universität wien

DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation /Title of the Doctoral Thesis

„Islamic Unity“

(İttihad-ı İslam) and its Conceptual History

with a special focus on the Young Turk Press before 1908

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

Wien, 2016 / Vienna, 2016

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 092 300
Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt / field of study as it appears on the student record sheet:	Politikwissenschaft
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Doz. Dr. Johann Dvorák

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to my advisor, Univ.-Doz. Dr. Johann Dvorák, for his guidance during this dissertation.

I also gratefully thank to Prof. Dr. İsmail Kara, who also inspired and encouraged me with the choice of the topic of the dissertation and his valuable and critical contributions. I am grateful to the comments of Prof. Dr. Gökhan Çetinsaya, Prof. Dr. Azmi Özcan, Prof. Dr. Mümtaz'er Türköne, Doz. Dr. Abdülhamid Kırmızı and Dr. Yunus Uğur. All of these professors contributed an important number of sources and informed me on new historiographical approaches.

I would also like to thank to all the ISAM Library and the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives who were always helpful. Additionally, I am grateful to Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı and its Director Dr. Mustafa Özel, who encouraged me with patience all the time I felt desperate. Additionally, I am grateful to İlim Yayma Vakfı and Türkiye Milli Kültür Vakfı for supporting my Ph.D. with their Scholarship Program.

My special thanks to my friends Serhat Arslaner and Abdülkerim Asılsoy for reading and discussing my drafts, sharing their valuable comments at all moments of the study and to my precious friends Rukiye Kübra& Hamdi Durmuş for everything.

Last, I would like to thank to my family, my husband Fatih Yentürk, my father Ramiz Çolak, my mother Münevver Çolak and my lovely daughters, Mina and Hüma, to whom I owe many stolen times. This dissertation would have never been written without their generous and precious support.

Many other people and institutions have played significant roles throughout the process of my researching and writing this dissertation. I hope those I have forgotten to mention will forgive me.

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"II.Abdülhamid II bibliyograftası", Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı, Türkiye Araştırmaları Merkezi, 20 Aralık 2008 tarihli "Osmanlı Taşrasında II. Meşrutiyet" sempozyum için bibliyografya çalışması (henüz basılmadı).

Translations:

“Çocuklar için ve çocuklarla birlikte bir Avrupa inşası”, Avrupa Konseyi, 2009 - 2011 Çocuk Hakları Stratejisi, Çocuk Vakfı, 2010.

“Ulusal Anayasalar Ve Çocuk Haklarına Dair Karşılaştırmalı İnceleme”, Çocuk Hakları Enstitüsü’ne sunulan taslak- Mart 2010, İsviçre, Çocuk Vakfı, 2012.

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ABSTRACT

The main topic of this work is the history of the concept of Islamic unity in general, and the Young Turks' place in it in particular. But the aim is not to create a chronology of the term Islamic unity, nor does it propose to evaluate and document how it was used by the reigning political power. On the contrary, this work focuses on how this concept and its offshoots were employed by the opposition groups and in return how it affected these groups. In this respect, it almost seems a necessity to follow the methodology of *Begriffsgeschichte.*

This thesis examines related concepts with their changes and transformations and not only the changes in the concepts but also the changes in the language and world-views were investigated. For this study, five Young Turk newspapers were chosen and their issues in 1908 and before were read together with a deep secondary literature review. These newspapers were chosen from the different groups within the Young Turk movement in order to have a more realistic view of it and to convey the heterogeneity within the movement.

Islamic unity is a concept in which the situation and the meanings change independently. Although it was a term with origins in the religion, and were used in the sense of waging jihad to spread Islam in the world and gather Muslims under a single rule; it was used with totally modern motives in the period under inspection, was reformulated in the question: "How can we struggle together against the Western enemy?" and played a role of proto-nationalism.

The concept was accepted and glorified both by Abdulhamid II and the Young Turks, each of these patriotic actors regarded this ideology either as a lifesaver or as a danger that they approached it as a source of social front, solidarity and motivation. But although this period was a time that the unity and solidarity among the Muslim countries, which were all troubled and were not even able to help themselves, voiced quite often and aid campaigns were organized from time to time, it did not witness a real Islamic Unity movement neither politically nor ideologically.

ABSTRACT (IN GERMAN)

Das Hauptthema dieser Arbeit ist die Geschichte des Begriffs der islamischen Einheit im Allgemeinen und der Rolle der Jungtürken darin im Besonderen. Aber das Ziel ist nicht eine Chronologie der islamischen Einheit zu schaffen, auch nicht zu bewerten und zu dokumentieren, wie sie von der herrschenden politischen Macht verwendet wurde. Im Gegensatz dazu konzentriert sich diese Arbeit auf, wie dieses Konzept und seine Abkömmlinge von den Oppositionsgruppen im Gegenzug eingesetzt wurden und wie sie diese Gruppen beeinflussen. In dieser Hinsicht war es fast eine Notwendigkeit, der Methodik der Begriffsgeschichte zu folgen.

Diese Arbeit untersucht die Veränderungen und Transformationen verbundener Konzepte, und sogar nicht nur die Veränderungen der Konzepte, sondern auch die Veränderungen in der Sprache und Weltanschauung. Für diese Studie wurden fünf Zeitungen von Jungtürken ausgewählt, und es wurden alle Ausgaben bevor 1908 mit einer tiefen weiterführenden Sekundärliteratur überprüft. Diese Zeitungen wurden von den verschiedenen Gruppen innerhalb der jungtürkischen Bewegung gewählt, um die Heterogenität innerhalb der Bewegung zu vermitteln und eine realistischere Ansicht zu haben.

Islamische Einheit ist ein Konzept, in dem die Situationen und die Bedeutungen sich ändern. Zwar war es ein Begriff mit Ursprung in der Religion und wurde im Sinne Jihad, zur Verbreitung Islam in der Welt und zur Sammlung der Muslime unter einer einzigen Herrschaft verwendet; es wurde danach auch mit völlig modernen Motiven benutzt, und in als neue Frage formuliert: "Wie können wir gemeinsam gegen den westlichen Feind kämpfen?", und eine Rolle von Proto-Nationalismus spielen

Der Begriff wurde angenommen und verherrlicht sowohl von Abdulhamid II und von Jungtürken, die jeweils patriotischen Akteure waren und diese Ideologie entweder als Retter oder als Gefahr betrachtet haben. Für sie war es eine Quelle der sozialen Front, Solidarität und Motivation. Aber obwohl diese Zeit eine Zeit der Einheit und Solidarität unter den muslimischen Ländern war, die alle beunruhigte und nicht einmal in der Lage gewesen ist, sogar sich selbst zu helfen, äußerte sich das Konzept ziemlich oft als reine Hilfsaktionen aus, und nie als wirkliche politische oder ideologische Bewegung.

1. CHAPTER

INTRODUCTION

There was a book in my father's library that always caught my attention when I was a child: "Where did the Young Turks go wrong?"[1] Seriously, what did they do wrong? Although I did not know its meaning, this question that sounded so charismatic was engraved in my child mind. This book, among all the books in the library, kept catching my eye while playing games, watching TV… Years passed, and we watched Young Turk theatres and read Young Turk novels during our teenage years. However, their true identity was still a mystery. Then, right in the years we were searching for our own identity, our country's endless intrigues started being played on us; and we found ourselves kicked out of the schools and institutions being seen as threats to the state's regime. We found ourselves exiled from our motherland. In Europe, years after my childhood when I was a "jeune" myself; strolling the streets Young Turks walked on years ago, sitting in cafés they drank coffee and searching for what we did wrong, I was interested in the Young Turks with a different mindset and now felt a lot closer to them and I asked the question of my childhood with all my heart: "Where did the Young Turks go wrong?" What mistakes were all these young people, who were exiled in their most beautiful ages from the country they could serve most, making for the last century? Why was the regime always under threat? Why was the country always "needing national unity and solidarity more than any other time" but kicking out this or that person seeing them risky elements? What was the problem with this country? What was the problem with the young people? Why were our problems in conflict with the states'? This is the story of my interest in the Young Turks…

The other aspect of the issue does not need too much elaboration. The idea of Islamic Union must have crossed the mind of every Muslim political science student studying in the European Union, thinking about the last century in which the Muslim world has been the poorest and the most oppressed part of the world.

[1]Süleyman Kocabaş, Kendi *İtiraflarıyla Jön Türkler Nerede Yanıldı? 1890 - 1918 Hayaller... Komplolar... Kayıplar...,* Vatan Yayınları (Istanbul : 1991).

Beyond this motivation in choosing the topic, it is necessary to talk about some problems in the European literature about the topic. With the exception of writers such as Feroz Ahmad, Caroline Finkel, Yasamee, the literature in Europe about Turks still make the least reference to Turkish works and sources. For instance, Ulrich Trumpener's book "Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918" cites only six Turkish sources in its 24 page bibliography and in his article written 16 years later on the same topic we see only one cited Turkish source. (Deringil, 2007: 20) This work separates itself from these examples both by the identity of the author and its dependence on local sources and attempts to fill this gap.

In the last quarter of a century there has been an increase in the number of research, theses, monographs and articles about the end of the Ottoman Empire. Most of these depended on a source inaccessible forty years ago: The archives of the Yıldız Palace. Without a doubt, this new literature created a shift in the existing paradigm and the historiography on the Hamidian era experienced important changes in the last twenty five years. For example, the divide among the secularist and Islamist environments around the discussion of "Red Sultan or Great Khan" is widely surpassed in the academic historiography.[2] However, there are not many works on the topic composed in the University of Vienna, and whatever exists is very old. This work is different in following the new historiography that has been around for the last 25 years although it does not depend on the Yıldız Palace archives and focuses on the periodicals from the late Ottoman years.

1.1. Literature

Periodicals are primary sources giving the historian firsthand knowledge about the political, historical and social peculiarities of their period of publication. Although their publishers and editors reflect their personal understandings and ideas, every periodical that is examined gives a part of the history in this or that way. The greatest difficulty is in analyzing this subjectivity in a healthy way. State archives are good sources for state regulations and practices, but to have a better understanding of the society we need the memoirs, newspapers and journals.

[2] On this topic see: Modernite, Tarih ve ideoloji: II. Abdülhamid II Dönemi Tarihçiliği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme, Nadir ÖZBEK, Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Abdülhamid II'i Anlamak: 19. Yüzyıl Tarihçiliğine Bir Bakış", Sosyal Bilimleri Yeniden Düşünmek: Sempozyum Bildirileri, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998. Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Çıban Başı Koparmamak: II. Abdülhamid II Rejimine Yeniden Bakış", Türkiye Günlüğü,. 58, 1999. Selim Deringil, "New Approaches to the Study of the Ottoman Nineteenth Century", Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu ve Luciene Thys-Şenocak (der.) Abdullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999.

For this study, five Young Turk newspapers were chosen and their issues in 1908 and before were read together with a deep secondary literature review. These newspapers were chosen from the different groups within the Young Turk movement in order to have a more realistic view of it and to convey the heterogeneity within the movement. *Ictihad* represents a more Westernist attitude, while *Şura-yı Ümmet* is more conservative. *Kanun-ı Esasi* is an Ottomanist publication; while *Mizan* is following a pan-Islamist approach. The only newspaper chosen from after the revolution, *İttihad-ı İslam* is an outright pan-Islamist publication.

1.2. Questions

The main topic of this work is the history of the concept of Islamic unity in general, and the Young Turks' place in it in particular. There are a lot of questions that this work tries to answer and some of them are as follows:

What is *İttihad-ı İslam* (Islamic unity)? Where does it stand with all of its actors, its process, its reference and adversary concepts, its predecessors and successors, its theoretical context, its image, institution and symbols, when we think of it within in a *Begriffsgeschichte* study? What did it mean for Abdulhamid II, for the Young Turks, for the people and for the Europeans?

Who are the Young Turks? Is it possible to talk about a single Young Turk prototype? How can we explain their adoption of the concept of Islamic unity, even if only cultural, despite their Westernizing discourse and actions? What were the main arguments and main tools in the relationship between the Young Turks and the concept of Islamic unity? How were the Young Turks different from the Sultan who started following this concept as a policy after being left with a great majority of Muslims in the Empire? Did the Young Turks do anything concrete for the Muslim world while raising money for their Muslim brothers all over the world?

What was the reflection of this concept in Istanbul, in other parts of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim lands under European control?

Is it possible to see this concept as an ideology and connect it to nationalism, thus seeing it as a bridge between Ottomanism and Turkish nationalism?

1.3. Problems

The answers to these questions were not elaborated in perfect comfort and many problems had to be faced in practice. First of all, acquiring the newspapers with all their numbers was a problem in itself; it proved impossible in some cases.

Further, the peculiarity of the "*Lebenswelt*" of the era this study focuses on necessitated a deep historical reading. Going beyond the biases that came up in this reading both from the supporters of the Hamidian regime and the Republican ideology was another serious issue.

Similarly, there was an intense prejudice between the Young Turks that were on the Westernizing side, and the Sultan who tried to exist while protecting his Islamic identity and his subjects. In this context, the Young Turks had to use Islamic motives in order to gain the support of the people and not to lose their trust and had to hide their honest thoughts between the lines; while the Sultan on his part, had to take Westernist steps especially in education which harmed him in the longer run. In this environment of obscurity and of ideological obsessions, the sincerity of most claims was questionable.

Moreover, the newspapers that were used were written in Ottoman Turkish, alphabetically and logically different than modern Turkish as a result of the traumatic language revolution experience of the early Republican years.

Lastly, the fact that thesis is composed in Turkish to be translated in order to prevent semantic shifts born out of the differences in terminology is another obstacle. However, all of these difficulties were meaningful and precious for the maturing of thesis.

1.4. Methodology

Every human activity is the subject of history, or will be. Therefore, it is inevitable that the complexity, colorfulness, diversity and antagonisms of humanity should be reflected in history.

As a result, it is not very easy to decide on a historiographical methodology compared to social sciences. Although it is possible to talk about approaches among historians that see history as a scientific endeavor that is carried out with mathematical methods; there is also a

great number of (especially post-modernist) historians that see history-writing as an equivalent of novel-writing. This prevents history from becoming a systematic and holistic scientific discipline.

In fact, history is too complex to be put in any mould, too diverse for any paradigm to rule over, too wide for any definition to contain all of its properties. The most important difference between history and other sciences is that while others try to explain humans (or the nature) from a specific side, history tries to explain humans with everything they do. Whatever topic the historian chooses to study cannot be limited with history. The example given by Stanford is very useful to understand this: If a horse is examined by a physician, a zoologist, a veterinary, an economist, a chemist and a painter they will all define the horse in different ways according to their own perspectives. The historian on the other hand, will try to give meaning to the entire picture, not only to the horse, but to its owner, to the event, period, place the horse was in etc. History concerns itself with every side of an experience.[3]

This thesis is a political intellectual history and is born in this methodological complexity. It founds itself on two theories: First, the belief that methodology becomes an obstacle for the student of social sciences, unlike its usefulness in natural sciences. Second, that history, like philosophy and art, cannot be proven with methodology, the understanding of a text is not a pure methodological endeavor and it depends on the world experience of the reader.[4] (Tatar, 1999 : 28-30)

1.5. The structure of thesis and a Begriffsgeschichte study

Almost all of the works in Late Ottoman historiography see Islamic unity (*İttihad-ı İslam*) as a weapon in the Sultan's hand and focuses on its use by the state. This work does not aim to create a chronology of the term, nor does it propose to evaluate and document how it was used by the reigning political power.

[3] Michael Stanford, An Introduction to the philosophy of history, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1998, p.26

[4] Although this is true, it is impossible not to feel the need for methodology. There is a very delicate equilibrium in the effort to give meaning and the interpretation of history: Every historical action (event) is a driving force for the prospective next historical action (event) and it does not just dissolve in the new historical action (event), but changes the historical context it was in a dialectical relationship with in this dissolution. (Strauss 2000 : 168) In this process, methodology can be accepted as a tool for data collection or to avoid mistakes; however this is only a beginning and the historian has to be able to think dialectically stripping of the role of the empirical scientist as he is supposed to give more than a chronicle of the events. (Tatar, 2000 : 72)

On the contrary, this work focuses on how this concept and its offshoots were employed by the opposition groups and in return how it affected these groups. In this respect, it almost seems a necessity to follow the methodology of *Begriffsgeschichte* formulated by Koselleck and his colleagues.

In its basics, *Begriffsgeschichte* was formulated as an objection to the politically motivated history-writing trends that consisted of a simple chronological ordering of events and intellectual historiography that was cut off from its socio-political context. For this reason, it tries to determine the social reach of concepts, and concerns itself with changes, experiences, expectancies and theories that drastically changed socio-political structures. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 51-2) *Begriffsgeschichte* methods can be summarized in four points:

1. *Begriffsgeschichte* is a sum of the experience and expectations, viewpoints and explanations within historical reality. As a result, it questions most of all, when, where, by whom, for whom, with what purpose and under which conditions a concept was conceived. (Koselleck, 2013 : 101-2)

   It aims to be sensitive to the problems and assumptions, allusions and prejudices, tricks and false declarations of the historical actors whose writings we read to better understand the changing structure and the change itself. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 7)

   For instance, *Begriffsgeschichte* does not concern itself with the meaning of the term "Herrschaft" (rule) in itself, but concentrates on how it was perceived by different groups, how it was conceptualized and expressed and what images were constructed around it. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 62)

   One of the main assumptions of this thesis is that the Young Turks were not a homogenous and static group and included figures from very different fractions like positivists and *ulama*. Apart from these, there were spies introducing themselves as Young Turks to get money from the Palace for their spy reports, and there were fakes publishing Young Turk newspapers for a single issue. Also, there were those who didn't want to identify themselves as Young Turks, either because they weren't young or because they weren't Turkish, but still acted as Young Turks and supported the movement to the end.

On the other hand, it was a time of great censorship and the world was almost filled with Hamidian spies. Young Turks always had to hide themselves, to slide the newspapers they had so much hardness to publish, in the country and distribute them, and at the same time try to keep appearances for the leaders of the countries they were in exile, who occasionally were convinced by the Hamidian agents against Young Turks. Their strategies in doing all these made it almost compulsory to use Strauss methods to read between the lines; and the way they understood things and the way they expressed them were examined in a flexible fashion taking all Young Turk factions into consideration.

The most basic example is the difference in the understanding of Islamic unity. "Young Turk *ulama*" and Mizancı Murat defended this concept with passion for their pan-Islamist leanings, while more Westernist Young Turks like Abdullah Cevdet and Ahmed Rıza saw this concept more as a cultural and social togetherness. How the concept was seen in Hamidian reel-politic and in the diplomatic argumentation of orientalists will be seen in the following pages.

There was a further geographical classification to understand how Islamic unity was conceived of in different places; and the practices for Islamic unity in different parts of the Empire were examined as separate sections.

2. *Begriffsgeschichte* concentrates not only on the meaning of the language or the concept at a specific point, but also on the change the concept goes through. Accordingly, the mission of the historian is to re-construct the language political moves were made in, and to move away from the "masterpieces" of political thought and concentrate on conceptual change, and the history of political language and discourse. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 2)

   This move away is necessary because it is possible for both the concept and the situation to completely change in the period of research or in the period one lives in. (Koselleck, 2013 : 103)

   For instance, the concept of "imperialism" experienced deep changes in its meaning for a dozen times in a century. This transformation is understandable without the guidance of a conceptual-historical translation of the past contexts; and reveals the

extent to which the use of language is dependent on changing sides, conflictual situations, class interests and prejudices, national and colonial engagements and every kind of friend and foe depictions. (Koselleck, 2013 : 56)

This thesis examines concepts such as Islamic unity (*ittihad-ı Islam*), nation (*millet*), caliphate (*hilafet*), fatherland (*vatan*), civilization (*medeniyet*) with their changes and transformations and not only the changes in the concepts but also the changes in the language and world-views were investigated.

Islamic unity is such a concept in which the situation and the meanings change independently. Although it was a term with origins in the religion, and were used in the sense of waging jihad to spread Islam in the world and gather Muslims under a single rule; it was used with totally modern motives in the period under inspection, and was reformulated in the question: "How can we struggle together against the Western enemy?" The concept was accepted and glorified both by Abdulhamid II and the Young Turks. The diversity was in how to understand Islamic unity, and where to draw the lines. Both Abdulhamid II and the Young Turks tried to make reforms. Their ideas of reform were the difference between them.

The attempt to understand the transformation was made in the macro level in the context of concepts and ideologies, and also in the micro level through the changes in the language and understanding of the newspapers themselves. For example, *Mizan* was a pro-regime newspaper that constantly praised the Sultan in its first years, but after a while it radically changed its route and became the main publication of the Young Turks in Europe. After its editor Mizancı Murad came to an agreement with the representatives of the Sultan sent to convince the Young Turks in Europe, the newspaper was discontinued. However, its story did not end there; after the Young Turk Revolution *Mizan* was published again, this time to criticize the Committee of Union and Progress in the same way it criticized Abdulhamid II and stayed in opposition with a very different opponent.

Similarly, Abdulhamid and the Young Turks produced very different viewpoints about each other during the whole process. The same actors accepted the main issue of saving the state, and their views on topics such as the perception of the nation, the perception of Britain and Germany, or the perception of each other constantly changed

and differed. Still, the lines were occasionally mixed and the two sides found themselves on the same side against a common enemy, in defense or in offence.

3. Another duty of the historian of concepts is to point at the differences and foreignness of the concepts and make them understandable with present political discourses, but still remaining within the past's practices and beliefs. (Hall, 1998 : 75) In this case, it is impossible to understand a concept without using other concepts; concepts are necessarily connected to other concepts, for example their opposites. As a consequence, *Begriffsgeschichte* examines the history of the word and semantic structures. For a holistic understanding, it is necessary to examine opposite, related, parallel expressions; judgments and potential rival concepts.

   For example, concepts such as "state" present more than their lexical meanings, they include a lot of separate meanings (region, border, citizenship, law, armed forces, tax, and legislation), bring them together or mark different philosophical systems, political formations, historical conditions, religious dogmas, economic structures. (Koselleck, 2013 : 101-2) Another example would be "patriotism" as a word formed in the 18th century and led the emergence of many other –isms: republicanism, democratism, socialism, imperialism, communism, nationalism, fascism... None of these concepts that started huge and dynamic movements can be thought outside of their predecessor "patriotism." (Koselleck, 2013: 226) Similarly, 19th century propaganda terms like 'Souveranitat', 'Rechtsstaat', 'Absolutismus', 'Dictator', 'Plan' and 'neutraler oder totaler Staat' cannot be understood independent of the relations among them. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 15)

   This study takes into consideration many parallel and opposing concepts to create a holistic understanding in the ideological, conceptual and real contexts. It was impossible to conceptualize Islamic unity without concepts like caliphate, Islamic civilization, and Islamic brotherhood; as a result of which these concepts were examined under separate sections.

   Similarly, it is not possible to make a healthy analysis without taking Islamic unity in its contextual relationship to the earlier concept of Ottomanism and the later concept of Turkish nationalism. These three main concepts were the salvation roads of the late Ottoman intellectuals and state officials depended on, they are not understandable in

isolation and they are successors to each other. It is necessary to examine nationalism and especially its repercussions in the Ottoman Empire to understand these concepts; as all three of them are ideologies that were limited by this fiction and changed name and substance depending on the time.

4. Another point to mention is the conceptual categorizations of *Begriffsgeschichte*: Concepts of experience, expectation concepts, movement concepts, concepts of future, constitutional concepts (Verfassungsbegriffe), key concepts, self-designations (Selbstbenennungen), ruling concepts (Leitbegriffe), core concepts, struggle concepts (Kampfbegriffe), goal concepts etc. (Hapsher-Monk, 1998 : 55)

   These categorizations, especially the category of "the movement concepts" Islamic unity is part of, is especially important for this study, as movement concepts serve to socially and politically re-shape a state or a society being dissolved by putting ahead new goals, but they depend on given and shared experiences. (Koselleck, 2013 : 83)

   In fact, the period this thesis talks about is a period of operations to save the state and the first thing that catches the eye is the inexperience or ineptitude of the actors. In the era movement concepts were effective, there were some key concepts that created the illusion of stability: Development, progress, reform, crisis, evolution and revolution. In the age of movement concepts, defending the status quo as the status quo became harder, and no reactionary could tell he/she was a reactionary any longer. The pressure of at least a minimum change was accepted by almost everybody; the difference was whether to hold against this pressure, fight against it or lead it and how to do all these. (Koselleck, 2013 : 44)

   In this process when the movement concepts were in favor, they were generalized, blurred[5] and became ideologies. The fields that seemed to be belonging to the educated social classes opened to other classes, and concepts started to serve expectations and purposes. (Hampsher-Monk, 1998 : 52)

   I n this period of abstractions, generalizations and ideologizations; these concepts were no longer built on experiences. As they became the pioneers of the future, it

[5] To become a leading main concept, these concepts had to attain a higher universality. They started to reach out to people from very different lifestyles and strata, and frequently to people from opposite experiences. By this usage, concepts turned into slogans. (Koselleck, 2013 : 85)

became impossible to refute or prove them on the basis of experience. Future is empty, it can be filled in different ways depending on each social strata. As each concept can be approached with a different viewpoint, everything became questionable through a critique of ideology.

