koyu kırmızı bir kumaşın üzerinde parıldıyordu. Sahnenin iki tarafında elektrik ziyasıyla hürriyet, müsavat, uhuvvet yazılı idi.

Orkestra başladı. Vatani tebci eden nazenin bir vekarla titreşen nurlukelimeler, nazik hilâl, hürriyet marşı, o kadar inca hissiyatımızı okşayan milli hava, bunu ayakta dikilirken başka bir vecd ile pembeleşen mütevazı' fakat coşkun çehreler, bu ziya, bu ahenk, bu rangin nermin

kalabalık ruhunu kavramış şimdiye kadar bilmediği bilemedği bir istihrak, bir bihuşi ile sarsıyordu.

Arkadaşım kolumdan çekti. Şimdi hayal semasından kanatların kırılmış sükut ediyordum. Ayaklarımızın altında çürük tahtalardan biri çıkmış ayağımız içeriye batıyordu. Locayı değiştirdik. Bu defa üstümüzdeki locanın köhne tahtalar, fındık fıstık kabuklarının çatırtısı ile karışmış daimi bir çatırtı ile başımızın üstünde oynuyordu. Oyun başlamıştı. Tiyatro hıncahınç doluydu. Pek az çarşaf karışan bu beyazlı kalabalık yeknazarda göze pek hoş görünüyordu. Pakata beşte biri çocuk olan huzzarda daimi bir temevvüc, bir hareket görünüyordu. Çocuklar, yer değiştiriyorlar; hanımların kimi ayakta aktörlerin sesine rekabet eden satıcıları çağırıyorlardı. Bir hamam civıltısı, aktörleri seslerini işittirmek için bağırmaya mecbur eden üçyüz ağzın birden fındık kırışı vardı.

İşitmez isem hiç olmazsa görürüm diye sahneye yüzümü çevirdim. Bukadar mayaneyle hüsn-ü niyetleri bozulmayan aktörler, şu iptidai piyasin kursurlarına unutturarak yalnız mana-yı millisi ile herkesi ağlatan parçaları bütün varlıkları ile oynuyorlardı. Oyunla münasebeti yarıttık dekorların arkasında aktörlerin giyinişi, tiyatronun delik tahtalarından bedava oyun seyretmek için içeriye dalan başlar görünüyordu. Sonra daima başıma çatırdayarak beni tehdit eden tavandan deliğe sıkışmış bir iskarpin ökçesi zihnimi meşgul ediyordu.

Üçüncü perdede o kadar hale münasib güzel cümleler vardı ki bu müttehir kitlenin bir kısmı dinlenmek için

Ötekileri sükunete davet etti..-Sus, sus ! Bana fırancala getirmedi...Ayol, bir saattir peynir bekliyordum.-Sus, sus. A, susuzluktan öleyim mi ?.. -Uzun saçlı kız, otur bakayım sandalyene... Fehim efendiden daha meşhur olan francalacı ile fındıkçıya hitablar, sahneye arkasını dönmüş kemal-i hiddetle kollarını sallayarak sucuyu çağırınlar, el şakırtıları, çocuk naleleri, kışkışlar arasında üçüncü perde kapandı.

Perde arasında orkestra oyunun mevzu-una gülünç bir suratte bigane olan "Ki kı ku ku " şarkısı ile "ma Çiç" i çalmaya başladı. Gözlerimde iki damla yaş dudaklarımın men'edemediğim asabi bir kahkaha dolaşıyordu.

Beşinci perdede Hürriyet Marşı'na ta'zim için bir iki istisna ile hemen herkes ayağa kalktı. Fakat fındık fıstık çatırdısı , localardan fahiş bir su parası koparmak için hanımlarla pazarlığa girmiş olan sucuların sesleri, bayraklardan silahlardan, arnavut kostümlerinden ürkererek çığlıklarının mabaddlarına devam eden çocuklar şarkının bir kelimesini bile anlamaya mani' idi. Hele hiç münasebeti olmadan her mısra' arasında çırpılan el şakırtıları!

Son perdeye doğru gürültü ziyadeleşti. En mühim bir yerinde idi, fettah bey uyuyan oğlunu öldürmek mecburiyet-i feci'esiyle onun başında iken kolunu afak müttehiç, müttehiz bir el asabi bir ihtilaçla sıktı. Yedi sekiz yaşında sarı benizli, parlak zeki nazarlı, şakakları gerilmiş zayıf bir erkek çocuk, bütün ruhu gözlerine toplamış, sahneye bakıyordu. Silah şakırtıları, bayraklar, kahramane söz-

ler, vatan sarhoşluğu ile titreyen bu narin bu hassas küçük Osmanlı'ya kolunu uzattım, omuzlarını okşadım. Kendisine benzer birkaç çocuk locamızın önündeki sandalyelere çıkmış, gürültü arttıkça gözlerini kulaklarını ayıramadıkları sahneden titreyerek kadınlara dönüyor, kemal-i isyan ve istihkarla "sussanıza ya.!" diye diye şikayet ediyorlardı.