Hamidian era is an age when movement concepts ruled both in the state and the opposition sides. The fact that Islamic unity was actually an order of Islam in its essence, its first political and ideological use started at the end of the 19th century; makes the situation clear.

It is meaningful that the greatest opponents of the Hamidian regime rose among the students of the schools the Sultan founded. He could not save himself from the label of a despotic ruler and constant criticism with heavy accusations; despite taking huge step in modernization and the development the country experienced in his rule.

In this lively period, Abdulhamid did not hesitate to use all images and symbols available to him such as education, Sufi orders, ceremonies, Hejaz railroad and pilgrimage as propaganda tools in the service of Islamic unity ideology. The Young Turks did not have such means and they tried to cover it by blaming Europe for its imperialism, Ottoman people for ignorance and Abdulhamid for being a traitor and an enemy of religion. We have to give Abdulhamid what is his due in this, for managing to scare even European powers for a long time by using every mean available to him to portray the image of a strong Caliph. This effort in images and propaganda will be examined in the final chapter, and thesis will be completed as a work of *Begriffsgeschichte*.

2. CHAPTER

ACTORS

"A mosaic consisting of an ant-interventionist group led by Ahmed Rıza, a conservative cadre with an inclination to move into nationalism and irregular activist groups, medical students with undeveloped political opinions who represent classical Young Turkism, groups consisting of the ulama, and regional Young Turkism" (Hanioğlu, 1985: 649)

There is a significant amount of social, geographic and ethnic generalizations about the Young Turks. For instance, Feroz Ahmed describes Young Turks as "lower middle class" or "a newly forming professional class" while according to Allen and Geoffrey Lewis these are "young officers."[6] Bernard Lewis broadens the description a bit and talks about them as "mostly military Muslim Turks" and "members of the ruling class;"[7] adversely Stanford Shaw describes them as "lower class" and even *reaya* (subject class).[8] The anthropologist Richard Robinson talks about the Young Turks as "the new technicians, the newly awakening intellectuals, military officials for Westernization,"[9] while Sina Akşin summarizes their common traits as "Turkish, young, member of the ruling class, educated in the West, with a bourgeois mind." (Zürcher, 2009: 143)

The reason for this diversity is the participation of thousands, even tens of thousands, in this movement; as will be detailed in the following sections. Still, as the leadership was held by a comparatively little group, these generalizations were made about the leading members who did not number more than a hundred.

6 Geoffrey Lewis, Modem Turkey, London, 1994.
7 Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London, 1961, p.201, 208 [Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu, çev. Metin Kıratlı, Ankara: TTK, 1970].
8 Stanford Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. 2 Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975, Cambridge, 1977, pp.263-264.
9 Richard D. Robinson, The First Turkish Republic. A Case Study in National Development, Cambridge MA, 1963, p.5.

2.1. A Chronology of Terminology

The state and society that the young generations in the 18th and 19th centuries were born into were far from making their expectations a reality. The new intellectual currents they learned about, the new viewpoints they gained made the older ones meaningless; and forced them to take a stand not only against the foreigner "others," but also against their parents. As a consequence they named themselves Young Italy, Young Egypt, Young Turks.[10] (Özkırımlı, 1999: 59-60 from Kedourie, Nationalism)

In fact, the adjective "jeune," which was created to reflect the struggle for freedom against European absolutisms, implicitly conveyed the progressive ideals of "nationalism, constitutionalism and republicanism."[11] This term was used in the Ottoman context to talk about a group of people who advocated a new order based on the secular European model, arguing that *şeriat* was no longer capable of meeting the needs of the times. As a result, especially in public view, the term "jeune" had the connotations of being an enemy to the religion and the state. Because of these connotations, Ottoman intellectuals initially preferred to use "Young Ottomans" as a name. (Güneş, 1997:27-28).

The phrase "Young Turks" was used first in 1828 by Charles MacFarlane to refer to the younger Ottoman generation. Within the empire, it was first used in 1861 during the enthronement of Sultan Abdulaziz for some youngsters employed in *Mabeyn-i Hümayun* who were called "*jönler*." After this point, it was used for the Young Ottoman opposition movement organized in Europe with the financial help of Mustafa Fazıl Paşa.

The term was used right after the dispersion of the Ottoman Parliament to refer to those who advocated the re-institution of the constitution and constitutionalism. With this wide and uncertain use, almost every opponent of the Hamidian regime was called a Young Turk, and the phrase came to acquire a variety of meanings. Even the Masonic organizations that joined the opposition against Abdulhamid II introduced themselves as the "Committee of Young Turkey at Constantinople" in their political endeavors. In December 1895 *Mechveret Supplement Français* was published as an "*Organe de la Jeune Turquie*." In 1897 when the

[10] For the development of Young Turk thought and its relationship to Young Ottoman thought see: Findley, Carter Vaughn: The Advent of Ideology in the Islamic Middle East (Part II): Studia Islamica, No. 56 (1982), pp. 147-180

[11] For the connotations of "Genç" (Young) and "Yeni" (New) in 19th century Ottoman reform movements see: Lewis: 1991: 16-17

Committee of Union and Progress (The Committee of Union and Progress) came to an agreement with Ahmed Celaleddin Paşa representing the palace, and decided to stop the publications of the committee; Ahmed Rıza continued to publish Mechveret as a Young Turk publication arguing that the Young Turks was a community and no one had the monopoly on this phrase.

The Egypt branch of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was led by the *ulama* for a very long time, preferred to use "müceddidîn-i Osmâniyye" (Ottoman reformers) rather than Young Turks. One of the leading members of this branch Hoca Kadri Nâsih used "Young Turk" in a criticizing way and considered himself outside the group; while some opposition publications in the Balkans and Cyprus were using the phrase "Ahrâr-ı Osmâniyye" (Ottoman Liberals) to talk about "a group consisting of members from each Ottoman elements." Sabahaddin Bey and his supporters used "*hürriyetperveran*" (lovers of freedom) until 1906, and used "*Osmanlı muhalifin fırkaları*" (Ottoman opposition parties) after that date.

Abdulhamid II was disturbed by the usage of the phrase for a group rather than for certain persons, and ordered the use of "*müfsid*" (troublemaker) instead of "Young Turk" in July 1901. Official documentation after this date used pejorative phrases such as "*erbâb-ı fesad*" (people of mischief), "*eşhas-ı muzırra*" (harmful people), "*erbab-ı mefsedet*" (people of trouble) instead of "Young Turks."

2.2. A Definition and General Characteristics

Five main characteristics[12] of the Young Turks come forward:

1. Although they had Ottomanist contentions, Young Turks dominantly defined themselves as Turks. It should be noted that being Turkish was not an ethnic division,[13] but a political choice. (Karpat, 1972: 280)

   Nevertheless Turkishness became a-historic in the process thanks to linguistic, cultural, romantic and historical explanations. It was taken in time back to the times

[12] For more information on the Young Turks see: Akşin, Sina: 100 Soruda Jön Türkler Ve İttihat Ve Terakki, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1980 and Akşin, Sina: Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki, İmge Kitabevi, 2012,Ankara.

[13] Four of the founders of the movement come from Russian Caucasia, one from Albania in the Western Balkans, two from Kurdistan. None of them were ethnic Turks, most of the members were Turkish, Arab, Albanian, Kurdish or Circassian Muslim Ottomans.

before the relations with Arabs started, it was exalted; and by becoming Westernized in different fields as alphabet to architecture the Turkish-speaking Muslim Ottoman elite was Turkified. (Makdisi, 2002: 792)

2. Tarık Zafer Tunaya argues that the Young Turks valued youth over everything. Although this was in open contradiction to the customary Ottoman values that tied authority to age and experience (Zürcher, 2009: 146), most of the Young Turks were really young. Besides, this was actually normal as being a member of a secret revolutionary organization was a risk only the youth could easily take.

   On the other hand, it seems that the Young Turks deserved to be called that as a group. Because they were truly young when they joined the movement; even after the proclamation of the constitution (1908) very few of them were actually past forty. In addition, being young identified them with positive values such as dynamism, affectivity and progressivism, and added legitimacy to their activities as the voices of modernity. (Zürcher, 2009: 145)

3. A great majority of them come from a bureaucratic background; they are military or civil officials or their sons. As a result, although they were not part of the bourgeois class – such a class did not exist among Muslim Turks of the time anyway-- they had a bourgeois ideology and tried to create a Turkish bourgeois society based on the European model. (Gündüz, 2009:3)

4. They were graduates from modern high schools and universities.

5. Despite the mentioned common traits, they were not an intellectually homogeneous group. A Young Turk could move into another group if necessary, and those within the same group could voice their contempt for other members, even exclude them totally. Kırmızı points this out when he talks about Ubeydullah Efendi: "*The fact that he could criticize the Young Turks although he was in opposition to Abdulhamid, that he could side with the state when necessary, that he could oppose conservative opinions although he was from a medrese background, that he could defend the Union and Progress government in the Parliament with passion although he had been a spy for a time, that he was a witty adventurer who could write openly about his*

charades… One wonders if these make Ubeydullah Efendi an unusual Young Turk, or convey the spiritual world of many Young Turks." (Kırmızı, 2005 : 96)

2.3. Organization

The Committee of Union and Progress (The Committee of Union and Progress) was founded by young Turks and was the political organization of the movement, and its operations will provide us with important clues to understand the actors. The first article of the internal regulations of the Committee of Union and Progress summarizes the mission and the vision of the committee:

"*Since it is the holy duty of and the obvious benefit for all Ottoman individuals without difference of race and religion to live in a manner befit to humanity by saving the motherland and the nation, in the grave situation it is in today, from the claws of tyranny and servitude; the main aim of the Committee is to resume and apply the 1293 [1876] Constitution which is enough to obtain and stabilize these holy rights and the interests of the nation and to guard the political and fundamental rights of the nation."*

The Young Turks in this organization paid special attention to oaths and punishments, feeling the necessity for secrecy against the powerful spying network of Abdulhamid. The Oath committee consisted of a president and two members and the prospective member was "*made to swear with his eyes closed, one of his hands on the Holy book of the religion he was a member of,*[14] *the other on a pistol and a dagger, on his religion, consciousness and honor and the great name of God; that he would not betray the secrets of the Committee and the names of any of the members he would get acquainted, even if he suffered the greatest tortures; that he would work to the end of his life for the Ottoman state to stay under the family of Osman to be passed to the oldest male member under the limits put forward by the constitution, and for the accomplishment of happiness and freedom for all Ottoman individuals without difference of race and religion; that he would help the members and the families of the Committee who faced disasters and that he would carry out all the decisions of the Committee and is willing to face execution if his betrayal is revealed.*" (Cited in Aydoğan, 2004: 18)

[14] Not all of the Young Turks were Muslims; therefore it was important to make them swear on the book of their religion.

The Committee of Union and Progress provided for most of its spending, for example the monthly salaries it paid to some of its members or the costs of its publications, from the fees it received from its members within and outside the Ottoman Empire and also from the donations some of its rich members occasionally made. Most of the money came from the Turkish members in Crete and Bulgaria, followed by Salonika. The account books of the committee show that very little money was received from Istanbul. (Aydoğan, 2004: 178)

2.4. Groups

Although it is possible to define all opposition groups against Abdulhamid as Young Turks, it is important not to see Young Turks as a homogenous group. A number of different groups can be recognized among the leadership. As a first group, we can count the intellectuals opposing the Hamidian regime between 1889 and 1908. This group includes those who founded the Committee in 1889 in Military Academy of Medicine, the initial members and the members of the opposition in Paris, Genoa and Cairo. This committee was the strongest political organization in the empire from the 1908 Revolution to the First World War. The second group includes the leaders of the party and its administrative cadre. It consists of the governors, inspectors and secretaries (*kâtib-i mersul* according to The Committee of Union and Progress's terminology) appointed by the party management to inspect provinces and cities. The third group consists of activist, political officers. These officers gave the Committee its real power through their influence within the army. They were the ones coming to the rescue when The Committee of Union and Progress's control over the government was under threat.[15] Some of these took official positions in the central committee, but most of them stayed out.[16](Zürcher, 2009: 144)

However, beyond a categorization according to occupation, it is also possible to categorize the Young Turks intellectually or according to the leaders that come forward in the group:

[15] Whereas civilians were dominant before 1906, with the foundation of secret The Committee of Union and Progress circles in the Second and Third Ottoman Armies in 1908, officers became the most important group. Civilians in the management consist of an older group compared to the soldiers. In 1908, the average age of the civilians was 38, while it was 29 for the soldiers. (Zürcher, 2009: 146)

[16] Everything becomes clearer when we consider the leaders of these three groups. Out of 66 people whose origins we know, 29 (44%) is from Southern Balkans, or Rumeli as the Ottomans would say. 14 of them (21%) are from Istanbul. (This number should be taken with a grain of salt. Being born in Istanbul brought many privileges. Health services were better in Istanbul, and the people of Istanbul were exempt from military service). 8 of them (12%) were from Aegean islands and coast. Other parts of the Empire which constituted the majority of Ottoman lands contributed less than 15% to the Young Turk leadership. The contribution of Russian Caucasia is 7.5%; but this is only valid for the first generation of the Young Turk leadership.

1. The Paris branch of the community was controlled by Ahmet Rıza Bey (1859-1930) who was a convinced positivist, a believer of evolution rather than revolution, and the publisher of the central committee's publication in French, *Mechveret*. Ahmet Rıza's aim was the foundation of an honest administration which would ensure the advancement of education and sciences.

   Ahmet Rıza Bey is also responsible for the choice of "Union and Progress" as a name for the organization in Istanbul. He was influenced by August Comte and Stuart Mill in his youth, and believed firmly in the slogan, "ordre et progrès." He wanted to use the slogan's Ottoman translation "*İntizam ve Terakki*" as the committee's name, but taking into consideration that the Ottoman Empire was composed of many different elements, he gave up on "*intizam*"(order) and put "*ittihat*"(union) in its stead (Aydoğan, 2004: 158).

2. The group led by Mizancı (Mehmet) Murat (1853-1912), which were in a fierce struggle with Ahmet Rıza's group, intended to reach their aim through British political support, the same way high state officials did until 1877-78 (Hanioğlu, 1993: 24).

   Despite his fierce opposition to the Hamidian regime in his newspaper, Mizancı Murad found himself to be defending Abdulhamid against Europeans and exiled intellectuals because of his stance against the anti-Ottoman, anti-Islamic current in Europe.

   Reform depended on two things according to him: limiting the absolute authority of the sultan with the Islamic rule of *meşveret* (council), creating an environment of trust among different communities in the Empire. He was proposing the foundation of a commission of 30 to 40 people under the inspection of the *High Şeriat Council*. This latter council would have members from Muslim countries in Asia and Africa and meet in Istanbul under the presidency of the Directorate of the *Şeyhülislam*. It was supposed to have the duty of ensuring the application of the constitution and inspecting the Caliph's leadership of the Muslim world according to the *şeriat* (Berkes, 1988: 388)

Murat was hoping for the foundation of a Pan-Islamist state that would enforce the *şeriat*. In the struggle between these two groups, Ahmet Rıza started to mock his Islamism, while Murat started blaming him for being an atheist.

3. The third group was led by (Prince) Sabahattin Bey (1877-1948). He was the youngest among these leaders, and was called Prince as he was the son of one of Abdulhamid's sisters; hoping this would gain him prestige in Europe. He advocated the foundation of a new government and a new education system. For the first, he proposed to found a system that gave the right to self-govern to regions (*adem-i merkeziyet* and *tevsi-i mezuniyet*). This right was to be spread to the level of villages. In the second field, he proposed the Anglo-Saxon model, aiming at fostering the personal initiative of individuals in business and life. This way, he hoped, personal, private property regimes would develop in the Eastern society, and the country's natural resources would be better exploited (Berkes, 1988: 389)

4. The fourth fraction was consisting of the founders of Ottoman Opposition Party (*Osmanlı İhtilaf Fırkası*), but it became clear to them that a revolution in the short term was utopic. This group gained power again after 1900 and organized itself in the committees of Recovery (*İstirdat Cemiyeti*) and Revanchist New Ottomans (*İntikamcı Yeni Osmanlılar*) in Genoa.

5. The fifth group was composed of a number of students in the school of medicine. They had a materialistic and naturalistic view; and rather than being political, their criticism was leveled against the entire Ottoman society and at the influence of religious institutions.

6. The sixth can be called the Balkan group. This movement gradually turned into a regional Young Turkism, was able to better represent popular ideals and was adopted and spread by "nationalistic" groups.

7. The seventh was the *ulama*. They had the aim of saving Islam and the Caliphate and favored the exclusion of non-Muslims from the movement; they did not see the co-existence of Muslims and non-Muslims possible. To them, the ultimate end of the movement should have been the unification of Islam (*ittihad-ı İslam*).

8. The Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire were always called to act together, but this call was far from successful. Especially Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian committees were against unity from the start; Armenian committees can be considered as an exception to this up until the Revolution (Hanioğlu, 1993: 26-8).

The memoirs of the Young Turks make it clear that these cadres were aware of the increasing gap between Muslims and non-Muslims. When the secret organization that finally accomplished the 1908 Revolution was founded in Salonika in 1906, Muslims were accepted into it unconditionally. On the contrary non-Muslims were accepted under exceptional conditions; and only after an inquiry about them were carried out (Zürcher, 2009: 152).

The common problem these leaders with very different opinions shared was how to bring parliamentary regime in the Hamidian regime's stead, and with what power to put in to practice the programs they were proposing. For example, the first group accepted the inexistence of popular masses that would bring this about; because, the ignorant, uneducated masses did not know what they wanted and they were not even aware of their political rights. The second group accepted from the start the immunity of the Caliph until there was a *fetva* against him, as a result of their Islamism. The third group had a strong fear of acting together with Arab nationalist separatists and Armenian terrorists; although they were inclined towards private entrepreneurship (Berkes, 1988: 391).

On the other side, these differences that started as personality differences and turned into ideological conflicts, created problems about the strategy to be followed in the struggle against the Hamidian despotism. For instance, while Mizancı Murad was for violence, the sincere positivist Ahmed Rıza was arguing for a progressive and non-violent approach.

Another division emerged on the topic of the administrative organization and structure of the Empire. Ahmed Rıza was defending more political and economic centralism, Sabahaddin Bey and his entourage defending decentralization was opposed to him and defended liberal economic policies (Kayalı, 2003: 49).

It should be mentioned here that none of these figures played an important role in the environment after 1908. Ahmed Rıza was an insignificant Unionist; Mizancı Murad joined the counter-revolutionary Islamists and barely saved his life after the 31 March Incident;

Sabahattin Bey lived in exile until his death after a few attempts to be influential in politics (Berkes, 1988: 386).

By 1906, the total number of active Young Turks in Europe, Egypt, the Balkans, Crete, Cyprus and Caucasia was around 1500 and the Young Turk press had about 1000 subscribers. The number of the followers of these publications is higher as these newspapers would be passed from hand to hand and would be read to those who did not know how to read and write in the coffeehouses in places like Baku, Ruse, and Varna. Especially in the last period, the Committee of Union and Progress renovated by Bahaeddin Şakir was able to register 2000 new members, most of them during the Revolution. It is important to keep in mind that most of the Young Turks were living in exile under bad conditions in Europe and Egypt and were not able to take serious action.

Ahmed Rızâ, Ahmed Fazlı (Tunç), Ahmed Ferid (Tek), Ahmed Kemal (Akünal), Ahmed Lutfullah, Ahmed Niyazi, Ahmed Sâib, Ali Fahri, Ali Fehmi, Ali Haydar Midhat, Ali Şefkatî, Bahâeddin Şâkir, Derviş Hima (Maksud ibrahim Naxhi Spahiu), Edhem Ruhi (Balkan), Emîr Şekîb Arslan, Halyl Ghanem Bey, Hüseyin Tosun, Hüsrev Sami(Kızıldoğan), Hüseyinzâde Ali (Turan), İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükûtî, İsmail Canbolat, İsmail Enver Bey (Paşa), İsmail Kemal, Kırımîzâde Ali Rızâ, Major Mehmed Fazil Bey, Mahmud Celâleddin Paşa (Damad), Mahir Said (Pekmen), Manyasîzâde Refik, Mehmed Ali Halim Paşa, Mehmed Reşid Şahingiray, Mehmed Sabahaddin, Mehmed Talat Bey (Paşa), Mehmed Ubejdullah Bey, Mussurus Bey, Midhat Şükrü (Bleda), Mizancı Murad Bey, Nouri Bey, şair Kemal bey, yazar Sîa Bey, Mısırlı prens Mustafa Fazil Pascha, Ali Suavi Effendi, Reschad Bey, Aghia Effendi, Rifaat Bey, Riza Bey, Prens Sabaheddin and Lutfullah, Refiq Bey could be among the most brilliant members of the Young Turks referred. (Imhoff, 1913: 168-9)

2.5. Evaluation

This work does not limit the "Young Turks" to the members of the Committee of Union and Progress, but includes reformist, radical and revolutionist political organizations that were against the Hamidian regime and played a role in the re-institution of the Constitution regardless of whether they were part of an Ottomanist, a nationalist or an Islamist wing. In this heterogeneity the only common ground these groups had was opposition to the Hamidian regime. In fact, the Young Turk movement did not have a clear political agenda except the re-institution of a parliamentary government.

Still, the way to a better understanding of the Turkish Republic goes through the comprehension of the Young Turk movement; because, the leaders of the Republican period emerged from among the Young Turk cadres. However, it is really hard to make generalizations about the Young Turks who had no occupational or intellectual homogeneity. The easy path to take in this is to blame Young Turks for being a-historic and un-philosophical; and it seems that the literature on the movement consists of such critical works.

Indeed, Young Turks were not on the same level in their revolutionary attitude with the previous generation of Young Ottomans. The intellectuals of the Hamidian era had a strong belief in the capacity and power of the regime. Young Turk propaganda was arguing for an ideal society based on concepts such as social Darwinism, positivism and elitism; but they failed to develop convincing intellectual discourses about the necessity of a revolution, even for their own followers. [17] (Hanioğlu, 2001: 3)

In fact, the Young Turks who blamed Abdulhamid for cowardice were no different than him; they helped create the omnipotent image of the Sultan with their fears of him. This fear was so strong that most Young Turks feared not only the state, but each other as well. Any of them could be a spy or an informer, and many of them turned out to be just that (Berkes, 1988: 359).

These were the obstacles the Young Turk movement faced, delaying the revolution; but they cannot foreshadow the importance of the movement as a whole.

[17] The main reason of Young Turks lack of revolutionary attitude was the fear that Western Europe, Russia, Armenian and other communities could benefit from the movement to divide the Ottoman Empire. Two congresses convened by the Sabahattin group in 1902 and 1907 failed to resolve this problem among the representatives of different communities. Each one of them realized that following their ideals to the end would mean the dismantling of the empire, but failed to confront this. The only think they could do was to hope that the Constitutional regime to come would overcome these problems. (Berkes, 1988: 392)

3. CHAPTER

THE BENCH

Begriffsgeschichte claims that a researcher can work on a concept in a certain process, with certain parameters and under certain titles; and that these will change according to the perspective of the researcher and according to what he or she is searching for. This thesis, examines the term *ittihad-ı İslam* (Islamic unity) by concentrating on Young Turk press. In this chapter, the focus will be on the Ottoman press, and specifically the Young Turk press; and the Young Turk newspapers that were used for this study will be examined with their main characteristics.

3.1. The Journalistic Activities of the Period – Young Turk Press

"Three elements are necessary for the emergence of ideologies in the process of social development: Intellectuals who earn their livings with their pens, means of expression that will transmit the ideas produced by intellectuals to the public, and a public that is politically receptive to these ideas. The equivalents of these elements in the Ottoman society are as follows: Journalist, newspaper and newspaper readers." (Türköne, 1991: 45)

Newspapers are the products of a specific period, allowing the state to direct wide sections of the society in a certain direction and make them coherent with the system; while at the same time giving the opportunity to a wide section in opposition to come into terms with the state in return for certain concessions. They created new ideas in their audience with their political and cultural commentary; and parallel to it, they helped form expectations of a certain kind of life style. (Tüfekçioğlu, 1993: 117)

3.1.1. The properties of Ottoman journalism

In the West, newspapers have strong relations with the public, because the Industrial Revolution and the social change that was caused by fast urbanization attached to it were the main properties of the era newspapers became organized. As a result, there emerged the need to incorporate wide masses into common consciousness and into the system; mass media that started with the newspaper was a result of this situation.

In the Ottoman Empire, the novel policy of westernization was employed to save the state. It was a political choice, and was limited to political/military cadres, i.e. to the state mechanism. There was no attempt to disseminate politics to the public, and the problems of the new Western system were not caused by the Ottoman social structure.[18] As a result, at least in the beginning, there was no attempt to integrate and change the society in the process. Despite not being the result of internal dynamics and being implanted from outside, Ottoman journalism had peculiarities of its own:[19]

1. Ottoman journalism, at least in its infancy, concerned itself with addressing a foreign audience, as much as a local one. The most tangible example for this is the fact that *Takvim-i Vekayi* had a French edition. Ottoman state used the press to influence Western public opinion and to declare its sincerity in the new kind of relationship it entered into with Western Europe. This concern for addressing a foreign audience was not limited to the state or official newspapers. With the start of private newspapers after 1860, intellectuals – who, for a long time, were also state officials- used the press as a tool for getting favor both within and outside the Ottoman Empire (Tüfekçioğlu, 1993 : 119).

2. Whereas the book was the main media for voicing new ideas in the West thanks to the philosophical tradition; in the Ottoman Empire because of technical lack, and later censorship, newspapers were the tools for voicing and developing ideologies.

3. Ottoman society met with modern science and thought through newspapers rather than through the education system. Newspapers had pages reserved to modern science under the heading *Fen* (Science).

4. In the Ottoman state structure, newspapers took it on themselves to be the voice of the people as the medium of public participation in the political system. (Türköne, 1991 : 44)

[18] Still, it is important not to forget that for Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals the ignorance and lack of education of the population were seen as the greatest obstacles to advancement. Therefore, education was the most important component of the Ottoman state by the time of Mahmud II, and one of the main objectives of novels, theatre and newspapers, was considered to be educating the public.

[19] Looking at the big picture, the capacity of the newspaper to change intellectual life and society was more radical in Ottoman and other Muslim societies as compared to the Western examples, and the press took additional responsibilities on itself. (Türköne, 1991 : 44).

3.1.2. The history of Ottoman press

Excepting non-Muslim press[20] and the newspapers published by Mehmed Ali's regime in Egypt,[21] journalistic culture was implanted into the Ottoman Empire, directly with state involvement. *Takvim-i Vekayi*, first published in 25 July 1831 and financed directly by the state, simply informed state officials about the latest regulations. The subscribers and the readers of the newspaper were state officials around the Empire (Tüfekçioğlu, 1993 : 118)

This newspaper, which gave very little space to daily incidents, was like a journal of Sultanic decrees and official announcements talking about state ceremonies. *Takvim-i Vekayi* was followed by *Ceride-i Havadis* published by William Churchill and adopted by his son Alfred Churchill's *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*. *Ceride-i Havadis*, unlike its initial failure, became popular and increased its sales during and after the Crimean War.

Every new newspaper took the quality of journalism a step further. In 1860s, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* came into existence with İbrahim Şinasi Efendi and Çapanzade Agah Efendi at its head. The first issue made it clear that the aim was to become an intellectual publication with the aim of debate. It did not focus only on political and social events, but devoted a huge space to literature and published novels and theatrical plays in its pages (Koloğlu, 1985 : 77).

In the second half of the 19th century the main pursuit of most Turkish intellectuals was journalism. The desire to be involved in the daily policies of the country, and the desire to bring solutions to social and political problems increased the appeal of journalism. 43 of the 61 newspapers that were published in the Tanzimat era were related to politics (Karaca, 1993 : 15). The first generation of the Tanzimat, led by figures such as Şinasi, Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal, used the newspaper as a tool to disseminate their ideas, to make the public

[20] For the important example of Blak Bey see: Osmanlı basınının doğuşu ve Blak Bey ailesi: bir Fransız ailesinin Bâbıâli hizmetinde yüz yılı, 1821-1922, Orhan Koloğlu, Erol Üyepazarcı, Müteferrika, 1998, also see: Dünkü Fransızlar, Blak bey ve oğlu, M.Alexandre Blaeque ve Edouard Blacque,M. Münir Aktepe,Tarih dergisi, issue 33, 1981, pp.255-270.

[21] The first newspapers in the Ottoman Empire were published by Ottoman Christians and foreign embassies in Istanbul. In 1795, the French embassy started publishing "Bulletin des Nouvelles" in French. The same embassy published "Courrier d'Egypte" in 27 August 1798 during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. In the October of the same year, "Decade Egyptienne" and a few months later "Journal Officiel" were added to the list. These were the first newspapers published in the Empire (Oral, 1968 : 58).
Later in 1829 the first Turkish newspaper "Vakayi-i Mısriyye" were published by the governor of Egypt, Mehmed Ali Paşa. This newspaper looked like a huge book with its 57x82 dimensions and two columns. As a consequence, it wasn't seen as the first newspaper by some historians. This newspaper was distributed within Anatolia during the Egyptian-Ottoman War, and it had a publishing life of 7 years.

aware of developments, and to explain Western civilization to the public hoping to transform the public in this way. Namık Kemal once said: "*The biggest duty of newspapers is to give information to our people about advancement of civilization and principles of politics*."[22] Newspapers did not only serve to disseminate novel ideas, but they also created a new literary language.[23] (Bedir, 2005 : 14)

Newspapers had an undeniably central role in the dissemination of the idea of Islamic unity as well. The Ottoman Turkish newspaper *Basiret*; the Arabic newspaper *al-Jawaib* published in Istanbul by Ahmad Faris al-Shidyak and his son Salim Faris between 1861 and 1884, and brought news about the Islamic world to the Ottoman Empire and vice versa; the Persian newspaper *Ahbar-ı Darü'l-Hilafe* were central to the dissemination of the idea (Çetinsaya, 1988 : 65-6).

In 1870s, the appeals from the Muslim world to the Ottoman Sultan turned into the idea of Muslim solidarity with the help of the newspapers. Namık Kemal was pointing at this when he said: "*The existence of Muslims in Kashgar wasn't known here 20 years ago. Now, public opinion is working for union with them.*"[24] (Türköne, 1991 : 59)

Another important point is the open appeals of Muslim representatives who asked for help from the Sultan through newspapers. For the first time, public pressure was on the government for the answers they were going to give to these appeals. The newspaper was an intermediary now, and it daily announced the Muslim representatives coming to Istanbul and the meetings they had with government officials. Every detail about the Muslim world was discussed regardless of the source, and the Muslim world which until then was part of a fairy tale, became a reality for the reader of the newspapers. The newspaper both filled the knowledge gap of its readers, and voiced their feelings. (Türköne, 1991 : 146)

This power can be expressed in numbers as well. In 1876, there were 107 newspapers in the Ottoman Empire; in 1900 the entire Muslim world had 300. There was an explosion in the number of publication after the Revolution of 1908;[25] more than one thousand

[22] "Gazetelerin en büyük vazifesi halkımıza kavâid-i siyasiye ve terakkiyat-ı medeniyyeye müteallik malumat vermektir." (İbret, N.1, cited in Bedir, 2005: 13)
[23] It was necessary for a newspaper to be written in a simple language to be sold in the day it was published, as newspapers are intolerant to sales through longer periods unlike books.
[24] Namık Kemal, Meyelan-ı Âlem, İbret, 30 Rebiülahir 1289 (7 July 1873)
[25] For detailed information see: Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, Hürriyeti Beklerken İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları (Istanbul: 2010).

newspapers were published in 1919 and they were all full of news from the Muslim world. (Taher, 1998 : 111)

3.1.3. The properties of Young Turk press

By "Young Turk Press;" is meant the opposition newspapers and journals which started being published after 1878[26] and increased in number by 1890s, with the common desire of constitutionalism and opposition to the Sultan and the government. They were generally published by exiles and fugitives outside the Empire who escaped Abdulhamid II's oppression. [27]

However, there are a lot of exceptions to this general description. As will be seen in the following examples, it is not easy to gather "Young Turk Press" around a common focal point. Still, if we focus on the Young Turk publications in Europe which number more than 100 (Karpat, 1972 : 280), some main similarities and differences catch the eye:

1. When talking about the "outside of the Empire," it is important not to forget localities like Egypt and Bulgaria which were within the Empire's borders, but had special status and were out of Istanbul's direct control.

2. The participation of figures like Ahmed Rıza, who went to Europe with the permission of Münif Paşa for visiting the Paris exhibition, or the ambassador in Rotterdam Ali Nuri, in the publication of Young Turk newspapers show that there were figures in the Young Turk press who were not exiles and were still in state-employment.

3. Some of the publications had interesting peculiarities. For instance, *Hakayık-ı Şark* was weekly published in four languages in Cairo in 1906. Its Turkish and Arabic versions were directed by a Young Turk, Ahmet Kemal (Akünal). The owner was an American named C. N. Valdberg (G. N. Waldburg) who was interested in political cartoons and defined himself as "an admirer of the Orient and its art." This newspaper entered into fierce debates with foreign press over the events in Aqaba and

[26] The main newspapers of the new generation were: Tercüman-ı hakikat (1878-1922), İkdam (1894-1928), Tercüman (1883-1917). (Karpat, 2005: 245)
27 For all young Turk newspapers in the period: See Appendix-2

Macedonia; but at the same time it was opposed to the Hamidian regime over issues of constitutionalism and monarchy.

4. There are a lot of inconsistencies in the term "Young Turk Press," together with disagreements among the Young Turks. For example; *al-Muqattam*, a local Arabic newspaper in Egypt, was defining itself as a Young Turk newspaper because of its anti-Hamidian stance. This claim was supported by some of the other Young Turk newspapers. However, *al-Muqattam* defended the British side in the conflict over Aqaba. This caused another Young Turk newspaper, *Doğrusöz*, to claim that criticizing Abdulhamid was not enough by itself to be a Young Turk; it was also necessary to be on the side of the Ottoman Empire against its enemies.

5. Another division can be made between the journals and the newspapers that were the publications of certain organizations, and those that were issued by individuals for the purpose of criticism. The former tried to explain the ideas of the organization and the tenets of their opposition, while laying down the intellectual framework of the organization with articles and translations. The latter produced an opposition that generally lasted for a short time, which was constantly about the same topics.

6. The creators of the Young Turk press did not hesitate to negotiate with the Palace over their publications and some of the organizations benefited from the sensitivity of the Palace on certain topics, turning this sensitivity into a source of income. When the newspaper was in financial crisis, the publishers would sit down with Palace officials to negotiate the close down of the establishment and sell their printing house for more than its worth. This money would later be used to finance new printing material and the newspaper would be published under a new name focusing on the same themes. This way, the financial crisis would be solved for a certain amount of time.[28]

7. The main newspapers of the Young Turk movement had foreign language editions. However, these editions never included the real ideas of the Young Turks. They had

[28] There were also individuals who would escape the Empire and publish for a very limited period, very critical newspapers with huge claims, and negotiate with the Ottoman embassy in their country of publication. These were not serious Young Turk publications. This trend of paying-off opposition, led some Ottoman representatives abroad to support some sham publications and exaggerate their influence in order to exert huge amounts of money from the Ottoman capital. These publications are not considered in this thesis.

the purpose of affecting European public opinion and the revolutionary ideas the Turkish versions had, were greatly played down in them.

8. The last property that catches attention is the difference in themes underlined by the publications of certain organizations led by fugitive elites in Europe and Egypt, and the publications that came out in recently lost Ottoman territories and autonomous areas. The first kind of the publications openly declared their opposition and gave space in their pages to contemporary concepts debated in Europe. On the contrary, what may be called the local Young Turk press emphasized local problems and voiced its opposition to the regime in an indirect way without going into theoretical discussions. Articles that criticize the Sultan in a direct way are very rare in these publications. (Hanioğlu, 1985 : 847)

3.2. Abdulhamid and the Young Turk Press

Abdulhamid II was the first sultan to have direct relations with foreign press and to try to affect public opinion through it. In this respect, the Sultan's relations with the press and journalist have a special importance for this thesis.

According to Tahsin Paşa, the chief secretary of the Yıldız Palace, Abdulhamid's interest in journalism started in his years as a prince; he met in secret with journalists in his house, he had the local coffeehouse owner Sarafim Efendi, and the bookstore owner Elnino bring European newspapers for him. As a result, he had enough knowledge about newspapers and their influence when he ascended to the throne. This interest continued throughout his rule, and it surfaced occasionally as refutations of some articles through embassies, as grants and badges for the authors of articles he liked, as efforts to ensure positive articles about himself and the Empire through money grants, or as efforts to inhibit the publication of negative articles.[29] (Engin, 2005 : 63-70)

[29] Foreign press was monitored especially for their contents on religion. When the French journal Dix-Neuviéme Siécle published an article claiming that the *şeyhülislam* declared that pilgrimage was not compulsory, the Ottoman embassy in Paris was ordered to refute the claim by emphasizing the obligation of pilgrimage for Muslims. This claim by the French journal was against one of the most central legitimacy factors of the Ottoman Empire and it is possible that it was published with the fear of pan-Islamism's spread among pilgrims with French citizenship. (Deringil, 2007 : 182)

There were significant changes in journalism during the Hamidian era.[30] Events like the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, the annulment of the Parliament, the coup d'état attempt that ended with the deaths of 23 revolutionaries that is known as the "Çırağan Raid," the Sultan's neurotic character and the existence of revolutionary intellectuals raised in the schools he founded himself led to the foundation of the infamous spy network,[31] the censorship on the press[32] and the ban on Young Turk publications to enter the Empire.[33] However, the entry of the newspapers published by the Committee of Union and Progress through foreign postal services could not be prevented. (Engin, 2005 : 63)

It must be emphasized that the number of publications rose significantly during the Hamidian era, and this allowed regional printing houses and newspapers to improve. On the other hand, while on the average 9 to 10 new journals or newspapers started being published every year between 1879 and 1887, this number fell to just one in the period 1888-1908. This decrease in numbers was caused by the increase in the severity of censorship[34] and the occasional close-downs. (Ergişi, 2007 : 7)

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[30] For interesting anecdotal information on the journalistic life of the time see: Ebru Boyar: The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press,1876-1908,Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 69,No. 3 (2006), pp. 417-432

[31] For a detailed report on the issue see: Haydaroglu, İlknur: II.Abdülhamit'in Hafiye Teşkilatı Hakkında Bir Risale (II.Kısım), Cilt: 19 Sayı: 30, 1997, Ankara

[32] Popular anecdotes about Abdulhamidian censorship became metaphors for describing the absurdity of this practice. Thus the word 'burun' (nose) was banned in the press by the censor because it was perceived as an implied reference to Abdulhamid's particularly large nose. In his memoirs, the writer, journalist and politician Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, wrote that since 'burun' also meant the geographic term 'cape' in Turkish, he was forced in his translation of Pierre Loti's novel "İzlanda Balıkçısı" (Le Pécheur d'Islande, published in 1886-87), to give a full definition of the term instead of using the word itself, thus describing it as "the part which stretches from the land into the sea' ('karalann denizlere dogru ilerlemiş kısımları"). Another word which was said to be banned was 'tahtakurusu', bedbug, since it might be read as a curse, 'tahtın kurusun', 'may your throne be withered!' Abdulhamid's concern about insect names is revealed in another anecdote: according to some accounts, a story about 'yildiz böcegi', firefly, led to the closure of the science journal Mecmua-i Fünun, since 'yıldız böcegi' was taken as an allusion to Abdülhamid II's residing in the Yildiz Palace. Such sensitivity was not limited to 'yildiz böcegi' but extended to anything involving the word 'yildiz' (star). One anecdote relates how a customer who asked a grocer in Beşiktaş on the eve of Ramadan for 100 dirhem of 'yildiz şehriyesi', vermicelli shaped like a star, was sent into exile that same evening. In the post-Abdulhamidian period, these and similar anecdotes were used to delegitimize the previous era by demonstrating the oppression of the regime through censorship, a censorship which on occasion went so far as to be ridiculous. The exhaustive lists of banned words given in various accounts were used to underline the excesses and irrationality of the Abdulhamidian approach to the press. (Boyar, 2006: 419-420)

[33] During the Hamidian period, two directories were founded within the Palace struture to monitor foreign and local newspapers: Matbuat-ı Dahiliye (Local Publications) and Matbuat-ı Dahiliye (Foreign Publications).

[34] For interesting anecdotes on the subject see: Ali Birinci, Hassas Bir Mevzuda, Hassasiyetten Uzak Bir Kitap: Başlangıçtan Günümüz Türkiye'de Basın Sansürü" Kebikeç, 1995, No.1, pp.91- 96. Also see: Comte de Persignac (Jacques Loria), Türkiye'de Sansür Eğlenceleri, haz. İ. Arda Odabaşı. This work was published in 1907 in "La Revue," a French journal in Paris and translated and published in Şura-yı Osmani. It makes fun of the tragicomic situations created by censorship.

Although there is no consensus, 152 is generally given as the number of publications connected to the Committee of Union and Progress. Most of these publications were short-lived, with only a few issues. *Meşveret*, *Osmanlı*,[35] *Şura-yı Ümmet*, *Kanun-ı Esasi*, *Mizan*, *İctihad* are the most long-lived ones. (Göçmen, 2002 : 665-680) This work is based on a post-Revolution newspaper *Ittihad-ı İslam* and occasionally benefits from other newspapers except *Meşveret* and *Osmanlı*.

3.3. The Young Turk Newspapers that were examined

In this study, in total 405 issues of 5 different periodicals, in other words thousands of pages that represented various Young Turk fractions were extensively exploited within the context of Islamic Unity, and related titles and parts were discussed within thesis. Below, some basic information on the characteristics of these periodicals, the period they were published and their authors will be presented.

3.3.1. Şura-yı Ümmet

There were two main groups in the Committee of Union and Progress congress held in Paris in 4-9 February 1902: those in favor of foreign intervention to save the Empire and those who were against it. Prince Sabahattin and Ismail Kemal were leading the first group. The second group was consisting of Ahmet Rıza and his supporters. Prince Sabahattin and Ismail Kemal founded the "Ottoman Liberals Committee" hoping for a coup with British support. Ahmet Rıza and his supporters decided to add a new publication called *Şura-yı Ümmet* to their existing publications *Mechverét supplément français* and *Kürdistan*.[36]

The first issue of *Şura-yı Ümmet* declared that "*Şura-yı Ümmet will be published from now on instead of İstirdad, İntikam and Sancak*."[37] It started publication in 10 April 1902, a time of intense spy operations, and lasted until 12 May 1910 with 220 issues published. The

[35] Meşveret and Osmanlı were not examined in this work. However it is very important to mention a few things about Osmanlı, one of the most important Young Turk newspapers during its seven years of publication: It was founded in 1 December 1897, by İshak Sukuti, Abdullah Cevdet and Tunalı Hilmi in Genoa with the initiative of fugitive leaders of the Committee after the close-down of Mizan; and it reached 2300 subscribers, a number no other publication could boast of after Mizan. This success caused great concern for the government. In 1898, the newspaper's three editors negotiated a deal of lifelong salary from the government in return for softening their criticism. Abdullah Cevdet became the doctor of the embassy in Vienna, İshak Sukuti was appointed to the embassy in Rome; Tunalı Hilmi became the Chief Turkish secretary of the Madrid Embassy. However, they continued to support the committee with their writings and part of their salaries. (Hanioğlu, 1895 : 849)

[36] Şura-yı Ümmet was also employed to foster the weak relations the committee had with Muslim Ottomans. Mechveret was useless in this respect, strengthening the "foreign" image of the committee.

[37] "İstidrad, İntikam ve Sancak gazetelerinin yerine bundan sonra "Şurâ-yı Ümmet" neşredilecektir."

newspaper saw the last years of the Hamidian regime and the first years after the revolution. Its editor was Ahmed Rıza, its publisher was Dr. Bahaeddin Şakir, its manager was Mustafa Asım, and its lead writer was Samipaşazade Sezai. Its first issues were published in Paris and Egypt,[38] it moved to Istanbul after the revolution. (Hanioğlu, 1985 : 849)

The program laid out in the first issue of *Şura-yı Ümmet* declared their aims as: opposition to foreign intervention, the implementation of the Constitution, defending the rights of the people, reforming the government, uniting different elements composing the Empire, informing public officials about the developments of the time, working for the survival of the Ottoman dynasty.

After the 98th issue published in 15 August 1906, *Şura-yı Ümmet* came out as the official publication of the Committee of Union and Progress and it relayed many declarations of the Committee to its readers. To prevent the delays caused by the preparation of the newspaper in Paris and publication in Cairo, it was completely moved to Paris in the summer of 1907. The 117th issue dated 1 July 1907 was published in Paris.

There was no consistency in the regularity. It started as a bi-monthly publication, between issue 140 and 191 it was published daily, between issues 192 and 220 it was published weekly. Some issues were published after the dates written on them. The number of subscribers changed between 33 and 54 in the period between 1902 and 1905, very few were bought by European libraries, the rest were sent gratis to opposition figures in Bulgaria, Egypt, Romania, Cyprus, Crete, Caucasia and to foreign embassies in Paris and Cairo through foreign postal services. Bahaeddin Şakir, the publisher of the newspaper after the first months of 1906 who turned it into a revolutionary publication, explains the difficulties they faced in the following manner:

"*Şura-yı Ümmet was unable to perform its duty properly in the last years. This inability was caused by Ahmet Rıza Bey's lack of knowledge in dealing with people and the lack of an organization within the country to promote ideas. Also, a newspaper whose writers*

[38] Bahaeddin Şakir's memoirs explain the difficulties Young Turks had to face, in the following passage about the transfer of the newspaper from Paris to Cairo: "It became necessary to move Şura-yı Ümmet to Cairo because of the tricks the Turkish embassy in Paris played on the Young Turks. Whenever the Committee of Union and Progress found someone to typesetter, the Ambassador to Paris Ziya Paşa managed to concince them by paying him more than the Committee. The publication of the newspapers continued in a disorderly fashion as long as this situation lasted. At last, it was decided to move Şura-yı Ümmet to Cairo to end the plots of the Turkish embassy." (Aydoğan, from the memoirs of Bahaeddin Şakir, 2004 : 176)

were in Paris, and whose printing press was in Egypt looked more like the bag of a junkman than a newspaper. Some articles were sent from Istanbul to Paris, and from Paris to Egypt; the newspaper was sent from Egypt to Paris and from Paris to Turkey, and they grew old by that time. Still further, the publishers of Şura-yı Ümmet did not tire themselves more than the officials in the Sublime Porte who didn't do anything besides getting their salaries at the end of the year. Naturally, the result of the work done with so little effort could not be much. Still, it is undeniable that Şura-yı Ümmet was very useful… Despite this, Şura-yı Ümmet wasn't able to save itself from being a newspaper simply relaying events. Because most of its content was composed of news sent from the country. To the contrary, the committee needed a party newspaper."

Occasionally, the owner and managers of the newspaper whose publisher according to its pages was "The Committee of Union and Progress," would explain in articles titled "To our readers (*Karilerimize*)" that their purpose was to enlighten the people, that they didn't have any material concerns and that the publication was of high quality with low price. However, because the typesetters in Cairo where it was published until 1 June 1907 were Arabic speaking, there are a lot of spelling mistakes in its pages.

The name *Şura-yı Ümmet* referred to the Islamic concept proposed by conservative circle for the first Ottoman Parliament and under the heading of the newspaper a Qur'anic verse was written: "Their affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves."[39]A similar message was given with the first date of publication, the first day of the Islamic calendar: 1 Muharram 1320. Despite this kind of Islamic references, religious issues and an opposition on this basis did not figure too much in the newspaper.

The newspaper followed a conservative opposition until 1906, after which it became a publication with a lot of revolutionary writing following the change in the propaganda methods of the Committee of Union and Progress and the declaration that the newspaper was the main publication of it. Another significant change in the style was the complete absence of articles by the *ulama* and the new Turkish nationalist articles that addressed military officers and called them to revolution. (Hanioğlu, 1985 : 849-50)

Until its last issue in 12 May 1920 (29 Nisan 1326) *Şura-yı Ümmet* continued to act according to the programs of the Committee. It was the most prominent intellectual

[39] Qur'an, 42/38.

newspaper among Young Turk publications and played an important role in the actualization of the 1908 Revolution.

3.3.2. Ictihad

Ictihad was published between September 1904 and December 1932 in Genoa, Cairo and Istanbul consecutively. It had 358 issues in total; it started as a monthly publication, became bi-monthly after its 24th issue and weekly after the 50th. Issues 101-139 were weekly, 140-175 were monthly, 176-265 were bi-monthly and the schedule changed between weekly and bi-monthly for the remaining issues.

It had translations of many Western positivists and philosophers, poets and writers, some of whom were known for their anti-Islamic stance; and aimed to introduce Western ideas to the Turkish audience. European literary movements were paid great attention, other Young Turk publications were criticized for being too shallow and there was a search for deeper foundations for politics. (Mardin, 1996 : 228) 16 of its pages were in Turkish, another 16 in foreign languages. In time, Ictihad became the only journal with an emphasis on culture rather than politics. (Çebi, 2010 : 47)

This newspaper never became the official publication of the Committee of Union and Progress, but as a publication of a Young Turk, its most outstanding property was its opposition to Abdulhamid II. The main and unchanging tenet of this publication throughout its life was Westernization.