Bundan sonra istikbali iyi görünen tiyatro kumpanyalarımıza ait bir ihtar hatırıma geldi. Mevki' -i fiile kumulabilirse muvaffakiyete doğru ilk adım atılmış olur: Evvela, dışarıya bir büfe yapılarak satıcıların içeri girmesinin men' edilmesi, Hanımlar perde arasında dışarı çıkar yiyebilirler.

Bir de milletin veya devletin bir marşı veya ilahisi lazımdır. Hürriyet Marşı söylenirken bir iki locada hanımlar kımıldamadılar diğer bir locada mavi tuvaletli bir madam ayak ayak üzerinde bir vazı--ı mütekebbirane ile oturuyordu. Kendisinin ecnebi olması ihtimali düşünülürse de bu ihtimal bir mazeret olamaz. Bir Fransız ictimaiyatında "Marseyez" çalınında herkes ayağa kalkarsa huzzar arasında bir Türk, Bir Alman yahut Rus da kaide-i nezakete bîaeten kıyam eder.

Tiyatrodan çıkarken kendi kendime: " Tiyatro kırık, sahne levazımı eksik olabilir." bunlar zamanla düzelir, fakat aktörlerin o kadar hüsn-ü niyetle severek oynadıkları milli bir parçanın en vatanperver parçalarında hissiz bir lakaydi ile yemişçileri çağaranlar... Bunlar düzelir mi ?" dedim.

Dönüşte memleketimiz, kadınlarımız için gelirken
daldığım tatlı hayallere dalmağa cesaret edemedim. Ruhumda
garib bir kesi ve fütur vardı.

Halide Salih

Burgaz: 1 Ağustos 1324

APPENDIX - C

DÜNKÜ HAL

(Volkan, 1 Nisan 1325)

Dün sabah Kadıköyü'nde Mısırlıoğlundan vasıl-ı sem' -i teessüfüm olan bir haber, bila-ihtiyar: eyvah ey zalim sokak ! Akibet-i millet-i mazlume-i İslamiye'ye kan ağlatacaksınız, o pek toplanmış esrar-amiz, mübhem imalarla kederlerle, eseflerle musahabelerden sonra etraftan heyecan engiz istihzalar birbirini takip ediyor. Helecan-ı derunun mütezayed oluyor idi. Bu akşam, evet: Bu akşam İstanbul'da bu vukuat-ı müellime zuhur etmiş. Ruh madde mechul, gece silah sesleri İstanbul'u titretmiş, memleket yerinden oynamış. Bu haberler beni korkutdu.

Bir an evvel İstanbul'a geçip esas meseleyi anlamak, işin hakikatine kesb-i ittila etmek için vapurun hareketini sabırsızlıkla bekliyordum.

Mübhem, mübhem nazarlar, hukuk-u umumiye'ye te'siratımız ^{af} ilka ediyor. İşte: ruh-u ^{الساك} bu helecan-ı vatanperverane ile kıvranarak nihayet Köprü'ye vasıl oldum.

Basdığım yerleri görmeyerek Köprü'nün Yeni Cami' cihetine tekarrüb ettim. Gözlerime ilişen müdhiş bir levha karşısında birdenbire irkildim, kaldım. Memleketimizin heykel-i felaketi olan bu kanlı levha milletimizin istikbalinden adeta beni nevmid etdi. Kulaklarımda uğultular hasıl oldu. Henüz mes'elenin ne olduğunu bilmeyerek ve

nereye gideceğimi ta'yin etmeyerek Köprü başında ilk tesadüfettiğim bir arabaya bindim ve yalnız çek, emrinden sonra arabanın içinden etrafı teftişe başladım. Hamidiye Türbesi'nin önünden geçerken şanlı, mücessem-i hamiyet bir olay, evet: nizam ve intizamiyle gıtabahşa-ı dikkatimi celbetti. Dur! Arabacı dedim. Onlar, o mukaddes, o dindar, o şeci' askerler parlak süngüleri ellerinde olduğu halde saf, saf toplanmışlar görüşüyorlar.