Still, it is easily recognizable that *Ictihad* had a systematic program about religion. Even its name, *Ictihad*, is a reference to the Islamic concept that underlined the adaptable nature of Islam to new situations. The necessity of renewal/reformation was expressed by late-Ottoman *ulama* with this concept. For Abdullah Cevdet (1869 – 1932),[40] the founder,

[40] For works on Abdullah Cevdet see: Alkan, Necati: The Eternal Enemy of Islām: Abdullah Cevdet and the Baha'i Religion Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 68, No. 1 (2005), pp. 1-20, Published by: Cambridge University Press, Karl Süssheim, "Abd Allah Djewdet', Encyclopedia of Islam (EI1; Supplement), Leiden/ Leipzig, 1938, 55-60; Şerif Mardin, Jon Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908, Istanbul 1964 (19924), 221-50; idem, Continuity and Change in the Ideas of the Young Turks, expanded text of a lecture given at the School of Business Administration and Economics Robert College, 1969, 13-27; Hilmi Ziya Ulken, Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi, Istanbul 1966 (19944), 246-56; Frank W. Creel, The program and ideology of Dr. Abdullah Cevdet: a study of the origins of Kemalism in Turkey' (unpublished PhD thesis), The University of Chicago, 1978; Atilla Yargıcı, Kemalizm'in Fikir Kaynakları: Tevfik Fikret, Abdullah Cevdet, Ziya Gokalp, Istanbul, 1993. The only published book on Cevdet is M. Şükrü Hanioğlu's political biography in Turkish: Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve

owner and the publisher of the newspaper until his death, the purpose of *Ictihad* was to re-open the doors to Islamic interpretation (*ictihad*). The newspaper and its printing press started operating in Europe with this purpose in mind.[41] (Mardin, 1996 : 230-1)

However, Abdullah Cevdet who was a founding member of the Young Turk movement and the Committee of Union and Progress was not an Islamic scholar and it is impossible to think of *Ictihad* as an Islamic publication. Abdullah Cevdet had the clearest intellectual stance among the Young Turks; he was influenced by social Darwinism and chose to be a biological materialist during his education in the Medicine School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*) where he went to study after his graduation from Kuleli Military Medicine School (*Kuleli Askeri Tıbbiye İdadisi*). He defended Anglo-Saxon methods in education; he declared that he meant the reform and repair of the human mind when he talked about reform; and he wanted to come up with a unit that would replace the *ümmet* (Islamic community as a whole). He loathed Western imperialism; he found revolutionary methods to be artificial, and believed in collaboration. (Mardin, 1996 : 245)

Abdullah Cevdet published Westernist ideas that seemed scandalous in the Ottoman society of his time. He bravely defended the adoption of the Latin alphabet, a revolution in clothing, feminism, anti-monarchism, leading the way for the Kemalist revolution of Republican Turkey and faced bitter criticisms for his ideas. He is infamous for saying "We rejected civilization with the back of our hands" after the Battle of Gallipoli; and for his suggestion that European males should be brought to breed with Turkish women to improve

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Donemi, Istanbul: Üçdal Nesriyat, 1981 (PhD thesis); see also idem, 'Abdullah Cevdet', in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 1, Istanbul 1988, 90-93.

[41] Abdullah Cevdet explains this in the following manner: "Every work of pen is the foreword to the actual deed it will result in. Therefore there is no need for another lenghty foreword.
We founded a periodical named Ictihad and a printing house named the printing house of İctihad that would be suitable for publishing any kind of publication in any language.
(People of the) merciless governments like Turkey have been founding schools and printing house in free and impartial countries like Switzerland, in order to spread the prosperity of science and letters which is the capital for the success of nations, to their own nations. Our Armenian co-patriots have perfect printing houses, schools, periodicals, libraries and hundreds of newspapers in Italy, Austria, America and Switzerland. We Turks and more generally Muslims need such institutions more than any other nation. Ictihad publication house is the first instituted publication house of the Muslim World in Europe." Abdullah Cevdet, İctihad, İctihad, 1 September 1904 n.1 p.1.

the Turkish race. He was later nicknamed *Adüvvullah Cevdet* (Cevdet, the enemy of God) because of his translation of Dozy's *Essai Sur l'histoire de l'Islamism*.[42] (Gündüz, 2009 : 3-4)

Despite all this there was an emphasis on "psychological nutrition"[43] in the pages of *Ictihad*, however the primary source of this nutrition was not religion. Scientific knowledge was also stressed as the source of Islamic philosophy.[44] Islam was only used as a tool in *Ictihad*, occasionally used with the "properties of Allah" to convince the audience. (Mardin, 1996 : 230-1)

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[42] He defended himself later: *"Our enemy is not the softas [lit. Muslim theological students; bigots] at all; our enemy is degenerate softalik [bigotry], which is the enemy also of the softas, of Islam, of mankind. And we sincerely wish that those who stand against us as enemies, and who attempt to insult us and characterize us as 'irreligious' would turn their faces towards the light. ... We do not want to abolish, but to perfect, the softas; but even if they say 'we do not want to be perfected', we will perfect them anyway; because -and I say this in the most unqualified fashion and with full conviction of conscience- this country's salvation and perfection depends upon the salvation and perfection of this class. ... In my opinion, the medreses, that is schools to raise a spiritual class, are as indispensable as the military school and as necessary as the medical school…."" If I had been an enemy of Islam and of Muslims, there would have been one thing for me to do: to remain a disinterested spectator of Islam and the Muslims as they rushed towards the chasm, towards extinction, destruction, abasement, slavery and disintegration. There could have been no greater enmity towards Islam than just such an action, or lack of action."* (from Abdullah Cevdet, Program and ideology cited in Creel, 1978: 170-171)

[43] **"***The reasonable purpose of religion is to develop among men the spirit of concord, of love and of mercy. It is better to cease using the remedy when, in place of healing or alleviating, it aggravates the trouble. ... Belief in a Supreme Being who rules the universe according to his own caprice indicates not only enormous credulity but also gives rise to a sad weakness of the human soul, leading it to a helpless inconsistency." "If a religion becomes the cause of hatred and disharmony, it would be better that it should not exist. To be without such a religion is better than to be with it"* (Abdullah Cevdet, The guiding principles of the review Idjtihad' cited in Creel, 1978: 168-9)

[44] Abdullah Cevdet's idea on the dichotomy of religion and science is clear***:*** *"Religion is the science of the masses; science is the religion of the elites. The religion of the elites is being elevated and expanded; it is making progress. For religion, the science of the masses, to rise up, to spread out, to make progress, to become sublime, is indispensable to public security and happiness. Taking this general principle as the basis for my conceptualization, I summarize the solution for the salvation of Islam in the following fashion: to complement religion with the value of science, and to complement science with the power of religion. The human race cannot live without religion. And religion, when it loses its capacity to bestow warmth and light on the human race, to be the stock of comfort and harmony, cannot long survive. Let those who don't like us because they don't understand us say what they will; our wish is to see religion in life, and life in religion. As for what we understand by life: it is love, it is harmony, it is light, it is concord, common sense, the sense of security; it is a perpetual, refining unity, a unifying impulse, in the hearts and souls of men."* (cited in Creel, 1978: 171) *"If religion is a system of opinions and beliefs, then my thirty-five years of life (?) and my ten thousand pages of writings prove that I have it in its strongest form; even you concede this and are not aware that you concede it. But if religion is to believe in a lot of silly tales and nonsense, or to appear to believe in them, and to store up worldly goods by pandering to the ignorance and fanaticism of the people, then whoever wants religiosity in this sense of the term can have it. I reject such religiosity and loathe those who are thus religious… The difference between science and religion is this, that science is a light without heat; religion is heat without light. Science at the most can be a winter sun; under its rays, which never warm one up, we can freeze to death from the cold. ... Religion is intelligence; he who has no intelligence has no religion… Yes, we want to see everybody to be religious; but for us the religious man is only he who seeks the truth, who thinks the truth, who loves the truth. The day that everybody is religious in this philosophical sense of religiosity, religion will become the most sublime, the most profound, the most beautiful of institutions, both human and divine."* (cited in Creel, 1978: 171-4)

3.3.3. Mizan

The third newspaper to be examined, started its publication in Istanbul in 21 October 1886, by Mehmet Murat (1853-1917) who identified himself as "*Murat with a clear conscience, convicted to become a martyr, and likely to be a ghazi*."[45] Mizan's publication moved to Egypt and Europe (Paris – Geneva) and the newspaper became a Young Turk publication after Murat Bey's political stance changed and he had to move out. It started being published in Istanbul again after the Second Constitution. Therefore, we can make a four phased periodization:

First period in Istanbul: Issues 1-159, 21 August 1886 – 11 December 1890, Istanbul

Mizancı Murad tried to follow a policy that would not go against the Hamidian regime, but his discretion did not save the newspaper to be occasionally closed down by censorship. After a short while the newspaper started facing censorship due to Murad Bey's choice of topic and the tone of his criticism.[46] Although the newspaper was closed down on several occasions and he suffered personal injuries, he continued to believe his work was for the better of the state and the country. He declared that he could not continue to publish in Istanbul after the last close-down in 1890 though.

At this period Eastern Rumelia, Egypt and Crete defined the agenda of the foreign policy. Murad Bey, although he didn't mention this a lot, was against the idea of a parliament and he was in line with the regime's official policy. Issues like capitulations, foreign insurance and lottery companies, the Tobacco Monopoly (Regie), the Public Debt Administration, railways, economics, finance, education, the press, the Sublime Porte and the salaries of officials, the troubles in the post office, banks, fires in the city and religious days filled the pages of the newspaper. Murad Bey explained his political ideas in an article titled "Mission and Responsibility" (*Vazife ve Mesuliyet*) in every issue of the publication.

The period in Cairo: Issues 159-184, 21 January 1896 – 8 July 1896, Cairo.

[45] "Şehit olmaya mahkum, gazi olması da muhtemel, açık alınlı Murat"
Unsigned, Mizan, İkiden biri, 27 Subat 1896, n.165, p.2401.
[46] Mizancı Murad praised the sultan in his articles, and addressed his criticism only to the governments. He took care not to get involved too much with the Young Turks, although he had connections with them, and at the same time he tried to reach the Sultan and influence him. He even presented a memorandum (layiha) to the Sultan on the situation of the country, but didn't get the attention he hoped for.

In its second period of publication, the newspaper unlike the first period in Istanbul, openly opposed the regime with hard criticisms. Mizancı Murad was in closer relations with Young Turks in Europe in this time, but he was still not a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. He expressed his criticism directly to Sultan Abdulhamid II and his retainers, focusing on topics such as state, society, rights, duties and responsibilities. (Uçman, Abdullah: DİA, volume 30, p. 212)

Paris-Geneva period: Issues 1-19, 14 December 1896 – 3 Mat 1897, Paris; Issues 19-29, 10 May 1897 – 19 July 1897, Geneva.

Mizancı Murad moved from Egypt to Europe in the middle of 1896. In 1897, he became the leader of the Young Turks who were gathered around Ahmed Rıza, but were disturbed by his extreme positivist ideas and harsh stance.[47] *Mizan* became an official publication of the Committee of Union and Progress this way.[48] When the committee's headquarters was moved to Geneva after disagreement between Ahmed Rıza's and Mizancı Murad's groups in 24 April 1897, *Mizan* continued its publication there. In this new period, the tone of the criticism against the Sultan was increased. Mizancı Murad occasionally called Istanbul a second Bastille, called Abdulhamid II a "person with uncertain origins," and called the supporters of the regime such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi and İkdamcı Cevdet "the plagues of the Ottomans." The principles of the newspaper included "union and progress, society and justice, consultation, reign of the nation, equality in duty and responsibility." This period of publication ended in 14 August 1897 when Mizancı Murad returned to Istanbul after disagreements within the Committee and the general amnesty granted by Abdulhamid as celebration for the victory in 1897 Ottoman-Greek War.[49]

[47] Mizancı Murad, who were not on positive terms with Ahmed Rıza from the first days he arrived in Paris, act, was actually hesitant to join the Committee of Union and Progress. He decided that if he could not convince the Sultan for reform in three months, he would join the Committee. His ideas on reform were quite different than the Committee's: He desired a small consultative council rather than the two parliaments that were in the Constitution; he emphasized the importance of Islam, Caliphate and Sultanate; he wanted to bind reform to the intervention and guarantee of the European states similar to the Tanzimat statesmen. (Akşim, 1980: 26-30)

[48] While Meşveret led by Ahmed Rıza Bey continued its publication in Paris, Mizan was moved from Egypt to Europe which raised the number of the official publications of the Committee to two. Actually, these two publications represent two wings of the movement that were moving away from each other. After the criticisms against Ahmet Rıza Bey and his descend from influence, in 23 November 1896 Meşveret's publication in Turkish was discontinued. Mechveret Supplement Français continued its publication but Mizan became the only official Turkish language publication of the Committee.

[49] The agreement between the Young Turks and Abdulhamid in 1897, and the return of Mizancı Murad who was the leader of the movement at the time to Istanbul after an agreement with the representative of the Sultan, Ahmet Celalettin Paşa, had a great impact on the Committee, all activities were stopped for a while. (Akşin, 1980 : 26-30) Ahmet Celaleddin Paşa himself joined the Young Turks later. However, he claimed that the name

Second period in Istanbul: Issues 1-135. 30 July 1908 – 14 April 1909, Istanbul.

Mizancı Murad resumed publishing his newspaper in Istanbul after the re-institution of the constitution. In this last period he opposed the Committee of Union and Progress in his articles and this stance disturbed most of his former friends.

Murad Bey, voiced serious criticisms against the Committee of Union and Progress like the ones he voiced against Abdulhamid II and assumed the role of being the spokesperson of conservative circles against the Committee who wanted to found a "radical" government. He frequently used concepts like religion, Islam, Caliphate and *ulama-yı din* (doctors of religion). As a result of his new stance, he was blamed to be one of the perpetrators of the 31 March Events and was sentenced to life sentence, and his newspaper was closed down forever.

Mizan can be described as a Pan-Islamist weekly (Landau, 1990 : 33). Although it can be differentiated from the Hamidian attitude in terms of their approaches to oppression, it cannot be separated from the latter in its position concerning the Caliphate and Islamic unity. Murat Bey was trying to advice the Sultan to save all Muslims from foreign occupation and create a huge Muslim state.[50] According to him because the Caliphate was in Ottoman hands for centuries, sovereignty would be for Turks in the Muslim Empire he proposed to build. The royal family had to be at the head of this empire, as Turkish power was unthinkable without it. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 59)

When he didn't get the enthusiastic response he was waiting from Abdulhamid, he turned his face to the Young Turks and won to the Committee many followers thanks to his passionate articles. Murat Bey's program was attracting both in religious and nationalistic terms. Thanks to his nationalistic values, criticism of Hamidian policies, European press, capitulations and foreign intervention[51] Murat Bey served as the president of the Committee for a long time. This process can be glanced in the newspaper.

"Young Turk" was tainted in 1904-5 and most state officials would not want to join under this name and the name of an ethnicity was not suitable for most Ottomans. (cited in Aydoğan, 2004: 210, from the memoirs of Bahaeddin Şakir).

[50] Murat Bey was seeing the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the disappearance of other Muslim states.

[51] In a brochure he prepared in June 1897 Murat was explaining that Turks were not "bogeymen" and described two sources for the malice in the Ottoman Empire: Abdulhamid II about whom he once said "the ruler of this

Mizan rejected the idea that Islam was responsible for the situation the Empire was in: "Islam is liberal in its essence; fanaticism is not a natural result of Islam." Islam was treated as a weapon to defend identity and a political card, and there was no attempt to mix it with Western civilization. This defensive use of Islam became widespread after Murat Bey. (Mardin, 1996 : 118)

3.3.4. Kanun-ı Esasi

Kanun-ı Esasi was published by some of the strong pens among the *ulama*, and is the characteristic newspaper of the religious opposition among the Young Turk press. (Eliaçık, 2011 : 78)

The newspaper came out under the title "The Newspaper of the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress' Egypt Branch Kanun-ı Esasi" (*Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Mısır Şubesi Gazetesi Kanun-i Esasi*) with the subtitle "Propagation of the Viewpoint of the Committee of the Union and Progress, Ottoman Nation's Source of Ideas" (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Mürevvic-i Efkarı, Osmanlı Milletinin Menba-i Efkarı*). It was coordinated first by the leader of the Egyptian branch of the Committee of Union and Progress, Hoca Muhiddin, later by Hoca Kadri and Salih Cemal, and presented itself as a publication of the *ulama*. Though its publication faced interruptions, it was published every Monday for 63 issues in total. Generally, there were editorials under titles as Religious Article (*Makale-i Şer'iye*) and Special Article (*Makale-i Mahsusa*) together with memorandums, petitions, news, letters and political poems.The articles and news chosen were loaded with strong criticsm about internal and external developments concerning the Empire. (Mercan, 2003 : 158)

Kanun-ı Esasi defended the necessity of a constitutionalist regime for the exaltation of the religion and the salvation of the country. The newspaper took its name from the first Turkish/Ottoman constitution and its policy of publication was in a parallel line. (Mercan, 2003: 154) It saw Abdulhamid II as the reason behind the politically, socially and economically bad situation the Empire was in. The Sultan was named "the usurper of the nation's rights" (*gasıp-ı hukuk-ı millet*), "infidel betrayer" (*hain-i bidin*), the father of the

country is no longer a Sultan bu the Satan," and Great European powers. Like every Young Turk he claimed that the Christians Question of the Empire was not the result of internal developments, but was born in foreign embassies and said: "What a strange coincidence! Eastern Christians started suffering with this unique and humanitarian discovery!" (Ramsaur, 1982 : 57)

oppressors (*ebu'z-zaleme*), an insolent creature who does not know his place (*haddini bilmez küstah bir mahluk*), bear (*ayı*), the owl of Yıldız (*Yıldız baykuşu*), infidel (*kafir*), pig (*hınzır*), insane (*deli*). His retainers, his ministers and some of the *ulama* were also called similar names. The newspaper's motto was "Qur'an in the right hand, the Constitution in the left hand" (*sağ elde Kur'an, sol elde Kanun-ı esasi*) and it underlined the importance of consultation (*meşveret*) accordingly.

Like the case with the Unionists in general, Murad V was the ideal/utopic sultan of *Kanun-ı Esasi*. Abdulahmid II was held responsible for the loss of Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, Bosnia, Serbia, Thessaly, Dobruja, Dagestan, Batumi, Egypt, Sudan, Crete and Cyprus; for the miserable condition the navy was in, for the Public Debt Administration's "state within the state" position, for the ignorance and oppression of the people. The criticisms addressed to foreign states concentrated on Russia and Germany. Britain was seen in a more favorable light, though the objection to its occupation of Egypt and Sudan was great. The events in Crete and Yemen were seen to be tragic and the Sultan and his ministers were blamed for them. (Mercan, 2003 : 155-6)

Another striking thing about *Kanun-ı Esasi* is its position on the policy of Islamic unity. The newspaper adopted a reel-politic approach arguing that Islamic union was impossible in practice, and it would be better to opt for an Islamic brotherhood discourse. Still, the Ottoman Empire was accepted to be "the only hope of the Muslims" and "loving the Ottoman state, (was) loving the Muslims; to work for its advancement (was) to work for Islam."

Politically, the newspaper favored Ottomanism with a clear Islamist leaning. It was not a modernist or Salafist publication. Its main shortcoming was the lack of depth in its suggestions for solution. Diagnosis and criticism was there; however similar to the general Young Turk intellectuality there was no theoretical solution with strong political, social or economical roots. (Mercan, 2003 : 157)

3.3.5. İttihad-ı İslam

"*The newspaper İttihad-ı İslam desires the elevation and progress of the entire Islamdom, and is a servant of its reasons of exaltation. It talks about all kinds of affairs and groups Islam includes. Our newspaper is donated to the interests of Islam and the*

motherland, and it is not the propaganda media of or tool of any person's or group's desire."[52]

The only Young Turk newspaper published after the 1908 Revolution, taken into consideration in this work is *İttihad-ı İslam* for its importance for the topic. It was published by an important Young Turk writer, Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi Bey,[53] and the newspaper aimed at the exaltation and progress of all Muslims as its name would suggest.

Most of the articles in the newspaper were written by Ahmed Hilmi Bey himself and gave information about the entire Turkish-Islamic world. Topics like Islam, constitutionalism, Constitution, internal politics, the discussions of the assembly, the wisdom of Islam and the future of Islam filled its papers.

In news and articles under the heading Islamic World (*Alem-i Islam*) information was given on the political and social situations of different Muslim countries, especially Iran, Morocco and Northern Africa. The call for unity was repeated in the articles by *Mihr-i Din* (the Sun of Religion) in almost every issue, and the unity between Muslims and non-Muslims was a constant concern. When his call was not heeded, he started to express his hatred for those who dragged the country, the nation and the religion to the edge with their ignorance and scorn, and when this did not help he called the Muslim notables and especially *mufti*s to invite the nation to unity. (Ekici, 1997 : 67-74)

The first issue was published in 17 December 1908, the last in 23 April 1909 with eight pages. The owner and lead writer was Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi, the manager was Mehmet Nuri. It was discontinued after the 18th issue, and Ahmed Hilmi Bey started publishing a weekly named *Coşkun Kalender* in is stead.

3.4. Evaluation

The main sources of this study are the Young Turk newspapers that were published in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and Europe and managed to reach the Constitutionalists in the Empire despite all the censorship and limitations. In this section,

[52] Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi, İttihad-ı İslam, n 1, 24 December 1908
[53] For a detailed article on Ahmed Hilmi and his ideas see: Amit Bein: A "Young Turk" Islamic Intellectual: Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi and the Diverse Intellectual Legacies of the Late Ottoman Empire, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Nov., 2007), pp. 607-625

Ottoman press in general and Young Turk press in particular was inspected and the Young Turk newspapers that are going to be examined were introduced.

Newspapers in the Ottoman Empire had no social base and were founded by the State unlike their European counterparts. Still, Ottoman press had its own peculiarities. For example, while the book was the main media for new ideas, in the Ottoman Empire the newspaper became the sole media for expressing ideologies for reasons like censorship and technical difficulties. Late Ottoman intellectuals used newspapers to spread their ideas, to inform people about political developments and explain the Western civilization to the people. From the people's point of view, newspapers were the first tools enabling the participation of the masses in politics and this way they assumed the role of the spokesperson. Further, Ottoman society met with modern science and knowledge through newspapers rather than through an education system.

Newspapers created a ground of discussion for the idea of Muslim solidarity by transmitting news from the Muslim world into the Empire and vice versa and acting as announcers for the appeals of Muslim dignitaries to the Ottoman Sultans. In this period, appeals made by Muslim dignitaries were no longer made behind closed doors; they were made public by the newspapers. For the first time, the governments started to feel the pressure of the public opinion. Newspapers were acting as the middlemen and every day they were making public the arrivals and discussions of the Muslim dignitaries. Every detail about the Muslim world was shared, and the Islamic World which had been nothing more than a fable land, started acquiring reality.

Abdulhamid II was the first Ottoman Sultan to have direct relations with the press and try to affect the public opinion using it. However, he couldn't prevent the local and foreign press from becoming his nightmare. His neurotic character and the existence of revolutionary intellectuals raised in the schools he found himself led to the foundation of the infamous spy network, the censorship on the press and the ban on the Young Turk newspapers published in Europe. Despite all these, the entry of these newspapers through foreign post offices could not be prevented. European newspapers were also blaming and condemning the Sultan at this time. Turks were depicted as figures that were not worthy enough to acquire Western civilization and as the provokers of "Muslim fanaticism." (Karpat, 2005 : 243)

It is possible to label all publications against the opponents of the Palace as "the Young Turk Press." Although there is no consensus, generally 152 is given as the number of publications connected to the Committee of Union and Progress. Most of these publications were short-lived, with only a few issues. This study examines five of the longest published among them: *Şura-yı Ümmet* (1902-1909), *Kanun-ı Esasi* (1896-1899), *Mizan* (1886-1909), *Ictihad* (1905-1932) and *İttihad-ı İslam* (1908-1909).

Abdulhamid created his own education and journalism systems and despite all the censorship and propaganda there was a widespread journalistic system created with the financial support of the Palace. Although there were wider freedoms after 1908 for the press, most of the publications did not survive in the competitive environment. (Boyar, 2006 : 432)

4. CHAPTER

PROCESS, EXPERIENCE AND EXPECTATIONS

Abdulhamid II was the first ruler to use the concept of Islamic unity as a modern political tool. Although Young Turks developed various opposing arguments against him, and argued about the deficiencies of the concept; they tried to use the concept as a political tool at the first opportunity after their rise to power.

Under these circumstances, a proper study of the conceptual history of Islamic unity has to properly understand first and foremost the era and the actors together with their historical context. The following is the historical preparation for this work.[54]

4.1. Abdulhamid II and his time

Abdulhamid II is the most studied one among the rulers of the Ottoman Empire, and the one that created the greatest amount of discussions about the policies he followed.[55] There are many reasons for this. First of all, no Muslim ruler before Abdulhamid had to take as many important decisions as he did. (Karpat, 2005 : 22) When he ascended to the throne, the Empire was like a "ship taking on water from all sides." (Georgeon, 2012 : 605) Still, even at the end of its splendor, the Sublime State as it was called (*devlet-i aliyye*) continued its existence in the heart of Europe "as a thorn that was expected to die any moment, but refused to die with great stubbornness." (Deringil, 2007 : 13)

Abdulhamid ruled in a very harsh transition period in world history. In the last quarter of the 19th century European imperialism controlled almost every part of the world, the tensions and competition among Great Powers were intensified, the question of nationalities became ever more problematic and economic development accelerated together with social problems. In 1876, the Europeans still were not able to control the entire world. In 1909, when Abdulhamid was dethroned, most of Africa and Asia were in European control and

[54] For an article that summarizes the last years of the Ottoman Empire with its general characteristics see: Kemal H. Karpat, The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Jul., 1972), pp. 243-281.
55 For his biography see Appendix-1

there were only a few non-European powers left: Japan, Iran, China and the Ottoman Empire.[56]

The Ottoman Sultan and the Muslim Caliph Abdulhamid ruled a country that had lands in the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, an empire that stretched from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf, from Caucasia to Tunis; for 33 years from 1876 to 1909 under these circumstances.[57] The empire also had an extra-ordinary geopolitical position: it controlled the entrance and exit to the Eastern Mediterranean through the Straits and the Suez Canal; and it had potential riches in the oil fields, the importance of which was beginning to be realized in the late 19th century. (Georgeon, 2012 : 13)

The Ottoman-Russian War that started shortly after Abdulhamid's ascension is a turning point for the history of the Ottoman Empire, of the concept of pan-Islamism and of the Ottoman middle classes. The Russian soldiers and the Bulgarian bands that were armed by the Russians massacred around three hundred thousand Muslims on their march to Istanbul, and around one million Muslims were lost in Caucasia, and the newly-independent ex-Ottoman provinces of Serbia, Romania, Montenegro and the autonomous Bulgaria. (Karpat, 2005 : 765)

The misfortunes did not end with these, Tunis was lost in a short while and Ottoman rule in Egypt was reduced to symbolic status by British invasion, the Ottomans lost all control over northern Africa except Libya. Whatever was left in Syria, Iraq and Hejaz saw the rise of anti-Ottoman ideas and movements. Abdulhamid realized that it was impossible to hold the state together simply with reforms in this context. As a result, he constructed his policies on two pillars: instigating the competition among Western states and making sure that they would be struggling with each other[58] and strengthening the Caliphate hoping to increase solidarity among Muslims inside and outside Ottoman borders. (Urfa, 2010 : 84)

[56] In this context, it can be said that the capitulations that gave the Great Powers huge economic, trade and juridical privileges, protected the Empire from disintegrating and becoming a colony. For instance, the president of the Italian Parliament Giolitti was arguing that Italy did not need to invade Libya as it was already receiving great incomes from that country. (Georgeon, 2012 : 608)

[57] For maps of Ottoman lands in 1878 and 1908 see Appendix- 5 and 6.

[58] Abdulhamid II made use of the conflicting interests and ambitions of European states on Turkey, as far as possible. As a result, his foreign policy changed with the new conditions that emerged in international relations. He followed an independent policy between 1878 and the beginning of the 20th century and did not have any permanent agreement with any state. He used every opportunity to make various diplomatic efforts to separate Great Powers as much as possible. He tried to approach Russia against Britain, which he saw as the greatest

Abdulhamid applied his policy based on these two principles, as an omnipotent ruler in the vast empire. There was no other Ottoman sultan in history that held such power in his hands. Although Western literature describes Ottoman sultans as absolute rulers, in reality their powers were checked by the janissaries, by the *ulama* and by the bureaucracy in the 19th century. While Mahmud II destroyed the janissary order in 1826, the power of the *ulama* decreased as a result of Westernization and the reform programs favoring secular measures. And when he became the Sultan, Abdulhamid managed to curb the rising power of the Tanzimat era: the bureaucracy. Thus, he was left with none of the balancing powers against him. Still, there were certain limitations to his power from diverse groups such as the Great Powers, non-Muslim communities and the Young Turks.

Though his mind was made up to strengthen the Ottoman state in any means necessary, Abdulhamid was not willing to follow the path of Tanzimat reformers. According to him, their efforts were met with absolute failure and they dragged the country to political chaos, financial bankruptcy and military disaster. As a consequence, he decided to re-build the Empire on new foundations.

Abdulhamid began his work by making the Sultan an absolute ruler again. He founded an absolutist structure centering on the Yıldız Palace. He depended on the Caliphate as an institution and brought it to its former glory in order to strengthen his legitimacy. He didn't use the Caliphate just to sanctify the Sultanate though; he turned this institution into a tool to hold the Muslims of the Empire together.

He also changed the geographic center of the Empire: he tried to create a new balance by giving primacy to Anatolia and Arab Near East, because he realized how vulnerable Ottoman sovereignty was in the Balkans which was "very hard to rule" and "drained our national power."

Apart from these, the Sultan tried to base his power on a new social ground; he leaned more on the provincial elite rather than Istanbul's Westernized elite. He followed a centralizing policy that was harsh in principal, but showed a great deal of flexibility in its application in the provinces. Learning from the lessons of the crisis of 1875-1878, he steered

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threat to the existence of his empire; in Egypt he played France against Britain. He tried to break British efficiency with the support of other Great Powers following a policy of balance. (Küçük, 1988: 219-220)

the country in new diplomatic waters, preferring Germany as the main partner to Tanzimat's primary choices, France and Britain. (Georgeon, 2012 : 606)

Not only did he enrich the diplomatic possibilities of the Empire, but he also managed to renew the military structure and build railways beneficial to the defense, development and unity of the Ottoman state unlike the "colonial model." Although he tossed his uncle Abdulaziz's huge and expensive navy aside, he didn't shy away from paying attention to coast security and buying cheap but effective coast defense boats. (Deringil, 2007 : 86)

The acceleration of private entrepreneurship, the privatization of state lands, the birth of a Muslim bourgeoisie first in rural sectors then in trade happened during Abdulhamid's rule. His relationships to popular Muslim mystic movements and his aptitude in suppressing them, helped minimize the ill effects of these movements and at the same time let him incorporate some of these movements and some of their ideas into mainstream state policies.

However, Abdulhamid had some personal defects such as his suspicion, his tendency to do everything in secret, his fear of giving authority, and his belief in absolutism which he tried to turn into a governing principle, believing in its efficiency. Because of his unfaltering belief in the indivisibility of authority, the divine source of the ruler's privileges and his historical mission of protecting the state as the property of the Ottoman dynasty; he made absolutism and despotism the seal of his sultanate and used the Caliphate to give it legitimacy. (Karpat, 2005 : 23)

Still, his belief in autocracy[59] and conservatism in both foreign and local policy, his insistence on centralism, his reform policies in social, economic and military spheres, his tight finance policies, the importance he gave to Islam as a religion and a social and political ideology and his excessive caution and prudence; allowed him to rule the state for a long time without great losses of territory. (Çetinsaya, 1999 : 56)

4.2. The history of Young Turk activities

"And I came to Istanbul: the entire marketplace
Was agitated with cries! You see... There is freedom!

[59] The way Karpat sees Hamidian despotism as an act of desperation is thought-provoking. However, according to him this act was not corrupted and did not turn into personal and bloody retributions, and Abdulhamid never resembled his angry and hateful grandfather Mahmud II. (Karpat, 2005 : 286)

When there is agitation, logic runs away... true:
Whoever I saw that day, in his head, had an issue
No one is aware it seems, of what they are doing;
Heads were dizzy with dreams, eyes were red.
Like all that were chained were free of their chains
And destroyed the madhouse and suddenly ran away!
Shrill pipes had the people of the city behind them;
From seven to seventy alike!"[60]
Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Süleymaniye Kürsüsünden

The main characteristics of Young Turks, the fractions in the movement and the persons were explained in the "actors" part of thesis. In this part, the activities of these actors and the transformation their actions went through will be related and the road that evolved from Young Turk thought to action and intellectual endeavors to revolution will be illuminated.

4.2.1. Actual Foundation – 1889-1895

There are two different opinions about the first date of emergence of an organized Young Turk opposition. The first opinion gives the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution, 1889 as the starting date of the first organized opposition. At this date Temo and three of his classmates; İshak Sukuti, Çerkez Mehmet Reşit and Abdullah Cevdet founded a secret committee called "Ottoman Union" (*İttihad-ı Osmani*) that gathered around it other students in a short time.[61] (Kuran, 1948: 16-18)

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[60] *"Bir de İstanbul'a geldim ki: Bütün çarşı, pazar Na'radan çalkanıyor! Öyle ya... Hürriyyet var! Galeyan geldi mi, mantık savuşurmuş... Doğru: Vardı aklından o gün her kimi gördümse zoru. Kimse farkında değil, anlaşılan, yaptığının; Kafalar tütsülü hülyâ ile, gözler kızgın. Sanki zincirdekiler hep boşanıp zincirden, Yıkıvermiş de tımarhâneyi çıkmış birden! Zurnalar şehrin ahâlisini takmış peşine; Yedisinden tutarak tâ dayanın yetmişine!"*

[61] The name of this committee was changed in 1895 to "Ottoman Progress and Union Committee" when it merged with dissidents in Europe and again in 1907 when it merged with the "Ottoman Freedom Committee" in Salonica. For the details of this process see: Die Entstehung und der Zweck des Comités für Einheit und Fortschritt: D. Imhoff, Die Welt des Islams, Bd. 1, H. 3/4 (Dec. 31, 1913), pp. 167-177, also see: Aslan, Taner: İttihâd-ı Osmanî'den Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'ne, bilig, November / 2008, n. 47: pp. 79-120.

Sultan Abdulhamid was informed about the existence of this committee in 1892, many students had to run away to Europe in 1894-1895 and most of them settled in Paris. However, the aims of the committee were explained in 3 December 1895 for the first time, in an article called "Our Program" in *Meşveret*. The second opinion about the date of foundation gives this as the starting point: "*1895 is the year in which the committee was founded, its regulations were written down, it was organized and made its voice heard; in short, it was the year in which the committee was born for our history and for the Young Turk universe.*" (Birinci 2000 : 48)[62]

Their aims were as follows:

1. Reform for the entire state and not just for a single *millet* or province,
2. The continued belief in the necessity of the royal family,
3. The preservation of the features of the Eastern civilization,
4. Taking only the absorbable parts of Western scientific evolution that could contribute to the freedom of peoples,
5. Opposition to Great Power interference in local affairs. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 41)

4.2.2. Stagnation period- 1897-1900

The direction was set in 1895, but Abdulhamid did not stand idle against the Young Turk movement. For him it wasn't hard to discard the Young Turks. According to him, their weakest point and the reason for their opposition was the inability of the regime to provide for them job opportunities that would make use of their qualifications. He thought that it would be possible to convince them to give up by providing positions and funding, and by recognizing their position.

On the other hand, the military victory in Thessaly contributed greatly to Abdulhamid's prestige. Young Turks were blaming him for inactivity in Eastern Thrace and the Crete crisis; and were criticizing his way of handling the operations and his insistence on deciding the movement of troops by himself. However, the victory at the end created more divisions among the Young Turks, and strengthened the divides between different fractions.

[62] Birinci, Ali, Tarih yolunda, Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2000.

For example, Mizancı Murad and his followers were very excited about the victories of the Ottoman army, while Ahmed Rıza and his followers were heavily criticized.

Apart from these divisions and internal struggles, the movement was already scattered. Besides, the financial capacities of the Young Turks in exile were so lacking that they had difficulty in publishing their newspapers; even in earning their livings. (Georgeon, 2012 : 467)

These harsh conditions allowed Abdulhamid to deliver a final blow to the Young Turk movement; a lot of the Young Turks, and especially Mizancı Murad who was the leading figure of the Young Turks in Europe were convinced by the Sultan's representative, Ahmed Celaleddin Paşa, to discontinue the committee's activities and return to the Empire.

A "ceasefire" was negotiated between the Yıldız Palace and the Committee of Union and Progress effective until the proclamation of a general amnesty and the deliverance of the promised reforms. Murad returned to Istanbul in 1897. The newspapers were reporting that the Sultan was going to declare general amnesty in his ascension anniversary which was to include all political convicts. However in a few days the convicts in *Taşkışla* were boarded on the ship named *Şeref* going to Tripoli. Students in Istanbul's Imperial Medical Academy were under heavy pressure and the main source of the movement was weakened. Neither was the general amnesty promised to Murad declared, nor was any reform carried out.

The great success was Abdulhamid's. Murad's and some of his companions' return to Istanbul, the payment in money or positions for many of the remaining members of the movement dealt a heavy blow to the Young Turk opposition. Although some Young Turks like Ahmed Rıza insisted on their stance and saw Murad's and his companions' move as treachery; figures like Abdullah Cevdet who started publishing another opposition newspaper called *Osmanlı* (Ottoman) in 1897, or Ishak Sukuti who was in Geneva and shared Ahmed Rıza's views, had to start negotiating with Abdulhamid in the end, due to financial hardships. Ishak Sukuti accepted becoming the doctor of the Ottoman embassy in Rome, and Abdullah Cevdet accepted the same position in Vienna in return for a softening in the situations of Tripoli convicts with the condition that they would not be in prison although their exile status would continue. (Georgeon, 2012: 469-70)

4.2.3. Rebirth – From 1900 on

After 1900, Young Turk movement started waking up from the slumber it entered after 1897. Although a few people like Ahmed Rıza never left their positions in Europe, the movement was revitalized suddenly and unexpectedly when Damad Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa who was an important figure in the Ottoman system, escaped to Europe.

This was a heavy blow for Abdulhamid; because his escape gave the opposition a very important tool of propaganda thanks to Damad Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa's closeness to the palace, and his relation to the Sultan as the latter's uncle-in-law. He contributed with two of the most important things for the movement: money and prestige. His contribution allowed many exiles and opponents to join the movement. (Georgeon, 2012 : 521-3)

The first Ottoman liberals' congress[63] gathered shortly after, in 4-9 February 1902 in Paris was important to show that the movement stopped being the effort of a single man and his entourage; still, the only common ground the 47 participants who were Turkish, Arab, Greek, Kurdish, Armenian, Albanian, Circassian and Jewish had was the belief that Abdulhamid was not fit to rule the Empire. Especially, the arguments about the necessity of a military and foreign intervention for the revolution due to the impossibility of ensuring it through the press proved insoluble.[64]

After the congress those defending intervention stayed with Sabahattin Bey who founded the Committee of Personal Enterprise and De-Centralization Committee (*Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet*); while those defending evolution[65] stayed with Ahmed Rıza in the Committee of Union and Progress. The differences in opinion were crystallized and most of the Young Turks in Paris disappeared from public eye for a long time.[66]

However, new developments started changing the scene in 1905. Abdulhamid was the target of an assassination by bombing and barely survived, while Russia was completely

[63] For detailed infrmation about this congress see: Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü: Der Jungtürkenkongress von Paris (1902) und seine Ergebnisse, Die Welt des Islams, New Series, Vol. 33, Issue 1 (Apr., 1993), pp. 23-65

[64] The Committee of Union and Progress was against every endeavor that could disrupt the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and stood with the Sultan in such issues. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 47)

[65] Most historians argue that Young Turks were not able to produce any practical results apart from palace coups; in fact, most Young Turk newspapers were openly against revolutionism. The only thing the Young Turks could do according to this argument is emphasizing the determining roles of big men in history. Examples for this were Darwinist materialist arguments and social Darwinism, explanations with Le Bon's group psychology and arguments about Carlyle. (Hanioğlu, 1985 : 648)

[66] According to Hanioğlu, the Young Turk mosaic became irreconcilable in 1902. (Hanioğlu, 1985 : 649)

defeated by Japan giving way to a revolution which forced the Tsar to convene the *Duma*; which meant that an absolutist regime had to start liberalizing itself and accept a parliamentarian regime. Another event next year in another neighbor was equally disturbing: a parliamentarian system was founded in Iran after a revolution. These two revolutions inspired the Young Turks to move out of the traditional ways. (Georgeon, 2012 : 541)

1906 was a turning point for the Young Turk movement; because it turned from an intellectual movement that was trying to propagate certain ideas to save the Empire, to an organizational structure that aimed to take the power in its hands. This year two new exiles who were both doctors joined the movement as reinforcements: Bahaeddin Şakir and Doktor Nazım. Unlike Ahmed Rıza who was an intellectual and a theoretician; the newcomers were both organizers. Thanks to them, the Committee of Union and Progress turned into a revolutionary structure that had a central committee, a secretariat, a finance department, and one that was carrying out propaganda aimed at soldiers and officers in the Ottoman army with its branches in the Ottoman Empire and its neighbors.[67]

4.2.4. The road to revolution - 1907

1906-1907 saw increasing dissatisfaction and turmoil.[68] In cities like Bitlis, Van, Erzurum and even Istanbul; and in early 1908 in Izmir and Kastamonu there were revolts by soldiers and civilians. Governors were dismissed and the army did not do anything to disperse these protests. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 150)

These revolts in Kastamonu, Trabzon, Diyarbakır, Van and especially Erzurum had similar scenarios: The local people started with refusing to pay taxes and expressing their anger towards an oppressing local governor. The rioters first seized the telegraph house, then bombarded Yıldız and the Sublime Porte with petitions and asked for the annulment of the taxes and the dismissal of the local governor. These events that betrayed deep troubles, showed the extent of loyalty to the sultan even at this late period among middle-class populations of the peripheral cities. When Abdulhamid answered local demands by

[67] [Prince] Sabahaddin founded the Committee of Personal Enterprise and De-Centralization Committee (Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkeziyet) in 1906 in Paris and published a newspaper called Terakki (Progress) defining and criticizing centralism as the main ill of the Ottoman state. He stayed loyal to his belief in the necessity of European intervention to save the Empire and predicted that cooperation with Armenian committees would ease the intervention. He tried to gain the local elite to his side with the help of Dashnaksutyun in Eastern Anatolia and to organize the dissatisfaction in the region.

[68] For detailed information on the subject see: Kansu, Aykut: 1908 devrimi, Hanioğlu, Şükrü: Preperation for a revolution. Emiroğlu, Kudret: Anadolu'da Devrim Günleri, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2001, Ankara.

dismissing the governor, the crowd would gather around the telegraph house and shout "Long live the Sultan!" (*Padişahım çok yaşa!*) and run to the mosques to pray for the Sultan.[69]

This turmoil in Anatolia is related not only to the results of the turmoil in Caucasia in 1905 and in Iran in 1906, but also to economic hardships. Parallel to these local revolts, soldiers who were not paid regularly started rising in their barracks. In Beirut in 1907, more than one thousand soldiers who came back from Yemen revolted because they did not receive their payments; they took the governor, the treasurer and the local commander hostage and let them free only after they were paid.

Dissidence was strongest in Macedonia. In September 1906, a group of militants came together to form Ottoman Freedom Committee (*Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti*) as a secret committee which was to organize itself quickly among the young bureaucrats and officers. In 1907, this group was to cause two very important developments:

First, in 27 September 1907 the Committee of Union and Progress decided to merge with the Ottoman Freedom Committee which furthered the former's departure from theoretical area and changed its evolutionist course.[70] The new committee continued to have the name of the Paris group.[71] Rejection of foreign interference and gathering supporters within the army were the main aims of the new committee. (Tunaya, 1995 : 8)

The second development was the Second Young Turk (Dissidents) Congress of 1907,[72] which was one of the last stops before the revolution as the aim became destruction of the regime and criticism and reform were left aside. Turks and Armenians were able to

[69] This way, the telegraph which was expected to act as a tool for centralization became the tool for expressing local demands for rights. (Georgeon, 2012 : 542)

[70] The only purpose of the Ottoman Freedom Committee was to take the government down by any necessary means; while Ahmet Rıza and his group was always against violence. The evolution of the Young Turk group in Paris and Ahmet Rıza's intellectual world can be glanced from the process of the merger of the Committee of Union and Progress with the Ottoman Freedom Committee and their approval of the program of the Second Ottoman Liberals' Congress of 1907, which foresaw the destruction of the Hamidian regime by force if necessary. Similarly, Abdulhamid's attitude was far from violent. In the reports to the Sultan, it was argued that his stance did not bear any benefit. For the report of Mehmet Ferit Paşa of Avlonya who argues for violent measures to destroy Young Turks completely see: Y..EE.., 13/R /1318 (Hicrî), Dosya No: 15, Gömlek No:21

[71] However, in reality the committee in Salonika intended to follow its own line and use the group in Paris. With this union, the involvement of the Paris group within the country was prevented, Ahmet Rıza's Mechveret was left to him as it was French (and would not affect the people of Salonica), but Turkish publications had to accept the proposals from Salonika and the group in Salonika would receive the financial assistance it needed. For the entire document, see: Ramsaur, 1982: 142-3.

[72] For the congress declaration and some documents concerning it, see: Tunaya, 1995 : 153-157

make concessions in order to unite for the first time and managed to write down a program.[73] The program was quite clear: The government of the Ottoman Empire should be brought down, by force if necessary and a representative government should be instituted in its stead. The Congress advised all kinds of resistance against the government and recommended armed resistance against oppression, passive resistance by not paying taxes and total revolt if necessary. (Georgeon, 2012 : 543)

4.2.5. Revolution - 1908

The Army of Macedonia was in revolt in early 1908. The Young Turks themselves were greatly transformed in the meanwhile. The revolutionary officers in Macedonia in 1908 had nothing to do with their exiled positivist predecessors in Europe in 1900s. Especially the young Turkish officers of the Third Army[74] were sworn to overthrow the government[75] out of nationalist and personal feelings.[76]

Abdulhamid has also changed: the victorious absolute ruler of 1900 was helpless against the regime's oppressing deviations, and turned into an old, ruthless Sultan.

Although the date of the revolution was not chosen beforehand; the fact that Abdulhamid II was taking the matter very seriously, the desire to act before the plot was discovered, the fear of the officers[77] that international situation was getting worse[78] caused the revolution to happen in July 1908. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 152)

[73] However, the superficial agreement that was the result of the Congress does not mean that differences among the opponents of Abdulhamid disappeared. The differences between Ahmed Rıza's and Sebahattin Bey's supporters gained special importance after the revolution. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 147)

[74] The rank and file of the Army were prepared for the Revolution by officers who were members of the Committee of Union and Progress who said that "the Sultan was surrounded by malintent advisers and everything would be better with them gone." Although this helped ensure the support of the army during the Revolution, the loyalty of the rank and file to the Sultan created great problems for the Committee of Union and Progress when Abdulhamid II was dethroned.

[75] For important details on the subject from memoirs see: Hayatım, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008, İstanbul; Kazım Karabekir, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009, İstanbul. Also see: Mehmet Ali Okar, Osmanlı Balkanlarının Son On Yılı, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013.

[76] The promotions in the army that were the result of spying on other officers, the delayed payment of wages, closer relations with foreign officers, the realization of the high standards in other armies etc..

[77] Led by Midhat Paşa, who is known as the Basmala of Freedom (Besmele-i Hürriyet), and Enver and Niyazi Beys.

[78] It was feared that Britain was giving up on its efforts to oppose Russia's desires concerning Middle East, in the Reval meetings between Edvard VII and Nikolai II in 9-10 June 1908. This would mean the end of Turkish rule in Macedonia, and may be even in Turkey in Europe. (Ramsaur, 1982 : 153)

We will not go into the details of the revolution here. It is worth noting, however, that the coup off 1908[79] was carried out by the Third Army based in Macedonia and resulted in the re-institution of the constitution by the Sultan.[80] Abdulhamid continued to be in his throne for a while longer, may be because the Committee did not want to go against the people and the rank and file of the army, or because it did not feel powerful enough. Still, government was in The Committee of Union and Progress's hands.

The part played in this revolution by European Young Turks, whose ideas about Islamic unity we will examine, was insignificant. However the joy of success was shared by all Young Turk fractions as evidenced by the following quote:

"*10th July is a holy date not only for the Ottomans, but also for all Muslims. It is so holy that it has no equal after the time of the Prophet*."[81]

4.3. Evaluation

It must be emphasized that the most important actor of 19th century Islamic unity movement was Sultan Abdulhamid II, and the most important activity and success of Abdulhamid II in the 19th century was Islamic unity movement. In summary, the message of Abdulhamid's Islamic unity policy was "Islam is under threat;" the reason was "Western Christian Powers" and the solution was "to gather around the Caliph." This plain formula was appealing to millions of Muslims around the world who were conditioned to expect a savior in times of crisis and catastrophe. Islamic unity was therefore incredibly popular in colonized Muslim countries and played a very important role in the formation of national identities. (Özcan, 1997 : 82)

But as Hobsbawm points out; "according to the liberalist standards of 19th c. [the Ottoman Empire] was obsolete, and condemned by history and progress. The Ottoman Empire was very obviously a universal fossil." (Deringil, 2007 : 20) Although the "last great Sultan" of the Ottomans left his imprint in his era, although he was a consistent reformer,

[79] For an interesting article comparing the revolution to its counterparts in Iran and Russia see: Sohrabi, Nader: Historicizing Revolutions: Constitutional Revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Russia, 1905-1908, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 100, No. 6 (May, 1995), pp. 1383-1447.

[80] Young Turk Revolution served as a model for many Muslim committees for long years. Apart from its influence in the 1911 Chinese and 1917 Russian revolutions; some organizations used "Union and Progress" as their name as late as 1988 in Soviet Russia. It is possible to feel the influence of the Young Turk Revolution in contemporary Middle East, Balkans and Turkey. (Hanioğlu, 2001 : 318)

[81] İttihad-ı İslam, nr.4: 4

For the photos, which show a common happiness of Ottoman nations see: Appendix-7 and 8

although he had a real project that was consistent in itself and was soundly structured, although he was not a puppet of the Great Powers, and although his policies were not the results of personal desires and caprice; he had the misfortune of being the ruler of an old country in a time its days were numbered regardless of everything. As a result, Abdulhamid failed in turning the Ottoman Empire in to a great modern state and the most important Muslim power despite his efforts; in fact, the aim he set was beyond the limits of any single person. (Georgeon, 2012 : 607-614)

Contrary to the previous chapters in which the main political and intellectual differences among the Young Turks were explained, this chapter focused on the formation and development of the Committee of Union and Progress. Similar to the Young Turks which is not possible to be seen as a homogenous group; the Committee of Union and Progress was not a committee that followed the same line throughout its existence.