İçlerinden zeki, haluk, fatin olduğu anlaşılan nasiye-i ümid-bahşasından anlaşılan bir başçavuş: Arkadaşlar! Millet bizi dinimiz için, vatanımız için besliyor. Bugün biz dinimizi vatanımızı, hem de bizi besleyen milletimizi, din kardeşlerimizi vatan kardeşlerimizi Şeref Sokağı adamlarından beş on zabitanın hatırı için ayağımızın altına alırsak bizden Allah da razı olmaz, peygamber de. Bugün biz ya ölmeliyiz veyahud Şeref Sokağı'nın hatırası için millete zulm eden Sadr-ı azam, Harbiye Nazırını kabul etmemeliyiz. İşte asker kardeşlerimbugün, yarın ve daima milletden başka kimseye esir olmayalım. Yalnız milletimize sadakat gösterelim, diyordu: sem'-i iftihar ve ibtihacla istima' ettiğim şi nutk-u garra, bendeki tesirleri te'essürleri tamamen izale etdi. Altı, yedi yüz seneden beri şanıyla, zaferiyle, namusuyla, istikametile, vekarıyla, azametiyle, heybetiyle, dehşetiyle Avrupalıların gıbtalara düşüren bu Osmanlı ordusunu arabanın içinde kaimen alkışladım ve "Yaşasın Osmanlı askerleri" diye bütün ruhumla, kalbimle takdir ederek duhan oldum. Artık

bu levha-i mukaddeseyi şu nutk-u mübecceli görüp işitdik-
ten sonra bende te'essürden, kederden, gamdan, merakdan
eser kalmamıştı. Kalben ferih, fahûr olarak arabacıya çek:
işaretini tekrar etdim. Fakat sevincimden araba içinde
duramayarak Soğukçeşme Telgrafhanesinin önünde indim. Mey-
dan, kalabalık oldu şu için Ayasofya Cami'-i Şerifinin
meyyit ^{میت} kapısı tarafından Mebusan Dairesinin önünde
heybet numa-yı azamet olan şanlı askerlerimiz arasında
sokuldum. Musahabât-ı dindaraneleri (Bize şapka giydirmek
isteyen millet reisi Rıza Efendi'yi, memleketi nifaka,
fesada düşürmek için çalışan Hüseyin Cahid Efendi'yi, mil-
leti terk edip de Şeref Sokağı'nı iltizam eden Sadriazamı,
Harbiye Nazırını istemeyiz. Meclis-i Mebusan ne yapacaksa
Şeriate tetabbuk ederek yapmalı) sözlerinden ibaret. İşte
bu sözler fahrime-i ibtihacıma bâdi oldu! Meserretimden
eşk-i şadi dökülüyordum.

O anda idi ki askerlere boru ile "Selam dur!" emri
verildi. Askerler kemali-i tevazu' ve edeble selam durdular.

Süngüler, bütün celâdetile birer seyf-i
Şeriat kesilmiş parlıyor, nur-u Şeriatden birer numune gibi
enzar-ı temaşayı kamaşdırıyor, muntazam bir âvâz umumun
nazarlarını celb etti...

Mebusan Dairesinin önü bembeyaz kesildi. Herkesde
hissiyat-ı diniye galeyana geldi. Bir taraftan "Yaşasın
Şeriat-i garrâ-yı Muhammediye" diye feryad ediyorlar,
bir taraftan da Allah, allah diye figan ediyorlardı.

Ey Ümmet-i Muhammed!

İşte: Görüyorsunuz ki birkaç aydan beri Şeref Soka-

ğının istinad ettikleri şu şanlı süngüler bugün hakikati anlayarak o merdud sokak tarafından işgal edildiklerini idrak ederek hakikate rücu' ettiler.

Biz de hakiki olarak çalışalım, usul-ü meşveretin şer'-i şerifinahkam-ı münifinden bulunduğunu iyi bilelim ve usul-ü meşveredi elden bırakmayalım. Şeriat ve kanun ahkâmına talib olanlar kanun ve Şeriate tecavüz edemez.

Bunun için kimsenin şübhesi olmasın. Usul-ü meşvereti istemeyenler hakk-ı teala indinde menfur olur.

Ey! Milleti-i necibe-i Osmaniyeyi menfaat-i şahsiyeleri uğrunda nifaka düşürmek isteyen zalim sokak! Sen kendini Rüstem-i zal zann ediyordun, milleti baziçe yapmak istedin, orduyu siyasiyatla iştigal ettirdin. Kendini dev aynasında gördün. Alenen ben zulm edici bir zalimim dedin. Fakat: Sen evet;

(Sen emin ol bulmaz aleme kemal ve itibar itba' etmezse her kim Mustafa kanununa Hükümet-i dünya bilinmez vakit olur ki dehr-i dün Rüstem-i Zali bile mahkum eder madununa)