The Committee of Union and Progress was a purely intellectual group in its beginnings and turned into a revolutionary committee later. It is possible to divide the group into two groups: one under French and Anglo-Saxon influence; the other under German military influence. This second revolutionary group who was under the influence of a practical, functional and military German state system had little in common with the evolutionary first group except opposition to Abdulhamid. (Aydın, 2001 : 126)

It is fitting to finish this section by mentioning this: the reluctance of the Committee of Union and Progress for using revolutionary methods can be explained by Young Turks' fear that the Empire would crumble without the royal family and some of their support for Abdulhamid. On the other hand, Abdulhamid's hope that the Young Turks could be instrumental in saving the state with their Turkish nationalism in an age of nationalisms was what made the revolution possible. Despite the enmity, a mutual relationship of needs and benefits, and a relative leniency in their relations was apparent. What made this possible was the unfaltering belief in the state's survival and patriotism on both sides.

5. CHAPTER

CONCEPT

Nations come and go. Empires rise and fall. However, Islam survives and continues to include in the nomads and the settled, the civilization builders and the civilization destroyers together among its ranks. Then, what are the elements that keep together numerous nations as an ummah, nations that hold on to their peculiarities consciously or subconsciously while guarding their ties to the universal Islam as the most important spiritual treasure?

Von Grünebaum

The fatherland of a Muslim, is everywhere Shariah rules.

M. Said Halim Paşa

Though Islamic unity was a novel and modern ideology wrapped in traditional religious clothing, it was blamed to be an anti-European Islamist union ideology and examined only with its conservative side until recently. In this context, it was named pan-Islamism by the political and academic circles of the West and for the last century it was used to denote a Dark Age ideology without any agreement on its content, reach and aims (Karpat, 2005: 23). On the other hand, except the occasional references to Jamal al-Din Afghani for his Islamic unity efforts; there is no serious historical work on the concept.

A satisfactory and healthy history of pan-Islamism is only possible through the examination of Islamic sources. Further, the study of intellectual and political developments in various Muslim countries is not enough for such a study, as it requires taking into consideration the relations among the Great Powers and between them and Muslim countries.

In this chapter, questions such as "what is *ittihad-ı Islam* (Pan-Islamism)[82] which we ascribe to our actors and which was the dominant policy in the Ottoman geography," "how

[82] In this thesis, pan-Islamism and ittihad-ı İslam will be used interchangeably as there is no meaningful difference for the purposes of this thesis between the two. Although some sources try to depict pan-Islamism as a political object and ittihad-ı İslam as a humanistic aim to connect the hearts and thoughts of Muslims (see, for example: Kara, İsmail citing from Halil Halid: Türkiye'de Din ve Modernleşme, Modernleşme İslam dünyası ve Türkiye : milletlerarası tartışmalı ilmi toplantı 17-19 Kasım 2000 Istanbul, Ensar Neşriyat, Tartışmalı İlmi Toplantılar Dizisi, 35, 2001: pp. 186-7); for me, these are two words used to express the same thought in two different languages. For some authors, the meanings of these two concepts differ also linguistically and ittihad-ı Islam should be translated into Western languages as Unity of Islam, Islamic Union, Union Islamique,

did it came about," "how did it evolve," "what did it affect and in what way" will be asked; and the concept will be evaluated in depth together with the sources that fed it, the actors and the consequences.[83] For, as mentioned before, any study that does not take into consideration all the connotations and uses of the term *ittihad-ı İslam*, which experienced a variety of changes in its meaning depending on the policy in whose service it was employed, will be lacking and weak.[84]

If we look at the concept from a historical perspective, we will recognize that "pan" movements,[85] are used to denote a unity on the basis of geography, linguistics, nationality, race or religion. Despite having deep roots in the history of humanity, prime example being Rome, the concept of "pan" was not used in the modern sense until the spread of romantic nationalisms in Europe, Asia and to a lesser extent in America and Africa.[86]

Although it was contemporary to movements like pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism; pan-Islamism was distinct as it aimed at a unity based on religion rather than nationality. Besides, the Qur'an should be the main point of reference as the central source of Islam, in a discussion of Islamic unity. The holy book of Islam attaches great importance to political

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Vereinigung des Islam. However, a great majority of Muslims used ittihad-ı muslimin (unity of Muslims) or vahdetu'l-Islam (Oneness of Islam) as counterparts for ittihad-ı İslam; and Ottoman literati were translating concepts like pan-Slavism or pan-Germanism into Ottoman Turkish as ittihad-ı Slav and ittihad-ı Cermen. We can deduce from this fact, that pan-Islamism was used in the sense of ittihad-ı İslam. (Türköne, 1991: 197–8)

[83] It should be remembered that certain Sultans and statesmen like Selim I, Süleyman I, Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa and Sokollu Mehmed Paşa dedicated their efforts to the unity of Muslims long before the use of the term in Ottoman society. What is meant by the unity of Muslims here is the political domination of the Ottomans over the rest of the Muslims. (Türköne, 1991: 205)

[84] For a general look on the issue see: George Young, "Pan-Islamism", Encyclopedia of the social sciences, XI (New York, 1967), pp.542–4. "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islamism in South Asia", Islamic Quarterly**,** XXIV/ 182, 1980, pp. 22-34; for the evaluation of some of the existing literature through published British sources see: N. Rahman Farooqi, "Pan-Islamism in the Nineteenth Century", Islamic Culture**,** LVII/ 4, Oct. 1984; for an evaluation of pan-Islamism after 1870 using many primary (except Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives) and secondary sources see: J. M. Landau, The Politics of Pan- Islamism, Ideology and Organization, London 1990. Landau follows the development of pan-Islamism to current dates. Turkish scholars and researchers have been disregarding the field, though the increasing interest shown to the concept in the last 5 years is gratifying. The most important documents concerning the issue are in Turkish and are located in Turkish archives and libraries; any good study has to benefit from them. Two MA and two PhD dissertations contributed greatly to the field: See: Gökhan Çetinsaya, II. Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devleti Dahilinde Afrika Kıtasında İslam Birliği (Pan-îslamizm) Faaliyetleri (MA), İstanbul University, 1985; Gökhan Çetinsaya, II. Abdulhamid Devrinde Osmanlı Devletinin İslâm Birliği Siyaseti (PhD), **I**stanbul University, 1991; Mümtaz'er Türköne, II. Abdülhamid II Döneminin ilk Yıllarında 'İslam Birliği Hareketi' (MA**),** Ankara University, 1985; Mümtaz'er Türköne, Siyasi İdeoloji olarak Pan-îslamizmin Doğuşu (PhD), Ankara University, 1990.

[85] For a general study of pan-movements and regions see: Political Geography of Panregions: John O'Loughlin and Herman van der Wusten: Geographical Review, Vol. 80, No. 1 (Jan., 1990), pp. 1-20

[86] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 11, ed. David E. Sills, The Macmillan Company& The Free Press, 1968, USA.

unity and does not tolerate movements that would harm it; so much that disorder is seen worse than murder. According to the Qur'an, the unity of the Muslims is one of the prerequisites of the success of the Islamic policy: Verses such as "*And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided.*" (3/103) and "*And if two factions among the believers should fight, then make settlement between the two... The believers are but brothers*" (49/9-10) attest to this prerequisite.

What I want to primarily stress and question here is when, where, by whom and with what concerns Islam became the moving force of such a movement, in other words became an ideology.[87] Although the religion of Islam somehow included the concept of Islamic unity, what happened suddenly to make its popularity and power increase? The ideologization of the religion through the concept of *ittihad-ı İslam* was a novel thing, but it was not contradictory to Islam's communitarian structure and its religious-political identification. Islam is more social compared to other religions,[88] and determines the rules by which the individual will conduct his behavior with other individuals as well as the norms which will make the society function as a whole.

As a result, the ideologization of the already political religion was not very hard. However, some conditions have to be fulfilled for ideologies to emerge, and some tools are necessary. The most important of these is the intellectuals' ability to reach out to the masses through appropriate means of communication.[89] At this point, it is possible to argue that the Young Turks, and even their predecessors Young Ottomans,[90] ideologized Islam following the movements of their time and tried at the same time to provide solutions to the problems of their era by new interpretations under the name of Islamism.[91] The palace was also trying to

[87] For a study on the political roles of religions in history see: Baldwin: Simeon E.: "Religion still the Key to History," The American Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Jan., 1907), pp. 219-243.
[88] For this claim, making a comparison with other religions, see: Donald Eugene Smith, Religion and political development, Boston, 1970, p. 144 etc.
[89] As an example, see the following article on the role of the media for spreading nationalist ideology in Syria: Eliezer Tauber, "The Press and the Journalist as a Vehicle in Spreading National Ideas in Syria in the Late Ottoman Period," Die Welt des Islams, New Series, Bd. 30, Nr. 1/4 (1990), pp. 163-177
[90] With the Young Ottomans, Islam became the base of freedom and democracy struggles for the revolutionary Ottoman intellectuals as it was the language the people spoke and the answer to the question of identity. These intellectuals, who did not yet have a social basis that would support them, and who formulated their desires as the desires of the people, needed a force that could replace the people, which they found in Islam. For revolutionary intellectuals, while searching for a way out for themselves in the Ottoman society, Islamist discourses was hitting two birds with one stone as it allowed those who were speaking in the name of religion to speak in the name of the people at the same time. (Türköne, 86–93)
[91] Abdulhamid II's policy of ittihad-ı İslam did not have an Islamist agenda in this sense. His policy did not concern itself with topics such as reform in Islam, the discussion concerning the "closure of the doors of Ijtihad," the re-organization of Islamic education or the threat of materialism and positivism on Islamic thought.

do this at the same time, but Young Turks and the Palace had very different motivations and their styles and discourses differed greatly.

5.1. First Trails of Islamic Unity

"Muhammadan rules never allow to forget human brotherhood and Islamic unity by separating two groups of people with a line on a map or a few meters of mountain or separating them because one group says "olmaz" and the other says "nebâşed" or because one comes from a generation of lump cheeks and the other from one of beetle-browed ancestors."

Namık Kemal

"No alliance, no unity, ignorance prevails
No acquaintances, no loyalty, disaster prevails
Pity, even the Heaven will be ruined in this way…"[92]

As we will see in the section "Islamic Unity in Orientalist Literature," pan-Islamism is actually a modern concept and was increasingly used by the middle of 1870s by Western writers to define religious-national feelings in the Muslim world against Western expansionism. However, long before it was used in the West, pan-Islamism's Ottoman counterparts and connotations like "**ittihad-ı Islam, ittihad-ı din, uhuvvet-i din**" (Islamic Unity, religious unity, religious brotherhood respectively) were used in the correspondences among the Ottoman Empire and the Muslims sultanates in India, Indonesia and Middle Asia. (Özcan, 1992: 37)

Before it was used as a term for a political ideology, Islamic unity was in circulation among the Muslims having its roots in the Qur'an and the *hadith* of the Prophet and used in the sense of unity, brotherhood and assistance. In fact terms like "*ittihad-ı din, uhuvvet-i din*" were used in the correspondences among Muslim sultanates before 19th century and occasionally Muslim sultans referred to the responsibilities of religious brotherhood when

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It is better to consider his policy as a modern realist one. Abdulhamid's pan-Islamism was directed against Arab sheikhs, mahdis, Egyptian khedives and the separatist movements of Egypt, Syria and Yemen. (Berkes, 1988: 356) This policy included political messages for the religious leaders and through them for all Muslims; but also to the foreign governments. In this sense, ittihad-ı İslam did not have an Islamist agenda. (Çetinsaya, 1988: 11)

[92] Zahid, "Tazallum," Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no. 19, pp. 6-7, 26 April 1897.

they asked for help against non-Muslim states. (In this context, for correspondences between the Ottomans and some khanates of Turkistan see: BA, Nâme Defteri, n: 6, 9).

Despite the common feeling among Muslim believers of sharing the same religion and being brothers, the idea of Islamic unity remained foreign to Muslim rulers until the 19th century. Although there were some indeterminate calls for union before the 19th century, Muslim states never managed to realize a real unity, not even against the Crusaders who invaded the most important parts of the Middle East from 11th to 13th centuries. Muslim rulers used *jihad* not against the enemies of Islam, but against each other. For them, their own economic, political and military power was more important than the fates of other Muslims. Timur, who claimed to be a pious Muslim, routed the Golden Horde in 1395 and this way indirectly helped the Principality of Moscow to destroy the Kazan Khanate in 1552. He also almost destroyed the Ottoman state when he defeated Bayezid I in 1402. (Karpat, 2005: 83)

Ottoman rulers were not any different. Even at the height of their power, they were indifferent to the distress calls of the Spanish Muslims, who were being butchered during the Spanish Reconquista, also to the Kazan Muslims who were destroyed by the Orthodox Crusade started by the Russians. (Karpat, 2005: 84)

In the 19th century, the decisions of Abdulaziz, who disregarded the calls of Aceh Muslims against the Dutch, who was cold to the resistance of Sheikh Shamil in Caucasia and therefore did not fulfill his duties as the caliph; alienated the people and the religious students making his and Midhat Paşa's fall easier.[93] Abdulhamid on the other hand, was aware of the power of the people and founded a consulate in Batavia in 1883 to get informed about the situation of Muslims in India and the Far East and to develop remedies to the harm done to the Muslim world. (Karpat, 2005: 98)

Ottoman rulers tried to defend the principles of international law and respect the internal affairs of other nations rather than imposing their authority over other Muslims. (Karpat, 2005: 99)

[93] Khanates in India and Middle Asia asked for Ottoman help even before. The Sultan of Bukhara, Subhan Kulu Khan (r. 1680-1703) communicated the difficulties he was facing and asked for help in 1690: "The Sultan of the Muslims should help all Muslims. We sent our ambassador to your seat so that our friendship is solidified and our ties are reinforced." Similarly Ubeydullah Khan (r. 1703-1717) sent an ambassador to Istanbul and declared his loyalty, although this had to be symbolic due to the distance between the two states. In fact, when the Muslims of Aceh claimed that Aceh was a vassal state and the Ottomans were obliged to protect them against the Dutch, the Ottomans could not give a positive answer. They were not in a position to confront the Dutch due to their internal position and the Sublime Porte's attempts to mediate the dispute came to naught.

However, the psychological atmosphere created by the domination of the Muslim world outside the Ottoman Empire by European states and the expectations of Muslims from the Ottomans, created a basis for the universalist claims of the Islamist ideology of the Young Ottoman opposition to the Sublime Porte following the experiences of *Tanzimat* and *Islahat*. By uniting Muslim countries under the leadership of the Ottoman state, it was hoped that they could save themselves from underdevelopment and foreign rule.

When we examine the written accounts, many sources mention as the first examples of pan-Islamism, the book of Delhi scholar and political actor Shah Veliyullah (1703-62)'s Hujjatullah al-Balighahad (1762) and his article which urges Muslims to create a common platform to work incessantly and to unite for the honor of Islam.[94] However, the first piece from the Ottoman geography which had the term "*ittihad-ı İslam*" in it is in the newspaper called *Hürriyet* (Freedom) published in London in 10 May 1869.[95]

Namık Kemal, in his pioneering article, argued that the only solution to the disintegration of the Muslim world and the domination of foreigners was the unity of Muslims centered on the Ottoman Empire. He further argued that this unity could be achieved through a popular movement, similar to the Italian national unification, whose precondition was the destruction of despotic regimes, foundation of constitutional ones in their stead and the realization of popular sovereignty. (Türköne, 1991: 204-7)

The first examples of the concept were seen in the newspaper *Basiret* and it started being discussed in the newspapers of Istanbul. After Esad Efendi[96] wrote an article named *İttihad* the issue became controversial taking into consideration the necessity of holding onto the non-Muslim populations of the Empire, and the concern over the opinions of European powers. (Karpat, 2005: 221)

An article published in *Basiret* in 9 April 1872 called "The Exalted State and Austria" (*Devlet-i Aliye ve Avusturya*) was the first to suggest *ittihad-ı İslam* against expansionist policies like pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism:

[94] Taher, Muhamed: Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture, Anmol Publications Put. Ltd., New Delhi, 1998: 108.
[95] Landau disagrees with this, and argues that the article called "İttihad-ı İslam" published in Hürriyet's 9 November 1868, probably by Ziya Paşa, was the first. (Landau, 1990: 3)
[96] Esad Efendi is famous for the pamphlet called İttihad-ı İslam calling Muslims to unite against foreign, especially Russian, invasions which he published in 1872 and which was spread in Mecca and Medina by Abdulhamid to the point of being used as proof of the latter's pan-Islamist policies by Europeans.

"... if a small idea of Islamic unity is brought into existence, it is impossible to deny the possibility of the union of Islamic tribes beyond the eastern shores of the Black Sea, without taking other regions into consideration, to Kazan on one side, and to the Khanate of Kulca in Middle Asia on the other."

According to the article the conditions for the unity were met and the possibilities were there; so much so that if it was favored and put into effect; "*if this idea, equivalent to the German and Slav ideas, comes into existence, even if the other two unites*" it would be impossible for them to compete with *ittihad-ı İslam*. (Özcan, 1997: 52)

After the publication of Namık Kemal's article, titled "*İttihad-ı İslam*" in 27 June 1872 in his own newspaper *İbret*, which was written following the indignation caused by Russia's invasion of the Muslim khanates in Middle Asia and which argued that Islamic unity would be in education and not in weapons, the Ottoman press experienced a drastic increase in publications on the issue. (Karpat, 2005: 27)

According to the debate among Ottoman intellectuals concerning the nature and applicability of *ittihad-ı İslam*, for example according to the *Basiret* issue dated 14 April 1872; one of the first steps to be taken was to create public opinion (**efkar-ı umumiye**) on the issue in the Muslim World. In fact, public opinion was so important that the European penetration into Muslim countries was only possible thanks to it. The article, then proposes the publication and distribution of brochures and publications on this issue, and the organization of missionary activities similar to those of Christianity to serve this aim.

In the following months, reader letters to the *Basiret* contributed to the debate. For example, some argued for the widening of the borders for *ittihad-ı İslam* to include Shiite Muslims in it as well. In fact, the Shiite was more experienced in missionary activity. Another proposal was to employ Arabic, stressing the importance of a common Muslim language for this aim. An interesting, and modern idea was about discovery and research. According to this proposal, qualified people should be sent to different Muslim countries to collect information about the geography and the nature of the peoples "to determine their need for ittihad-ı İslam, their abilities and possibilities, based on their situations."

While the debates and propositions were continuing, certain steps were also taken. For example, an organization called the Association for the Revival of Islam (*Cemiyet-i İhya-yı*

İslam) was founded in Istanbul According to this association, the problems of the Islamic World stemmed from education, culture and knowledge first; and not politics. In this sense, the improvement of education and the literacy rate were necessary. Another development was the foundation of the Geographic Association of Islamic Countries (*Memalik-i İslamiye Coğrafya Cemiyeti*) which aimed to spread Islam in Asia, Africa and Oceania. The founder of this association was the Head Instructor of *Daru'l-Fünun*, Hoca Tahsin Efendi. (Özcan, 1997: 52)

In this process *Basiret* sold in great numbers and was published in larger proportions, but after a while the government banned even the use of the term "*ittihad-ı İslam*" bending to the negative reactions from Europe.[97] (Türköne, 1991: 229)

5.2. Abdulhamid II and Islamic unity, as a way of politics[98]

"Not the jihad itself, but its name was a weapon in our hands. Sometimes when I wanted to threaten the ambassadors, I would say: "There is a word between the lips of a Muslim Caliph. May Allah never let me say it" Jihad was a power only in name without any substance for us."

(Osmanoğlu relating from Abdulhamid II, 1986: 230-231)

[97] The European discontent with debates concerning ittihad-ı İslam in the Ottoman press was a tendency from of old. In fact, a news piece titled Tebşir (Glad Tidings) troubled the Sublime Porte vis-à-vis Europe, and the newspaper was closed for five days. According to this piece, the Ottoman State had decided to send war ships to protect the Muslims of Aceh against the Dutch. After Reuters broadcasted this, the Dutch government officially warned the Sublime Porte, which was forced to deny this claim. The Dutch, then, communicated with the British to act in unison against the concept of ittihad-ı İslam. The fact that the British Foreign Office warned all its legations in Muslim countries to be careful about the developments that were religious-based and could be considered as political revival (Public Record Office, FO, nr. 881/2621 |Correspondence Respecting the Religious and Political Revival among Musulmans 1873-1874|), shows that the European powers were closely monitoring the debate around Islamic unity. The same situation arose again and again during the first years of Hamidian rule, and European states informed the Sublime Porte about their discontent over discussions about Islamic unity in the Press (India Office Records, L/P&S/3/ 406; Public Record Office, FO.nr. 881/4341; 78/3086). The Sultan and the Sublime Porte warned the press to prevent such pressure from Europe (BA, Y.EE, nr. 15-553/594-93-38; 94/14-94-44); Abdulhamid II banned the use of this term during his last years in power as a preventive measure (India Office Records, L/P&S/3/425, nr. 3671).

[98] Because most of Abdulhamid's activities concerning Islamic unity were carried out in secret in order not to attract European attention, there is very little information about the organization. The sultan who financed the organization with his personal funds was at the top. Activity reports were sent to the Sultan directly or indirectly. However, none of the reports, financial records or bills of expenses came to light until today. Istanbul was the centre for all kinds of pan-Islamic activities. Some of the advisors of the Sultan were assigned to carry out pan-Islamic propaganda efforts in the geographic areas they were responsible for, but they got their orders only from the Sultan and reported back only to him. (Landau, 2002 : 134)

Abdulhamid II's leaning to the policy of Islamic unity was almost a necessity, and he had two main purposes: The first one was carried out in the Muslim world outside the Ottoman Empire to ensure the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire in international politics.[99] A web of relationships was constructed among Muslim states through the institution of the Caliphate and this situation was used as a card against imperialist European powers. The second purpose was geared towards creating unity and a common identity among the Muslim population within the Empire. (Çetinsaya, 1988 : 6-7) The aim in this context was to prevent the efforts of England and France who tried to create disunion among Muslim groups using ethnical and religious differences, similar to what the Russians did in 1855-1878 among Balkan Christians using Orthodoxy. (Karpat, 2005 : 379)

On the other hand, Islamic unity was not the invention of Abdulhamid, nor of his era. The report prepared by Miralay Elhac Raşit Bey with the permission of the Ministry of Education in 1875 (1291) shows that Muslim societies under invasion by colonialist powers used Islamic unity as a base to lean on:

"It is known that, the religion of Islam of the ultimate deliverance was born in the Arab peninsula at that moment when it flashed and diffused the right path to the corners of the world. The first lights gathered here to enlighten the universe. The first diffusion and the outlet of the true religion and the first umma of the Prophet Ahmed (Muhammad) was the Arab peninsula.

That Arab Peninsula, with the two Holy Shrines on it caught Divine attention, and was determined with the glorious divine order to be the gathering place and the pilgrimage point for the entire Muslim community on Earth.

Those two Holy Shrines, to which the Caliphs and Sultans became servants, were the asylum of the Muslim sultans and the Caliphate, and were the basis they leant on. Because of this, the great sultans of old were in alliance and union in the matter of holding and protecting the Arab Peninsula and reforming its situation; they made sacrifices to protect it from invasions and sent soldiers and supplies all the way to India (to achieve this).

[99] For a detailed work on Hamidian foreign policy, see: F. A. K. Yasamee, Ottoman Diplomacy: Abdulhamid II and the Great Powers, 1878-1888, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1996

In this tender age, a great continent like India which has millions of Muslims and five to ten sultanates became part of Britain.

Many countries in the coasts of Africa became British colonies.

The Dutch declared war on a great island like Aceh. They are pressing them today. A few millions of Muslim population will pass under Dutch protection.

Russians are destroying Middle Asia and Muslim governments one by one, leaving them helpless.

For this reason, military forces were sent to South Yemen and it was returned to its older allegiance. An army was founded within the province of Yemen with the name of the Seventh Army.

For this reason, our Sultan, our benefactor Lord took South Yemen under the administration of his Sublime Sultanate. With this, he strengthened and affirmed the main basis of the Islamic Caliphate and the focus of unity of the Muslim peoples. If there was negligence and movement for a few years after the opening of the Canal, the Great Yemen region would fall into the hands of others. What would happen to the Hejaz then?

What a strange thought and a weird obsession it is to consider as harmful the taking of three millions of Muslim population under the administration of the Sublime Sultanate, talking about financial difficulties!

Since the focus of the Caliphate is in the Arab Peninsula, the Eternal Ottoman State will never lose by taking it under its control and reforming its situation, regardless of the sacrifices made and the treasures spent for this. The sacrifices will not be in vain.