Lutfi

APPENDIX D

31 MART İHTİLÂL-İ ASKERİSİ
(11 NISAN İNKILABI- BÖLÜM II)

31 Mart sabahı, İstanbul âfakını dehşetler içinde bırakan mütevali tüfenk sadaları ile infilâk etmişti. Gece saat yedide başlayan ısyan-ı askerî gittikçe tevessü' ediyor, asker Ayasofya Meydanına fevc fevc toplanıyor, yeşil, siyah, beyaz bayraklar bu ısyan-ı askerî mürettiblerinin fikirleri kadar müşevves bir halde Ayasofya Meydanında temevvüc ediyordu. Artık herkes sokaklara fırlamıştı. İhtilalin ilk nişane-i heycan engizi olan tüfenk sadaları halkı tamamen ikaz etmiş, herkes bu nağihani ihtilalin esbabını anlamak için mütereddid hatvelerle ilerliyor, sabahın sükunet saheri içinde Ayasofya Meydanına doğru müsellaah askerlerin, hocaların katile katile gittikleri görülüyordu. Ötede, bu kalabalığın mütevali cereyanları arasında, kırmızı fesli, pantolonu yırtık, fesi püskülsüz, parmakları potininden çıkmış bir serserinin bed-mestane, asiyan bir tavır ile Şeriatden bahs ettiği işitiliyor, beride bu ısyanın elim neticeler ihdas edeceğine mutma'in bir vatanperver, melalalud, endişenâk bir sima ile düşünüyor, ve bu ihtilalin bütün safhatını tedkık için kafâleler arasında ilerliyordu. Ayasofya Meydanı sarı elbiseli, parlak süngüllü: Avcı Taburu efradile dolmuştu. Ceplerini altunlarla dolduran bu asiler, Şeriatin birer kahramanı kesilmişlerdi. Bütün asker Ayasofya Meydanını ihata etmiş, sokak başlarını tutmuş, hocalardan başka kimsenin gâçmesine müsaade etmiyordu. Sultanahmed Bahçesinin önü Sanayi' Alayı Sübyan bölükleriyle kuşatılmıştı. Vatanın bu nankör çocukları, ellerinde martin-

ler, muttasıl oynuyorlar, yılışık, şımarık bir sima ile tüfenklerine dayanıyorlar, Avcı Taburları neferlerinin bütün emirlerine münkad oluyorlardı. Ayasofya Meydanını, Divanyolu etrafını ihata eden bu asi askerler arasından hiçbir kimse geçemiyor, polisler güya bu hareket-i isyaniyede idare-i inzibata memur imişler gibi bir faaliyet-i fevkalade ile askerler arasında dolaşıyorlardı. Ötede bir jandarma, fesini arkaya yıkmış, tüfengini omuzuna almış, alnından akan terleri siliyor, diğer taraftan sübyan efradına nutuklar irad ediyor, ve bu hakimiyetinden memnun, müfthehir saflar arasında dolaşıyordu. Sonra birkaç Avcı neferi kışlalara koşuyor, işgal ettiği neferlerle beraber Divanyolundan geçiyordu. Halk bu ihtilal-i askerinin bütün esrarına gayr-ı vakıf Divanyolunda gittikçe tezyid ediyor, Harbiye Nezareti civarı asi askerle malamal oluyordu. Isyan-ı askeriye bastırmak artık imkân haricine gelmişti. Hassa kumandanı bu ihtilalin bir an evvel önünü almak istemiş, fakat Harbiye Nazırının tereddüdü, Sadriazamın korkaklığı hiçbir tedbir ittihazını te'min edememişti. İhtilal gittikçe tevessü' ediyordu. Kışlalarda zabitler parça parça ediliyor, nasihaate cür'et eden zabitan iki kurşunla attan düşürülüyordu. Bu cinayetler gittikçe tezayüd ediyordu. Bir zabıt Köprü'de caniyane bir surette katl edilmiş, akşamlara kadar sokak ortalarında yatmış, arabacılar bir ta'assub-u zalimane ile bu bedbaht kahramanı taşımakta n içtinab ediyordu. Artık bütün sokaklar ahali ile dolmuş, Divanyolu'nun kalabalığı fevkalade tezayüd etmişti. Saat beşe doğru vardı ki, uzakdan beyaz bembeyaz bir kabile görüldü. Bu kabile, sırf hoşalardan mürekkebdü. Kafilenin etrafında uzun boylu, güneşden yüzleri yanmış askerlerin

keskin kasaturaları parlıyor, önünde bir beruzan Ayasofya Meydanına doğru boru çalıyordu. Kafilenin önünde, içinde, etrafında pejmürde kıyafet, ayağı çıblak, taassubundan çıldırmak derecelerine gelmiş cehel-i avamın bağıra bağıra gittikleri görülüyor ve bütün bu velvele-i uzma içinde aheste, hafif tekbir sadaları işitiliyordu.

Bu kabile Ayasofya Meydanını tamamen doldurmuş, askerden ne istedikleri sual olunmuştu. Asker dört şey talep ediyordu:

1. Kabineni sukutu,
2. Mebusandan bazılarının müba'deti,
3. Ahkâm-ı şer'iyenin tamamen tatbiki,
4. Alaylı zabitanın yerlerine ta'yini.