In fact, if possible a railroad should be constructed from Damascus to South Hejaz until Mecca and Jeddah before anywhere else. This line will go in lowlands from Damascus and Jeddah. There is no land in between that will require great work to flatten like mountains, heights, and rivers. The most important communication line of the Arab Peninsula will also be this line."[100]

[100] These issues were paid great attention in Elhac Raşit Bey's History of Yemen (Yemen Tarihi). For more information see: Yemen Tarihi, Istanbul, 1291, V. II, pp. 252-260, 263 etc.

As can be seen in this and similar reports, together with Islamic unity, concepts like Arab Peninsula (*Ceziretü'l-Arab*), the religion of Islam of the ultimate deliverance (*din-i İslam-ı felah-ı encam*), the two Holy Shrines (*Haremeyn-i şerifeyn*), Muslim community (*ümmet-i İslamiye*), the glorious divine order (*emr-i celil-i Rabbani*), Arab language (*lisan-ı Arabiye*), Muslim population (*nüfus-ı İslamiye*), Sultan of Islam (*sultan-ı İslam*) started appearing. In fact, these concepts were not alien to the Islamic societies and the Ottoman state order; on the contrary they were applied and lived as lifestyles since a long time. The important point here is that they moved beyond being lifestyles and became styles of policy and turned into concepts discussed in international diplomacy. When Islamic unity became a way of politics, it turned Arab tribes that lived in struggle against each other into a threat for Europe in Spain; and turned the Turks into a similar threat in the Balkans.[101]

The 1876 Constitution that was declared right after Abdulhamid's enthronement clearly signaled the Pan-Islamist development within the Ottoman Empire. The constitution did not just accept Islam as the official religion (article XI), but also gave the mission of being the protector of Islam to the Sultan: "His Highness the Sultan is the protector of the religion of Islam, thanks to Caliphate, and the ruler and Sultan of all Ottoman subjects."[102] (Özcan, 1997 : 54)

The chain of events after this point served to feed Pan-Islamism psychologically. With the Berlin Treaty of 1878 that ended the Ottoman-Russian War, the sublime Porte was forced to leave two fifths of its entire territory which held five and a half million souls half of whom were Muslims, one fifth of its entire population. Berlin Treaty also gave the right of decision about the future of the Empire, not only to Russia but to other states as well. This treaty was almost an acknowledgment of destruction. It made the defense of the remaining parts of the

[101] The following lines summarize the success of the Ottomans with this awareness:
"Muslim religion constituted the surest base of sovereignty and unity in the Ottoman's service. It became a reason of activity, and brought together with it the requirement of waging war in the name of God for the defense and expansion of religion. It granted the believers the right to impose their unquestionable authority on non-believers; and ordered non-believers to gather around the holder of the sword of Islam and to be obedient. This was a strong armor that connected very diverse parts of a huge empire in great unity. Furthermore, the Muslim world itself was not unitary. Especially some religious orders and sects in Asia were mixed with Shiite, Manicheist, gnostique, Paulinienne and ancient Turkish shamanic beliefs and customs. However, these elements melted within Sunni Islam as a result of conquests, or they were masked powerlessly without any official existence. This Sunni Muslim Empire, with the exception of faraway lands like Middle Asia, India, Malaysia and Morocco, created a bloc against the Shiite Iran that gathered together an important part of the Muslim world."
Fernand Grenard: Asya'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü, Ankara 1992, pp. 32, 86-87.

[102] Article III of the 1876 Constitution: "Zat-ı hazret-i Padişahî hasbe'l-hilafe din-i İslam'ın hamisi ve bilcümle tebaa-i Osmaniyyenin hükümdarı ve padişahıdır."

Empire ever harder. It was then clear that the Paris Treaty that guaranteed Ottoman territorial integrity was annulled and no foreign power could be trusted for security. In fact, it was also clear that the European states would not hesitate to share Ottoman lands if they came to an agreement and the state had no chance but to trust its Muslim elements to survive. (Özcan, 1997 : 59-60)

So, what were the principles of application of the Islamic unity that was turned into a way of politics by Abdulhamid?[103]

As will be apparent in the rest of this study, Abdulhamid's Islamism had three dimensions: Muslims of the world, Muslims in the Empire and Sunni-Shiite relations.[104] (Çetinsaya, 2001 : 270)

5.2.1. The policy of Islamic unity in the context of the Muslims in the Empire

The primary activities of Abdulhamid concerning Islamic unity were carried out within the Empire, as the main objective was to hold onto them. To achieve this, the Sultan helped the needy Muslim persons and families from his purse, and tried to be among the people in his first years. Although he led a solitary life in his palace except the Friday processions in his later years, he took care to include different Muslim ethnic groups in higher Ottoman bureaucracy; and kept close to him Muslim scholars, sheikhs that could represent the Muslim population.[105]

The Sultan organized propaganda through associations, institutions, Sufi orders and unions; gave financial support, gifts and honors to local dignitaries and Bedouin tribes and supported North African and Arab Sufi orders that would strengthen his identity as the Caliph. He financially helped many religious public centers especially Mevlevi, Kadiri, Rufai and Halveti orders, repaired their convents and helped build new ones. This way, sheikhs turned into the officials ideologues of Abdulhamid.[106] Naturally, the amount of religious

[103] For a brief evaluation of the structure this policy depended on see: Deringil, Selim: Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aug., 1991), pp. 345-359.
[104] With all their diversity, Shiites consisted about 20% of Ottoman population. (Karpat, 2005 : 367).
[105] The Sultan himself became a member of two different Sufi orders. He didn't join the Mevlevis unlike most of his predecessors and his brother Murad, but preferred Şazeliye when he was younger. His sheikh was Zafir Efendi who later became a counselor. Later he joined Kadiriye through the sheikh of Yahya Efendi convent, Abdullah Efendi. (Karpat, 2005 : 319)
[106] Stephen Duguid, "The Politics of Unity: Hamidan Policy in Eastem Anatolia", Middle Eastem Studies, Vol: 9, 1973, p. 140.

curriculum was increased; influential sheikhs and Islamic scholars were brought to Istanbul; there was an emphasis on the publication of religious books and they were distributed in Muslim countries without charge; the yearbooks started from Hejaz rather than Edirne and Arab provinces became primary provinces; the salaries of the governors of these provinces were increased, students from the region were allowed to be educated in Istanbul's Tribal schools (*Aşiret Mektepleri*) without charge; and constructions and repairs of mosques were accelerated.

In this process every means necessary for the success of Pan-Islamist policies were used, especially means with a traditional value like public processions (*selamlık, bayram, kandil, surre alayları, kılıç alayı*), celebrations of the Sultan's ascension (*cülus*), receptions of ambassadors, ceremonies for military campaign starts and ends and circumcision ceremonies[107] were especially emphasized.[108] In this context, pilgrimage was also an important symbol.

Istanbul became a center for pilgrims, they were hosted and fed in Istanbul, and propaganda activities continued both in Istanbul and Mecca throughout the pilgrimage period. Some sources mention that pilgrims especially from Middle Asia and Black Sea regions were going to Mecca through Istanbul. This way, Muslims had the opportunity to visit the tomb of one of the Prophet's companions, Eyüp Sultan, in Istanbul; and symbolically get the permission of the Caliph for pilgrimage by attending a Friday prayer with him. This situation allowed the Sultan the opportunity to make propaganda. (Türköne, 1991 : 150)

At this point, the construction of Hejaz railway was a very important move both symbolically and practically. Unlike Tanzimat statesmen who concentrated on the Balkans, Abdulhamid spent his time and effort on Anatolia and Syria. Hejaz railway was finished with his great efforts, and the contributions of the Muslims from all around the world; it facilitated communication by allowing Muslims to go to Holy Lands with ease; and not only served Abdulhamid's policies of Islamic unity, but also created a commercial revival together with a military advantage. (Urfa, 2010 : 85)

[107] In fact, means such as the use of religious symbols, of religious figures likes sheikhs and dervishes, the emphasis on the necessity of unity of believers against foreigners were used long before Abdulhamid II. (Özcan, 1997 : 37)

[108] Mimar Türkkahraman, Türkiye'de Siyasal Sosyalleşme ve Siyasal Sembolizm, İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık, 2000, p. 123.

5.2.2. The policy of Islamic unity in the context of the Muslims in the World

Abdulhamid was claiming to be the religious leader of all the world's Muslims and he tried to spread and empower his Caliphate all the way from China to Africa, Europe to Japan through every official[109] and unofficial means.

For example, the activities directed to the Muslims of Middle Asia and the Far East, focused on the advertisement of the existence of a strong Muslim power under the rule of the Caliph, the intervention in the favor of local Muslims before concerned states, fostering relations through various missions, sending religious scholars and books to teach true Islam. However, states like Russia and Holland were disturbed by these activities and took precautions arguing that Muslims going to the pilgrimage from these regions were returning with destructive ideas. Although, there was the limit of distance, the Ottoman State put an emphasis on the necessity for being concerned with the troubles of the Muslims of Middle Asia and the Far East and occasionally interfered in their favor. Similar initiatives were also started for other Muslims. For example, in an order to the Ottoman consul in Tiflis, the consul was asked to approach the Russian government to protect the rights and properties of the Muslim population, while the consul in Java communicated the disturbance felt because the Muslim merchants had to pay more taxes than Christian ones, to the Dutch government. (BA, Y.EE, 14-253-12Ö-8).

This way, Abdulhamid II politically threatened Britain, France, Russia and Holland in an implicit way.

It was inevitable that some divergences in the relationship between the state and Ottoman Christians happened. For example, Abdulhamid decreased the number of Christian state officials in favor of Muslims unlike the Tanzimat era, approved the arming of Muslims against armed Christian resistance that became organized even within Anatolia and ended the punishment of Muslims on the complaints of Christians for trivial reasons. (Koloğlu, 2005 : 122-131)

[109] For example, Abdulhamid II personally presided over the Ottoman embassies in Muslim countries and chose most of the ambassadors by himself; as the appointed persons were expected not only to serve as regular ambassadors but also to work for the dissemination of Ottomanist-Islamist feelings. (Özcan, 1997 : 70)

Moreover, as an element that would foster his prestige among Muslims, Abdulhamid tried to prevent theatrical plays that mocked and ridiculed Islam, Muslims and the Prophet from being played.[110]

Most important of all, associations such as Association for the Recovery of Islam (*Cemiyet-i İhya-yı İslam*) and Muslim Countries Geography Association (*Memalik-i İslamiyye Coğrafya Cemiyeti*)[111] were founded in Istanbul (Özcan, 1997 : 49); agencies were found in foreign countries with high Muslim populations[112] and missions were sent[113] to foster relations with the people. (Dündar, 2006 : 30)

Abdulhamid II busied himself with the choice of the consuls to be sent abroad and hand-picked a lot of them. From their reports, it is understood that they were expected not only to do their normal diplomatic duties, but also work for ittihad-ı İslam. For example, Ali Galib Bey, who was commissioned in Indonesian islands, examines the geographic, religious and demographic structure of the region and lists the necessary steps to be taken for the Caliphate policy and gives examples of what he could do[114]. Similar report came from consuls in India, Iran and Middle Asia[115]. The Sublime Porte warned its consuls to be discreet as these activities met with the reaction of Western powers. Occasionally Holland and Britain were discomforted by them, in fact Hüseyin Kamil Bey was declared "persona non grata" in India[116].

In the context of our topic, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78 has special importance: whereas the Muslims outside the Empire have been expecting the help of the Ottomans; now the Ottomans, faced with a very formidable enemy in the shape of the Russian Tsardom needed the help of the Muslims. In a way, this was the first real test of the Caliphate, an opportunity to test whether the Caliph had real power on the Muslims.

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[110] For a detailed evaluation and a list, see: Ziyad Ebuzziya, II. Abdülhamid IIin Dini ve Milli Konulardaki Hassasiyeti: Fransa, İngiltere ve İtalyada oynanınasını Yasaklattığı Piyesler, V. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi Tebliğler, İstanbul, 1988, pp. 327-367.

[111] This association was founded with the purpose of spreading Islam in Asia, Africa and Oceania by the head instructor of the University (Darülfünun) Hoca Tahsin Efendi. (Özcan 1991 : 49) Hilal-i Ahmer (Red Crescent) also had Pan-Islamic functions. Muhammedan Unity Party (İttihad-ı Muhammediye Fırkası) is also a similar organization. (Dündar, 2006 : 30)

[112] The embassies in Calcutta and Bombay and the embassy in Karachi can be given as examples. (Özcan, 1991 : 144, 147)

[113] The missions sent to Chinese Muslims and the Ertuğrul frigate sent to Japan are examples. (Sırma, 1998 : 133, 134)

114 For more detail see Ottoman Archivs: BA, Y.EE,nr, 14-253-126-8.

115 For more detail see Ottoman Archivs: BA, Y.A. HUS, nr. 377/80; BA, İrade- Dahiliye, nr. 16634

116 For more detail see Indian Archivs: India Office Records, L/P&S/7/103, nr.496

Abdulhamid II used this new opportunity very carefully. Still, he was faced with disappointment in the few times he tried to use it: the attempt to incite revolt among the Muslims of Caucasia in the hope of cutting Russian supply lines failed, the Muslims of Russia did not revolt and the hopes tied to the Amir of Afghanistan came to naught. (Georgeon, 2012: 266)

However at the same time, this war caused an initiative for solidarity in almost every parts of the Muslim World, which was unknown until then. For the first time in history Muslims felt so close to the Ottoman Empire, thanks to the developments in communication technology and especially the Press. This excitement acquired a striking shape in India; meetings were organized, prayers were offered in mosques for the victory of the Sultan, and a considerable amount of money, 125.000 Ottoman liras were collected and sent to the Sublime Porte. The articles in newspapers and petitions, called the British government to help the Ottomans against the Russians. Some of these texts were extremely menacing. In one, it was written that Muslims would not sit and watch if the Caliph was harmed. The general governor of India communicated his worries to Foreign Office; Great Britain should support the Ottoman Empire or it could face the threat of jihad. The result was particularly striking: at the end of a catastrophic war for the Ottomans, the name of the Caliph in Istanbul started being pronounced in utmost reverence in the smallest village of India, and his reputation has increased to proportions never seen before! (Georgeon, 2012: 267)

As a result, the awakening of a common consciousness in the Islamic world during Abdulhamid II's time cannot be denied. The reaction of the Muslims during events, like 1890 Armenian Events and the Ottoman-Greek War, and their solidarity during the Hejaz railway project point to this consciousness. In this context, it is obvious that Abdulhamid II was in the center of the stage as a personality and as the figure who was directing the developments.

5.2.3. The policy of Islamic unity in the context of Sunni-Shiite relations

Abdulhamid's approach to the Shiite had two dimensions; his relations with Ottoman Shiites differed from his relations with Shiites of Iran. Including all its different sects, Shiites constituted 20% of the Ottoman population. The Sultan wanted to prevent any foreign influence on the Muslim element on which the state authority leaned and therefore wished all

of them to be Sunnis. To achieve this he focused on education and culture, but in order not to offend the Shiite subjects, he tried to make it discreet. (Karpat, 2005: 367)

On the other hand, the Ottoman approach to Iran developed on the basis of Islam as a shared religion. It is known that sectarian differences were a negative factor in the relationship between the two states in the past. However, the Russian threat, evident from the second half of the 19th century on, and the fact that both Iran and the Ottoman Empire were lacking a trustable ally, made it necessary for them to approach despite difference of sect. First, the importance of rapprochement and cooperation among Muslims was emphasized in diplomatic relations, and then both sides took care to avoid insulting behavior to the other side and paid attention to holy sanctuaries of the other side, like mosques and tombs of holy persons. Congratulations, official announcements, gifts, favors and mass prayers can also be counted among similar behavior in this respect. (Özcan, 1997: 76)

This show of good faith was really effectual and the necessity of ittihad-ı İslam and its benefits to the Muslims became a common topic of discussion on the highest level relationships in the two countries. However, there was no alliance and the relationships continued simply with shows of good faith and wishes of friendship. Abdulhamid's aim in his relationship to Iran was a bit too optimistic. He was expecting "the creation of a unity, similar to that of Germany, with the government of Iranians held by Iran and the command of the troops carried out by the office of the Caliph" (BA, Y.EE, I, 156/XXV-156-3).

Abdulhamid II's approach to the Shiite world can be seen clearly in a project he wanted to carry out with Jamal al-Din Afghani. Afghani was invited to Istanbul with the recommendation of Cevdet Paşa. He was briefed about the benefits to be accrued by the rapprochement among the Shiite and the Sunni and was asked to work for ittihad-ı İslam by trying to clear away the disputes among these sects and to found an association of Iranians in Istanbul with this purpose in mind. Afghani had already contacted the Sultan in previous years to tell him that he was ready to serve for similar aims; he founded an association after this meeting and wrote letters to his influential acquaintances in the Muslim world urging them to act for Islamic unity and rapprochement between the Shiite and the Sunni. He wrote about 600 letters and received about 200 replies. However, the government of Iran started to be worried about these developments and Nasr al-Din Shah was assassinated by one of Afghani's students which resulted in the failure of these efforts and Afghani's situation

created diplomatic tension between two states. (BA, Y.EE, 14-1623-120-10; BA, Y.A. HUS, nr. 352/11 1, 353/23).

However, in the last analysis, Abdulhamid exerted great effort for the unity of the Sunni and the Shiite, developed good relations with the Shah of Iran and the Iranian ambassador in Istanbul and his efforts gave results: in Iran there were open prayers for Ottoman success in its war against Russia, Shiite celebrations that would be considered offensive to the Sunnis were banned, the Shah of Iran, Muzaffar al-Din, visited Istanbul in 1900 giving Abdulhamid II the opportunity to show that he was the leader of the Islamic world.

Abdulhamid tried hard to institute a Sunni-Shiite union, developed good relations with the Shah of Iran and the Persian ambassador in Istanbul and his efforts borne fruit: During the Ottoman-Russian War public prayers for the Ottomans were made in Iran, some Shiite celebrations that would injure Sunnis were forbidden. The Iranian Shah visited Istanbul in 1900, and this gave the opportunity to Abdulhamid to show himself as the leader of the Muslim world. (Özcan, 1997: 76)

5.2.4. Different approaches to Abdulhamid's Islamic unity policies

Abdulhamid was the object of every kind of interest, love and hatred during his life; he continues to be the object of every kind of interest, love and hatred after a century from his death, and continues to be interpreted in completely different ways. It is impossible to include every discussion about him here; still, it is necessary to talk about some main arguments about his Islamic unity policies:

1. Some historians see these policies as a project that would give the Ottoman Muslim populations of the 19th century their old privilege of being the ruling group (*millet-i hakime*) as a trifle consolation. As the Muslims population was becoming poorer with every war, non-Muslims were becoming richer by their works in areas Muslims did not bother with. However, especially after the edict of 1856, an ethnic consciousness[117] that weakened their connection to the state started developing. (Türköne, 1991 : 67) Sultan Abdulhamid observed the use of religion as an ideology

[117] The plan was to allow the Ottoman State to continue its existing by turning it into a Muslim-Ottoman state with the new political ideology of Pan-Islamism. Christians were to have their privileges as minorities. (Karpat, 1987 : 35)

of empire by Russian tsars and Japanese emperors, and tried to benefit from this side of religion.[118]

2. On the other hand, there are some studies which claim that there was no strategically planned policy of Islam during the rule of Abdulhamid.[119] According to this perception, Pan-Islamist associations in this period were rare and short-lived. This view claims that there Pan-Islamism had little effect in this period, and the only call for jihad was issued during the 1897 Greco-Turkish War.[120] Additionally, Muslims in Russia were invited to revolt only once and against all hesitancy, during the 1876-78 War and it is better to take these cases as exceptions.[121] (Özcan, 1997 : 67)

3. According to some historians the policy of Islamic unity was a product of the changing international and economic relations and the neo-imperialist status-quo that the Empire was becoming a part of. This policy was seen as pragmatic and accepted to be a new Ottomanism equipped with ideological decorations derived from Islam.

4. According to the historians that periodize Abdulhamid's Islamic unity policy, the Sultan did not give any importance to it from 1876 to 1882. In fact, there is a claim that Abdulhamid never used this policy before 1890s, and after this day he wasn't using it aggressively; he was instead following the Ottomanist policies of the Tanzimat statesman to create a nation "with no discrimination of race or creed" (*bila tefiriki cins u mezheb*). (Mardin, 1996: 72). However, to stand against the bureaucracy that he was left with after the removal of Midhat Pasha and the Parliament, and

[118] Selim Deringil, The Well Protected Domains Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909, London: I.B Tauris, 1998, p. 17.
[119] M. Hakan Yavuz, Pan İslamizmin Yanlış Yorumlanması- Bir Değerlendirme Yazısı, Turkiye Günlüğü, no; 17, Ankara, 1991, pp. 84-92.
[120] In this respect the words of Ayşe Osmanoğlu, Abdulhamid's daughter are important to enlighten his approach: "It is said that my father was following the phases of the First World War in great sorrow, and wanted to get supplementary information by talking to Rasim Bey. He was reading news with sadness, and became very touched sometimes. "We sacrificed ourselves for two ships (Goeben and Breslau). It is unreasonable to go to war against three Great Powers. I fear a terrible consequence." He said a few times "How can this be? This is crazy." When jihad was declared my father was totally surprised and expressed his grief: "Not the jihad itself, but its name was a weapon in our hands. Sometimes when I wanted to threaten the ambassadors, I would say: "There is a word between the lips of a Muslim Caliph. May Allah never let me say it" Jihad was a power only in name without any substance for us." (Osmanoğlu, 1986 : 230-231)
[121] Abdulhamid's answer to the government's communication for the call of jihad is meaningful. He believed that although it was the holy duty of the Caliph to call Muslims to jihad, capacity and capability should be taken into consideration; and if these tribes did not have the power to hold against possible repercussions following their attacks jihad should be discarded in the face of the victimization and oppression these people would face. (Çetinsaya, 1988 : 81) There really was a call for jihad and the first practice in this way failed. (Çetinsaya, 1988 : 84)

Europeanized intellectuals, he wanted to gather the middle class with origins in villages and minor towns around himself and emphasized the nationalist and traditionalist views of this group. (Karpat, 1987: 32). It is widely accepted that Pan-Islamist movement spread and became powerful[122] in the last years of the Hamidian regime. (Landau, 1990 : 24)

5. Ultimately, those who emphasize the failure of Islamic Unity like Landau argue that it was an expected result. According to this, very few "pan movements" have achieved a notable success. Islamic Unity was also destined to fail because from the very beginning the English, French, German and Russian governments closely followed the Islamic propaganda in both their countries and colonies, they arrested those who made Islamic propaganda and put a ban on the newspapers. Beyond this, the fact that Muslim population was spread around a large geography, there were vast distances between those lands and the countries that Muslims lived were separated by those that non-Muslims lived created natural borders that was almost impossible to be crossed. Besides this, because Muslims were speaking different languages, efficiency of the propaganda reduced. Finally, the limited financial power of the Ottoman Empire and the strict confidentiality of the Pan-Islamic movements in that period prevented Islamic Unity from achieving success. (Landau:2002:135)

5.3. Pan-Islamism[123] in the Orientalist Literature

Despite being rooted in the Qur'an and can be argued to be an Islamic idea, Islamic unity, owes its existence in the 19th century to Orientalist studies.

The studies of European scholars on Islamic societies in this century, in line with the Orientalist tradition, were aimed to give professional support to foreign policies of the colonialist states. As one of the main problems of European colonialist states were uprisings in Muslim colonies, this collective resistance later called pan-Islamism became a constant worry for the Orientalists working on Islamic societies. (Türköne, 1991: 39)

[122] Another view is that the Hamidian government became more nationalist-Turkist after 1900-1902. Ottomanism was discarded at this point. The fact that Şemseddin Sami wanted to name his dictionary "Kamus-ı Osmani" but changed it to "Kamus-ı Türki" with Abdulhamid's advice is an example to this.
[123] In this section Pan-Islamism will be used as this was the term used for ittihad-ı İslam in Western literature.

In this era, the concept of pan-Islamism was considered to be an international conspiracy, an aggressive ideology and an attempt to oppress the others. This understanding became widespread in European thought through the press, popular literature and even children's books. In fact, the concept was also problematic etymologically, since the prefix "pan" had a negative meaning in standard English dictionaries. There is almost no concept with positive connotations starting with the "pan" prefix: pan-Slavism, pan-Germanism, and pan-Hellenism are all negative in different degrees.

This section will focus on the perception of *ittihad-ı İslam* by European Orientalists and the ways in which they dealt with it.

5.3.1. Pan-Islamism as proto-nationalism

Proto-nationalism is a theory of political symbolism, a term used for religious-national movements which cannot be defined as full-fledged national movements for various reasons.[124] *İttihad-ı İslam* had both religious and national characters as it was part of a tradition that constructed its perception of nations through religions as in the cases of *İslam milleti* (nation of Islam) and *Yahudi milleti* (Jewish nation).