Fakat bu dört arzu, istibdadı iade için tamamen kâfi idi. Asker bu arzunun saa'ı yediye kadar ifasını talep eyliyor, bu esnada cinayetler ika'ında hâli kalmiyordu. Binay-ı rabbanîyi zalimane bir surette yıkmak cesaretini gösteren bu denîler, ceble ine doldukdukları rüşvetler te'siriyle Şeriatden, adaletden bahs ediyorlardı. Artık tüfenk sadaları İstanbul afâkında medid tanınlar husule getirmeğe başlamışdı. Cebhaneler çatır çatır kırılıyor, silahlar harisane yağma oluyordu. Vatan, millet, hürriyet tahlükede bulunuyordu. Herkes ikişer üçer toplamış, bu ihtilalden müte'essirane bahs ediyor, asi asker kurşunundan kurtulan genç, vatanperver zabitlerin sivil elbiselerle gezdikleri görülüyordu. Bütün bu asi neferlere ne istedikleri sual olunduğu zaman: Şeriat isteriz! diyorlar, fakat bu taleblerini muhikk gösterecek hiçbir delil gösteremeyarlardı. Ayasofya Meydanında, beyaz çiçekler açmağa başlayan kestane ağaçlarının latif gölgeleri al-

tında sarı elbiseli askerlerin süngüleri parlıyor, bütün hareket Avcı Taburlarından iki çavuş tarafından idare olunuyordu. Bu çavuşlar bütün askere kumandanlık ediyor, ma'iyetlerinde birkaç neferle bir boruzan bulunuyordu. İki çavuşun bir vaz'-ı vakurane ile verdikleri emirler tekmil efrad tarafından kemal-i sür'atle icra olunuyordu.

O gün Meclis-i Mebusana gelen mebusların mecmu'u ancak kırka baliğ olmuştu. Mebuslardan bazıları vatanın tehlikeye bulunduğunu beyan ediyor, usâtın arzularını is'afdan başka çare olmadığı der-meyan olunuyordu. Fakat kalplerde cay-gir olan endişe ve heyecan, kemal-i sükûnetle icray-ı müzakereye mani oluyordu.

Mebusan, müzakerat ile meşgul olduğu sırada süngülü neferlerle beraber bir hey'et-i ilmiyye Mebusan salonuna dahil olmuştu. Her tarafda azim bir heyecan hüküm-fermâ oluyordu. Dışarıda, Ayasofya Meydanında, sarı elbiseli Avcı neferleri, pejmürde kıyafet, beyaz sarıklı hocalar bir seylabe-i bukelamun halinde daimi bir taşayan içinde bulunuyor, acı acı sami'aya aks eden boru sadaları mütemadiyen tekerrür ediyor, askerlerin müdhiş âvâzeleri tüyleri ürpertiyordu.

Mebusandan bazıları Babıali ile, Harbiye Nezareti ile muhavere ediyor, Meclis-i Mebusanda kabineye adem-i itimad fikirleri ileyirye sürülüyordu. Bu sırâda birkaç nefer parlak süngüleri, mahi-i hayat tüfenkleri ile içeri girmişler, meramlarına ifham edemeyecek bir cehalet sarfa içinde havf ve tehdid emareler gösteriyorlardı. Hey'et-i murahhasa-i ilmiyyeden bir zat, asi askerlerin süngü uçlarına güvenerek kürsi-i hitabete çıkmış, cahilane, asiyanec bir nutukla bu asi askerlerin hissiyatına tercemen olmak istiyordu. Vatanda

Şeriat olanca ahkâmiyle câri olduğu halde mebusana Şeriat der-
si veriliyor, fakat dışarıda, sokak başlarında kışla avlula-
rında bin türlü cinayetler ika' olunuyordu. İnsan bütün bu
cinayetleri, bütün bu mezalimat-ı gayr-i meşru'ayı düşündük-
çe Şeriat namına feryad etmekkden kendisini alamıyordu!

Bu nutk-u cahilane hitam bulur bulmaz, kır sakallı
bir binbaşı mebusan sıralarına çıkmış, müheyyic, tehdid-amiz.
bir sada ile Şeriat uğrunda feday-ı can edeceğini söylüyor-
du. Fakat nutkun nihayetinde çoluk çocuk sahibi olduğunu,
açığa çıkarılmış bulunduğunu bir safvet-i cahilane ile beyan
eylediği zaman, kendisinin Şeriat uğrunda değil, milletin
ulüvv-cenabı sayesinde her zaman bulabildiği nan ve nimeti
inkâr ederek hırs ve ta'amı uğrunda kanlar dökmek istediğini
ifham ediyordu.

Mebusan, bin türlü ricalarla bu hey'et-i murahhasayı
çıkarmağa muvaffak olmuş, nihayet kabinenin isti'fa etmesine
karar vermişti. Neferler ise muttasıl telgrafa müracaat edi-
yorlar, Sultan Hamid'in gelmesini musrırane, tehdidkârâne
taleb ediyorlardı. Birkaç defalar: "Sultan Hamid geliyor!"
diye şayialar çıkmış, hünkâr locası temizlenmiş, fakat Ab-
dulhamid Yıldız Sarayında kadınlar arasından dışarı çıkmamış-
tı.

Ayasofya Meydanında kalabalık gittikçe tezayüd edi-
yor, sokaklardan geçmek imkân haricine geliyordu. Bir taraf-
dan süngüleri takmış neferler, terler içinde, hiçbir tarafa
bakmayarak akın akın geliyor, diğer taraftan meydana dahâl
olan kit'alar çavuşların emriyle kendilerine gösterilen yer-
lerde ahz-ı mevki' ediyorlardı. Uzakdan yavaş yavaş, sarar-
mış, bembeyaz benizleriyle birkaç mebus görünmeğe başlamıştı.

Her mebusun refakatinde iki nefer gidiyor, fakat mebuslarda azim bir tereddüd nümayan oluyordu. Bunlar kâh ilerliyor, kâh gerilemek istiyor, kendilerini her taraftan ihata eden ölüm tehlikeleri içinde heyecan-engiz, fakat bitabane adımlarla ilerliyorlardı. Bir müddet sonra bir araba durdurulmuş, genç bir mebusa arabadan inmesi teklif ediliyordu. Süngüler tehdid-amiz bir surette üzerine tevcih ediliyor, bu muhterem mebus tüfenklerin üzerine doğru tevcih edildiğini görür görmez: Ben Cahid değilim, söze isbat edeyim! diye me'yusane bir feryad ediyordu; ötede başka bir nefer: O'dur, öldürün! diye bağıriyordu; o za an mavzerler boşanıyor, süngüler kanlara boyanıyordu. İnsan kanı dökmek bu asi neferler için büyük bir muvaffakiyet idi. Bunlar vatanın muhterem evlâdlarını bu suretle telef etmeğe muvaffak olunca, derhal havaya tüfenk atmaya başlıyorlar, o zaman siviller yığın yığın kaçışıyorlar, bir müddet sonra bu feci' cinayetleri görmek için tekrar toplaşıyorlardı.

Artık akşam olmağa başlamışdı. Asker hiçbir karar ittihaz edememiş, ortalık azim bir heyecan içinde kalmışdı. Zulam-ı leyl Ayasofya'nın cesim kubbesini bir heyula-yı mu'azzam halinde gösteriyor, hava gazlarının ^{الغازات} bitabanesi altında kasaturaların parladağı görülüyordu. Vatanı bu isyan-ı elim ile perişan etmeğe teşebbüs eden Vahdetî, başına yeşil bir sarık sarmış, hoca kıyafetinde, süngü parıltıları arasında dolaşıyor, elinde yeşil bir bayrak, safdil, asi askerlere Şeriatden bahsediyordu. O zaman, vatandaşlarının kanlarını için bu neferler bir teslimiyet-i dindarane ile koşuşuyorlar, Vahdetî'nin elini öpmek için birbirleriyle rekabet ediyorlardı. Vahdetî, bir vaz-ı vakurane ile

askere emirler veriyor, bu emirler derhal kıta'ate tebliğ ediliyordu.

Gece olmağa başlamış, tüfenk sadaları el'an nihayet bulmamıştı. Kabinayı devirmeye, erbab-ı iktidarı katl etmeğe muvaffak olan neferler, şimdi yeni kabineye intizar ediyorlar, Ayasofya Meydanını dolduran asiler fevc fevc Sirkeci'ye doğru ilerliyorlardı. Sokaklar gittikçe kararıyor, zulam-ı leyl her tarafa istila ediyordu. Ayasofya tarafından, Sirkeci önlerinden boru sesleri, silah patırtılarına işitiliyor, arada sırada: Çok yaşa! sadâları gecenin sükunet-i binihayesi içinde tanin-endaz oluyordu. Artık asker arzusuna tamamen na'il olmuşdu. Harbiye Nazırı değişmiş, gece saat üçde bütün asker kışlalarına avdet eylemişti. Fakat bu avdet pek velvele-engîz idi. Bir taraftan tüfenk sadaları mütemadi haşyet-âver bir muharebeyi andıracak vechile saatlerce imtidad ediyor, diğer taraftan Abdulhamid-i zalimin marşı uzakdan uzağa akis-endaz oluyordu. Gece saat beşe doğru icra edilen bir ateş, herkesde azim bir heyecan husule getirmişdi. Leylin zulam-ı binihayesi içinde melul ve müte'essir hiçbir tarafa kıvıldamayan halk, bu muharebe-i leyliyi hiçbir şeye haml edemiyor, fakat ertesi sabah bunun binihaye bir sürü dan ibaret olduğunu anlayınca havf ve heyecanından ne yapacağını şaşırıyordu.

1 Nisan sabahı, yine tüfenk sadaları ile infilâk etmişti. Bir gün evvelki cinayâtın tevali etmeyeceğine mütmün olan halk mütereddidane, mütecessine hatvelerle ilerlediği esnada yanı başında bütün hayvaniyetini izhar eden bir neferin hiçbir tarafa bakmadan havaya ateş ettiğini görüyordu. Bazan bu nefer kafileleri arasına karışan hocalar, önün-

deki neferin kursunlariyle telef olunuyor, ve bu cahil asker arasında pantolonu düşmüş, fessiz, pejmürde kıyafet çocuklar, asi neferlerin boyunlarına asdıkları tüfenk dipçiklerinden tutmuşlar, bir şevk-ı tıfılane ile ilerliyorlardı.

Şehrin hücre köşelerinde, mektebli zabitan aleyhine icra-i cinayetler birbirini vely ediyordu. Cahil bir nefer, sokakta tesadüf ettiği mektepli bir binbaşığı kursunla telef ediyor, birkaç nefer genç bir zabiti zavcesinin gözü önünde parçalıyordu. Bütün bu ihtilâl, medeniyete, terakkiyat-ı fikriyyeye, fikr-i hürriyete karşı icra ediliyordu.

Fahriye efradının cinayetleri akla hayret verecek bir dereceyi bulmuşdu. Beş on nefer bühtanlar, iftiralarla vatanperver bir binbaşığı yakalamışlar, Yıldız'la, Abdulhamid-i zalimin önüne getirmişlerdi. Abdülhamid, muzlim, istibdad-âlud simasiyle pencereye çıkmış, neferleri isticvab etmiş, sonra bir işaret etmişti. Bu kabile-i haşarat içinde bitab, sararmış bir halde duran binbaşı, artık ondan sonra müdhiş bir taarruza duçar olmuş; bir nefer, süngüsünü karnına saplamış, diğer beynini parçalamış, diğer biri de boynuna bir ip takarak sürüklüye sürüklüye götürmüş, nihayet biçare şehidi ağaçlara salb eylemişti. Abdülhamid bu gece' cinayetlerden kat'iyen müte'essir olmamış, altunlar, mücevherlerle doldurduğu sarayına kemal-i sükûnetle avdet eylemişti.

Yıldız'da bu cinayetler ika' olunduğu esnada, İstanbul'da (Şuray-ı Ummet), (Tanin) idarehaneleri yağma ediliyordu. Divanyolu'ndan geçen hocaların, askerlerin, esafil-i nâsın elinde, parçalanmış, buruşmuş Tanin gazeteleri görüyor, asi bir asker büyük bir matbaa makinesi yüklenmiş,

müsterrihane ilerliyordu. Artık hiçbir nizamdan, hiçbir kandan korku kalmamışdı. Neferler, gazetelere ilaveler neşrettiriyor, tesadüf ettiği zabite şiddetli bir tokat indirerek cebinden revolverini gasb ediyordu. Ötede bir nefer zabitanın pantolonunu çözdürüyor, ahalinin boyun bağlarını koparıyor, kahvehaneden resimleri çıkarıyor, gramofondan hürriyet plaklarına kırıyor. Beride Şeriat isteyen diğer bir nefer meyhanelerde, umumhanelerde silahını bırakıyor, vahşiyane cinayetler ika'ya ediyordu. Sokaklarda mektepli zabitanın adına hiçbir ferde tesadüf edilmiyordu. Bu ihtilal-i askerinin kahramanlarına teşkil eden bazı alaylı zabitler yıllık bir sima, ta'lim ve terbiyeden mahrum bîr vaziyette sokaklarda dolaşıyorlar, kışlaları meyhane haline getiriyorlardı. Artık intizam mahv olmuş, hürriyet elden gitmiş, millet rahm ve şefkatten mahrum, âdâb-ı diniyeye gayr-ı vakıf, para ile Şeriat isteyen neferler eline kalmışdı. Gazeteler bütün nefer-varakalarıyla mâli çıkıyordu. Beriden bir nefer tesettür hakkında ihtar-nameler neşr ediyor; öteden bir çavuş biçare bir kadının saçlarını keserek vahsetler icra ediyordu. Bu neferler milletin nazarına artık birer eanavar gibi görünmeğe başlamışdı. İnsan bu nâtik hayvanları ellerindeki süngülerle parçalamak, şehid düşen zabitlerin intikamını onlardan almak; bu asi askerleri mahv etmek istiyor, o zaman bütün kuvvayı bitab bırakan acz-i küllî bütün emelleri zir-ü-zeber ediyordu.

Abdülhamid bu hallerden son derece memnun oluyordu. Artık iradeler Yıldız menba-ı istibdadından sudur etmeye başlamış. avf-ı umumî ilan edilmiş, Babıaliye mabeyinciler gönderilmişti. Abdülhamid, bu asi askerlerin âvâze-i süruru i-

çinde ilk istibdad selâmlığını icra etmiş, fakat askerın avdeti ahali beyninde yeniden heyecanlar tevlid eylesmişdi. İstibdad bütün mezalimiyle tevali ediyor, millet ve hürriyet asi neferlerin yed-i hainânesinde bulunuyordu.

İstanbul ihtilali taşralarda gayet amik bir te'sir husule getirmişti. İstihsal-i hürriyet için seneherce kan döken İkinci ve Üçüncü ordular bu haber-i felâketi alır almaz ordularda azim bir tağayan-ı ıstika husule gelmiş, mehd-i hürriyet olan bu ufukları renk-i dilaviz-atesini üzerinde süngüler parlamaya, kılıçlar şakırdamaya, kalbler heyecan-ı vatanperverane ile uzun uzun çarpmaya başlamışdı. Vatanın fedakâr evlâdları yine ayaklanmış, yine ordu satvet-i hürriyetperveranesini göstermeğe kıyam etmiş, yine millet sevabık-ı zalim istibdadın kara, mahuf bulutlarını, muzlim, hayatsız zindanlarını, yetim kalan masumların mazlumane göz yaşlarını, şehid olan zabitlerin kanlı kefenlerini, pâ-mâl düsman olan vatanın feryad-ı istimedkârânesini duymuştu. Vatan hakikaten tahlükede idi. Bosna-Hersek'in Avusturya ilhaki hakkındaki protokol yeni tasdik edilmiş, fakat Bulgaristan bu ihtilâlden istifade etmek azmine düşüyor, Bulgar gazeteleri memalik-i Osmaniye'de te'min-i asayişe Bulgaristan'ın muktedir olacağını ileri sürececek derecede cür'et gösteriyorlardı. Fakat Osmanlılar buna meydan vermemek için elden gelen gayreti sarf ediyorlar, Rumeli'de mütema-diyen gönüllü kaydediyorlardı. Saha-i vatan azim bir galeyân-ı himmet içinde kalmıştı. Paris'de ikmal-i tahsil eden gençler, Darülfünunları bırakarak Ohri taburlarına ilti-

hak ediyor, Abdülhamid istibdadına nihayet vermek için azim bir hırs-ı vatanperverane içinde bulunuyordu. Herkes beşik-deki yavrusunu, hasta validesini bırakarak silaha sarılıyor, bu şerefe na'il olamayan genç mektebliler, gönüllü kafilesini götürün trenin önüne yatıyordu. Manastır'da, Selanik'de, Arnavudluk'da, vatanın hemen her köşesinde, Abdülhamid'in istibdadına mahv etmek, vatani bu son felâketden kurtarmak, Osmanlıların büyük bir terbiye-i siyasiyeyi, azim bir hiss-i vatanperveraneyi haiz bulduklarını cihan-ı medeniyete göstermek için şâyân-ı takdir bir müsabaka-i hamiyet ibraz ediliyordu. Rumeli'de, bu müsabaka-i vatanperveraneye fiilen mümkün olamadığı takdirde kalben iştirak etmedik hiçbir ferd kalmamıştı. Bütün Osmanlılar, Temmuz İnkılabının fail-i zikudreti olan orduya iltihak ediyor, bu orduyu sevk ve idare eden genç, muktedir, atespare-i hamiyet zabitan arasında vatanın bu büyük gününden hassa-mend olmak bahtiyarlığını arzu ediyordu. Bir taraftan taburlar seferi bir hale konuyor, İstanbul'a duhul için planlar tertib ediliyordu. Diğer taraftan genç, ihtiyar, bütün evlâd-ı vatan, hürriyet uğrunda feday-ı can için bütün samimiyet-i kalbiyesiyle silaha sarılıyordu. Abdülhamid'in binay-ı istibdadını yıkmak, milleti bu felâket-i müşahhasadan kurtarmağa kat'iyen azm edilmişti. Millet bu arzu ile hareket ediyor, ardu İstanbul asilerinin şeref-i askerî üzerine isar eyledikleri lekeyi temizlemek, Osmanlı namını ^{بر زین} ve şeref göstermek için hareket eyliyordu.

(İ)Ahmed ()Refik

Ibid., pp.24-41

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