Basing their perceptions on this, some Orientalists[125] saw *ittihad-ı İslam* as proto-nationalism and argued that it was similar to modern nationalist movements rather than ancient Islamic feelings and thoughts, and perceived it as a reaction against Western imperialism, parallel to Asian and African nationalisms. (Keddie, 1969: 18)

According to this perception, pan-Islamism was an important step in the passage from Islamic loyalty to national loyalty and from Islam to modern nationalism. The political activism of pan-Islamism and its emphasis of the person rather than the God, differentiate it from classical Islam (Keddie, 1969: 21). Pan-Islamism emphasized traditional Islamic values such as *asabiya* (social solidarity), cultural superiority, unity and power; and called the Muslims to use modern tools against Western invasions. This, in turn, made everything easier for nationalism. (Keddie, 1969: 26)

[124] Halil İnalcık, Islamic Caliphate, Turkey and Muslims in India, in Shariah, Ummah and Khilafah, Dr.I.H.Qureshi Memorial Lectures, ed. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, University of Karachi, 1987, sf.25)
[125] Keddie, Nikki R.: "Pan-Islam as proto- nationalism," The Journal of Modern History, 1969 The University of Chicago Press, 41.S.17-28, 1969. Los Angeles.

5.3.2. İttihad-ı İslam as nothing or a vain dream

According to some Orientalists who argued that "Pan-Islamism is a vain dream discovered by the Times correspondent in Vienna"[126] it was an imperialist weapon developed by the West. *İttihad-ı İslam*'s appearance was always parallel to or following imperialist policies of European powers when their aims and interests seemed to converge with the Muslims'. When the conditions were met, Britain was not the only power who promoted pan-Islamism's spread; Germany also tried to use it to weaken Britain and France during WWI.[127] According to this perception, Italy played a similar game in 1930's when it was competing with France and England and tried to win the sympathies of the Muslims. (Türköne, 1993: 122-3)

On the other hand, this movement should not be exaggerated. Despite the existence of a pan-Islamist trend among different Muslim social strata, well-organized pan-Islamist propaganda was inexistent. (Türköne, 1993: 17-40)

İttihad-ı İslam was not the result of Islam's unifying tendency, but the outcome of a renaissance fostered by Europe's entry into the scene. Historically, the spirit of fraternity was so weak after the Prophet that helping Muslims under threat in distant geographies never passed the minds of other Muslims.[128] When the Umayyads were defeated in Spain the Caliphs in Baghdad were in their prime, as the Ottomans were when Astragan was taken by Russians. When Islam was strong in Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt; Baghdad was crushed by Hulagu Khan (Türköne, 1993: 44). While the idea of Muslims' political unity used to be the war slogan of a spreading Islam[129], it became the solidarity and strengthening consciousness of unity of Muslims in the struggle against modern Europe after so many experiences of political subjecthood to the infidels (Türköne, 1993: 18-27). Muslims did not have the political tools to stand against Western powers and had to use intellectual tools to defend themselves; *ittihad-ı İslam* was cut out for this aim. (Türköne, 1993: 160)

The threat of losing political independence against the increasingly superior West and the spread of modern communication possibilities paved the way for *ittihad-ı İslam* (Türköne,

[126] Becker, C. H.: Panislamismus, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 7, pp.169-192, 1904
[127] Dwinght E. Lee, The Origins of Pan-Islamism, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), pp. 278–287
[128] Pan-Islamism, Arminus Vambery, Nineteenth Century, LX, Oct. 1906.
[129] İslam Politikası, C.H. Becker, 1915

1993: 44). However, it is not easy to unite a religious community like the Islamic one around a common activity, as it is divided in its geography, morals and ethnicities and spread over a very large region. A certain level of cultural and political maturity is necessary for that; the gaps among Islamic countries were so large that it was not possible to bridge them with all the power of Islamic unity and efforts of Muslim intellectuals. Islam never managed to achieve a unity similar to the pan-Christian movement in the Crusades; on the contrary, it experienced constant struggles among different sectors of the community. Those who thought Pan-Islamism to be one of the greatest threats of the time were clearly wrong (Türköne, 1993:49).

In fact, there were many difficulties that would stand against any unifying or protecting movement: the vigilance of the invading and controlling powers, financial difficulties of the Muslim world, technical deficiencies, intrigues in Muslim palaces, religious, national and social differences, spying activities of non-Muslim minorities, the delusion of seeing oneself powerful and the enemy weak etc. (Türköne citing from Vollers, 1993: 102-6)

The harmful effects of Pan-Islamism will not be on Europe but will be felt by the Muslims themselves, who will lose the little freedom they had and be led further away from development because of the suspicion of European powers. (Türköne, 1993: 57)

5.3.3. İttihad-ı İslam as an important threat

A third section of Orientalists saw pan-Islamism as an important threat. According to them, despite being awakened by the Europeans, pan-Islamism was anti-European and it could be realized in three ways:

1. A political unity based on mutual aid and participation of Muslims,
2. A movement that would prompt Muslim communities to rule their own countries or at least demand equal rights,

3. A cultural movement that would propose kicking Europeans out of Islamic countries as the sources of immorality.[130] (Dozy, 1908: 707)[131]

"Ottoman claim to the Caliphate was faced with opposition for a long time and its legitimacy was questioned, but an impact that came about last year was enough to turn the tables. Though pan-Islamism's political tendencies harm certain private interests, these were pulled to the background after the first news of victory in Thessaly arrived and left the ground to the desire to act together against the common enemy. Most Sufi orders in North Africa joined the movement. Sufi sheikhs turned from the enemies of the Sultan to his voluntary supporters for a great task like the renaissance of Islam... Islam invites everyone to be under its flag now."[132]

Those Orientalists who shared this approach discussed the Hejaz railway as a symbol of Pan-Islamism that was directed from Istanbul, the Arabic language or at least the spread of the Arabic alphabet, the writing of Qur'an, as a unifying element

According to this approach, Mecca was the religious center while Istanbul was the political one and political authority was the Caliph's; the Ottoman Sultan's in other words. This earthly authority was quite different than the religious authority which was represented by religious scholars since the Umayyad Caliphate and it would be a grave mistake if the European powers dealt with the Caliph as kind of a Muslim Pope and allowed his name to be mentioned in Muslim prayers (Türköne, 1993: 32). In fact, the Empire despite all talks of collapse[133] surprised even the best experts with the power it still exerted. It would have been

[130] Abdullah Cevdet, who translated Dozy's work, commented on this in the following manner: "The influence of Europe on Islamic thought is so clear that it helped the planning and organization of this project which was against it. I think, the word "pan-Islamism" which was put forth by an Indian named Sheikh Kıdvayi for a totally different purpose and eventually dropped by him, found new life. For this, the examples of strong movements that gathered Slavs, Latins and Germans, who spoke the same languages and who were of the same races, motivated the Muslims for pan-Islamism."

[131] Dozy, Reinhart (1908), Tarih-i İslamiyet, translated by Abdullah Cevdet, Cairo: Matbaa-i İctihad. Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820 in Leiden- 1883 in Alexandria, Egypt). Dozy's work called "Essai Sur L'Histoire De L'lslamisme" (Leyden, Paris 1879) was translated in 1908 by Abdullah Cevdet and published in Egypt, for which he was called "Aduvvullah" (the enemy of Allah). He later wrote his ideas on this book: "History of Islam is the very valuable work of the late Dr. Dozy, one of the most accomplished orientalist scholars. It was translated into Turkish by Dr. Abdullah Cevdet Bey with a lot of research and the additions of notes. We cannot possibly explain the books level of importance and its benefits. This book is a must to be reflected upon and greatly beneficiary for every Muslim. It records and explains the revolutions and material and spiritual developments Islam has experienced in different ages and under the governments of different Caliphs, starting from the primitive religion of the Arabs before the dawn of Islam."

[132] Pan-Islamismus und islamitische Mission, J.T. Von Eckardt, 1899, Deutsche Rundschau, XCVIII., 61–81.

[133] The Ottoman government never called itself an "Empire" unlike contemporary European powers; it never used this term in its local and international correspondence, purposefully staying away from the term "Empire"

too optimistic to believe that the sick man would rejuvenate himself, but Turks were still the standard bearers of the Muslim World.[134]

On the general, however, with the exception of a minority of Orientalists, pan-Islamism was not considered to be a threat; as it was believed that the Muslims did not have the capacity to come up with such an ideology and movement that would organize resistance against the colonialists and foster solidarity among Muslims (Türköne, 1993: 9-10).

After, this many faceted examination of *ittihad-ı İslam*, it is now time to turn to Young Turks and their approach to this idea or concept and examine their writing on the subject.

5.4. İttihad-ı İslam in Young Turks

"The fatherland has two borders: Cradle and grave!

Nevertheless, the connection one has with the fatherland exists before the cradle and continues beyond the grave."[135]

"The days we need unity and solidarity most" This sentence, which has been uttered continuously since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, used to include all Ottoman subjects without distinction of race or creed in the days of Ottomanism; it was used in the context of *ittihad-ı İslam* in the time we are examining. This use was not limited to the official discourse; it was also shared by the Young Turks.

Islam's place and value for Turkish intellectuals went through an evolution in time. For the generation of Young Ottomans Islam kept its place as one of the main ties within the Empire; the need for adapting it to modernity was accepted, but it was still the basis of the state and society. Young Ottomans tried to legitimize constitutionalist regimes through Islam; Namık Kemal and his followers objected the excessive Westernism of the *Tanzimat*. For the Young Turks, most of whom were educated abroad and were affected by positivism, this

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that was identified with European power and was associated with dominance, exploitation and tyranny (Ulutaş, 2007: 14).

[134] Vollers, K.: Über Panislamismus. Preußische Jahrbücher 117, S.18-40, 1904.

[135] Mezotopamya mektupları (Letters from Mesopotamia), First Letter, unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, nr. 5, p. 2, 19 January 1897.

approach started to change and they believed science should take the place of religion, up to a degree at least. Still, most Young Turks believed Islam to have a great value of solidarity as a tool and fiercely defended Islam against European attacks; they tried especially hard to answer criticisms that blamed Islam for the under-development of Muslim countries and the Ottoman Empire.[136] However much they held Westernist ideas and were carried away by positivist ideology, Young Turks did not have a problem with Islam especially in the social and cultural sense; they agreed that Islam was a progressive religion, led people away from ignorance and was an important element that could hold a large part of Ottoman society together:

"We definitely need progress and unity before everything else. We should put unity in discord's stead, affection in enmity's stead, fraternity in separation's stead and effort in sloth's stead."(İttihad-ı İslam, n. 5: 4)

Despite all these, the Young Turk belief in science and progress which would take the place of religion and their defense of Islam and *ittihad-ı İslam* at the same time is a contradiction that requires some explanation. This concept suits Abdulhamid II quite well; despite his modern moves he was still known to be a pious man and carried the title of Caliph. Besides, this concept had a real reel-politic value for his policies. However, leaving the *ulama* part of the movement aside, the motivation Young Turks, who are known to be under the influence of positivism, had for defending *ittihad-ı İslam* needs to be uncovered without a doubt.

To explain this situation many interpretations have been offered up to this day. The necessity to talk with the language of the Ottoman society to tell them anything and the need to make use of Islamic language is the first and easiest explanation that comes to mind. On the other hand, it might be argued that they saw *ittihad-ı İslam* as a reel-politic strategy, a way to keep and benefit from the Muslim lands, just like Abdulhamid II. However, especially in the period under examination here, thinking that the Young Turks, the majority of whom were Ottomanists and included non-Muslims in their ranks, would support this idea would not be plausible. The argument in this thesis is that the positive reflection *ittihad-ı İslam* as proto-nationalism, had in Young Turk newspapers was a manifestation of their self-

[136] For an example see: Halil Halid, Bir Türkün Ruznamesi, Refik Bürüngüz (tr.), Klasik Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008.

perception (*Selbtsverstaendnis*) largely independent of the situation they placed themselves in.[137]

In the period under examination, the process in the minds of Ottoman (and of the majority of the non-Western) elite followed this schema: The intellectual who saw Westernization as something between a universal necessity and a conversion of civilization, tried to penetrate into a self-perception that belonged to another civilization. When this penetration effort failed due to the contradictions between the self-perceptions of these two civilizations an *eclectic interim elite* came into being who could assume neither of the two self-perceptions. In time, a field of tension emerged between these *eclectic interim elites* and the social strata who tried to protect their self-perception in a historically continuous way. It is possible to read religious references used by the former which look incomprehensible within the materialist views they normally defend, as attempts to ease these tension. (Davutoğlu, 1997: 14)

It is clear that the intellectual structure Young Turks belonged to, and the social and political conditions they were in, taught them to write and behave in a certain way and not in others. But it seems that they could not internalize these kinds of behavior enough, as their self-identities come forward at every opportunity, and we see them discussing Islam, especially in the political and social sense within their heavily positivistic ideologies. The peculiar articles we see in the Young Turk press; the intellectuals who defend Westernization while at the same time cling to the concept of *ittihad-ı İslam* as much as, sometime times even more than Abdulhamid; their search for a way to become a unified *ummah* and the fact

[137] Davutoğlu's descriptions are instructive at this point. Self-perception is an individual consciousness, rather than a social identity that was shaped in a social environment and with relations; and unlike the identities individuals claim to or suppose to have which are open to the influence and control of the authorities, self-perception can exist independent of all authorities. Transfusions from other civilizations can cause changes in appearance, but they cannot destroy the spirit of the civilization it wants to change unless it creates a new self-perception; they can only cause temporary fluctuations (Davutoğlu, 1997: 10-112). Theoretical frameworks developed by modernists are unable to understand why structural transfusions cannot change self-conception and therefore these frameworks fail to explain the resistance in non-Western civilizations, especially the developments in the Islamic World (Davutoğlu, 1997: 10-12).
However, in the period under examination here, the intense modernization efforts were able to greatly weaken the power of the traditional self-conception in determining social forms, although the intellectuals' aim of transferring Western self-conception totally to replace the traditional one failed. This situation created an alienation between the civilization's self-perception and the social forms. Anti-Western reactions were able to keep the traditional self-perception alive, though it was not able to construct a Lebenswelt that would mirror it. While the Lebenswelt became westernized, the traditional civilizational self-perception continued to be strong and attempted to create opposing self-perceptions. (Davutoğlu, 1997: 14)

that they felt the pain of the disunity in the Islamic world can only be explained in this inconsistent mood and the self-perception that they could not come-off.[138]

İttihad-ı İslam in the Young Turk Press will be examined in this light in the following parts.

5.4.1. *İttihad-ı İslam*, its root and its history

Young Turks are unanimous about the impossibility of a real political Islamic unity. For them, right after the death of the Prophet, during the rule of the first four Caliphs there were differences of opinion and the Muslim community was divided:

"Though it had been possible a few times to subject all Muslims to a political idea in the old times, it did not last long in any of them. When the Prophet passed away, the revered sheikhs did not allow the tragedy of unrest with their wisdom and good precautions. During the time of the fourth successors (Caliph) of the most excellent of mankind our Lord (the Prophet), superior of knowledge and courage Haydar-ı Kerrar (one who returns to battle again and again – the Caliph Ali) differences in opinions arose. This caused fierce battles. The difficulty of a unity of opinions can be understood from this."

In Islamic history, unity of opinions was accomplished only a few times, and these did not last long:

"Thanks to the good intentions and wisdom of Hasan and the perfect generosity and policy of Muawiyah, a unity of opinions was accomplished at least in shape. However, sedition occurred not so long after. Another unity was achieved with the policies and jurisprudence of Abd al-Malik and the force and violence of Hallaj but it could barely survive to the emergence of the Abbasids."

Some Young Turks also considered the efforts of Timur to be geared towards *ittihad-ı İslam*, according to them he was going to move into China to make them Muslims, if not for Ottoman prevention:

[138] Young Turks' need to follow the West when faced with the real superiority of the West and their contradiction with their civilizational self-perception while doing it and their inconsistent mindset were not peculiar to them. This inconsistency, although more than one century passed in between, still affects young Muslims around the World.

"The great importance the Abbasids gave to the Calpihate and the ulama's debates of the permissibility of more than one ruler, rose from the question of the assembly of all Muslims in politics. Arab politicians emphasized this with all words and considered it the most important issue. Ibn Khaldun argues that Muawiya appointed his son Yazid his heir, as a precaution against disunity. Ibn Khaldun tries to excuse Muawiya this way. When Caliph Mansur responded with force against differences of opinion and oppressed every opposition to his political ideas and used talented spies, it caused the creation of a second Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus. The unity was broken. Later other rulers emerged. Though during Caliph al-Nasr-li-Din-Allah's rule only his name was mentioned in the prayers all over the Islamic World; he chose to use tyranny and spying and thus ruined Islam's affairs. Timur, who was one of the most fearsome Muslim rulers, tried to impose ittihad-ı İslam through force like Haccac, and increase his countries influence. He was too much interested in conquest. He would have gone to convert the Chinese rather than come to fight with the Ottomans, if he was not provoked by Bayezid I. His murders were all committed to turn people into believers."

Within the Ottoman Empire too, the efforts for Islamic unity were increased by the time of Sultan Mehmet II, his grandson Selim I attacked Iran and Egypt for this purpose and took Hejaz together with the Caliphate:

"It can be proved with historical accounts that the idea of ittihad-ı İslam came to the minds of Ottoman high ranking men when the Ottoman State's power increased. The heavenly Fatih, passed away in the first steps of the campaign he started for the mentioned idea, right after he conquered Istanbul and controlled important places in Europe and Asia. His grandson Sultan Selim succeeded in a lot by fighting against Iran's Shah Ismail and Egypt's Sultan Gavri, taking Hejaz under his control and accepting the title of Servant of the Two Holy Shrines."[139]

5.4.2. İttihad-ı İslam in the context of religion and politics in Islam

Different than other great world religions, Islam does not include an institution or authority that represents religion; therefore giving importance to religion's organic life in the society and the community. Islam insists on the community in all its aspects, to the point that

[139] "İttihad-ı İslam", *Kanun-i Esasi*, No:9 Year:2, 15 March 1898.

four of the five main tenets of Islam -*salah*, fasting, *haj*, alms giving- concern life in society.[140] (Türköne, 1991: 17-19)

The identicalness of religion and politics in Islam can be understood through a comparison of Islam and Christianity.[141] Christianity lived and developed as the religion of the oppressed for its first three centuries and was accepted as a state religion only after that. As a result, it includes a difference of Caesar and Jesus that is constantly emphasized. However, the founder of Islam did not have any political authority other than himself and first Muslims were both a religious and a political community. The Prophet, who ruled over them, ruled a country, collected taxes, handled diplomacy and dispensed justice. This identicalness of religion and politics, together with the inexistence of any authority other than the religious, made it unnecessary for Islam to develop an institution like the Church alongside the worldly authority. For the same reason, Islamic societies did not have dual concepts such as religious-worldly, secular-clergy, even material-spiritual (Türköne, 1991: 19-20).

"Words like millet (nation) and ummah without the powerful words of State and Sultan will be like the body of wheat without its ears in the eyes of out benefactors the humble of character Ottoman villagers. The word state without the holy accompaniment of religion is like a temple without any doors."[142]

"Religion and state! Here is the essential building block that created the Ottoman existence and civilization. We cannot differentiate religion from state, the state from the nation, public benefit from the rule of law, provision from future, method from the stability of constitutionalism."[143]

"In the Islamic World religion is an official and essential element of the state. To imagine anything else, one needs to be unaware of even the principles of Islam."[144]

[140] Şerif Mardin, Din ve İdeoloji, İst, 1983: 57 etc.
[141] A comparison of Islam and Christianity in political terms see: Bernard Lewis, "Politics and war", The Legacy of İslam, ed. Joseph Schacht, London, 1974
[142] Murad Bey, *Mizan*, "Kari'n-i Kirâm Hazretlerine Hitâb-ı Vacip", 17 July 1908, S.1, p.3.
[143] Unsigned, Mizan, "Din ve Devlet İstanbul," p.65, 1 October 1908, pp.275-6
[144] Unsigned, Mizan, nr.27, p.3, "İhtar-ı Halis,", 5 July 1897, Genoa

5.4.3. İttihad- İslam as a natural outcome of Islam and Islamic fraternity

"Muslim world is at home in every corner of Islam. A poor Muslim can never be a stranger in an Islamic city. Islamic fraternity is sounder and better based than every national fraternity. We don't let our daughters marry our neighbor non-Muslims, but we don't hesitate in marrying them to a person that came from Dagestan or India."

Celal Nuri[145]

Passages about the reality and importance of Islamic fraternity occupied the greatest space in Young Turk literature about this topic. Young Turks underlined the divisions among Muslims after the Prophet and the four Caliphs which could not be amended later[146] though "*all Muslims are brothers regardless of their color or geography, and this brotherhood cannot be erased with differences of time and place.*"(Tahir, 1898: 114) and "*the religion of Islam orders Muslim individuals to be in a brotherly relationship with each other and to show a human interest to all members of the human family.*" (Azimzade, 1327: 17)[147] One work even discusses the religious permissibility of an opposite situation: "*The civilization we are heirs of was an Islamic civilization. Arab, Turk or Persian cannot be discriminated. We want to say that discrimination of nation and origin is not permissible.*" (Tahir, 1898: 152)

In any case, Islamic fraternity is a requisite of Islam: "*Even the construction ittihad-ı İslam is too much, as Islam already contains İttihad-ı İslam in it.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 21)

5.4.4. İttihad-ı İslam as a union of forces against Europe

Among the Young Turks, *İttihad-ı İslam* was under debate from religious, cultural and social perspectives and the discussion generated many different comments on the

[145] Celal Nuri [İleri] (1877-1939) who will be mentioned a lot in this theses, is an author and member of the parliament who was widely read and liked by Young Turks during their government. Similar to Ziya Gökalp he tries to combine pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism to fuse their adantages. For an English summart of his book see: Landau, 1990: 80-83. For Landau's two important articles on pan-Turkism see: Some Considerations on Panturkist Ideology, Atti della Settimana Internazionale di Studi Mediterranei Medievali e Moderni, pp. 113-122; The Fortune and Misfortunes of Pan-Turkism, Central Asian Survey, 1988, volume: VII, sayı: 1, pp. 1-5.

[146] These divisions did not mean total break-up and occasional assistances were common place. In the pieces written by Young turks we also see historical examples of solidarity like the plea for assistance from al-Andalus to Sultan Bayezid II or from India to Abdulhamid I. (Azimzade, 1327: 56)

[147] Azimzade Refik's "İttihad-ı İslam ve Avrupa" (which was originally in Arabic and translated into Ottoman Turkish by İbrahim Halil (Istanbul, 1327) and Celal Nuri (İleri)'s "İttihad-ı İslam'ın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali" (Istanbul 1331/1913) were included in this work tohugh they were composed after 1908 as they are the most basic and widespread works on the topic. Celal Nuri later published another work titled "İttihad-ı İslam ve Almanya" (Istanbul 1333/1914).

concept. Young Turks did not perceive *ittihad-ı İslam* in the traditional sense as the unification of Islamic World under one roof, but as an alliance for freedom against the common enemy based on a perception of Islamic fraternity.

"For the Ottomans ittihad-ı Islam is understood to be the union of all Muslims in the world to defend their Islamic rights against other nations and struggle in the way of God for the spread of the religion. As it is a sweet purpose, everyone agrees on its realization. The kalmia al-tawhid (The Word of Oneness) unites all of them religiously. Intellectual unity, on the other hand, can mean political union and is faced with strong obstacles. It may even – may God protect us- cause the loss of power from Muslim's hands.

"In this century, Christians states' power, might and control over political affairs cannot be denied. It is also obvious that the material, spiritual wealth and the renovation of Muslims are decreasing. The helplessness and the ignorance of their governments reached a previously unseen level."[148]

"The purpose of İttihad-ı İslam is not gathering the entire Islamic world under one flag, even if all powers on the world united for this purpose they could not achieve it. It is better to describe ittihad-ı İslam this way: A union of efforts to protect, and ameliorate the union of hearts existing among Muslims for a freer future… Islam is a social religion, an international fraternity and a spiritual nationality rather than a sect." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 340-341)

Islamic unity was in the agenda with different motivations and under different shapes, as:

"*Almost all Muslims were subjected or came under the influence of Europeans in these last centuries which cleared away the ambitions of Muslims against each other and revived the fraternal ideas which were inherent in Islam. We look for friends more in times of trouble*." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 298)

Young Turks were also uncomfortable with not discussing this concept properly with such concerns as "What would Europe say?" or "What will happen to the other Ottoman elements?" and argued: "*There is a scale for comparison at hand for Ottomanism, a natural*

[148] Unsigned, "İttihad-ı İslam ," *Kanun-i Esasi*, No:9 Year:2, 15 March 1898.

and necessary scale. We don't put this scale on the table, we cannot. By not using it we try to deceive both ourselves and the others. And we waste our time."[149]

An important definition of *ittihad-ı İslam* was given at this point through the fears of Europeans and non-Muslim communities: "*Pan-Islamism is neither the grouping of Muslim communities that will force them to shed blood, nor the political unity of peoples believing the same religion. Pan-Islamism is neither a secret religious society, nor a secret political association; it is only the expression of a true freedom that will allow Muslim societies to advance.*" (Wahby bey, 1907: 862)

According to the same author pan-Islamism is:

"The implicit agreement that was made in search of freedom, a common desire and a common ideal of progress among the most enlightened classes of Muslim nations; only with a moral and intellectual purpose. Its aim is to save these three hundred million human beings from the yoke of the conditions that block the free advancement of their moral and intellectual abilities, that insult them and that keep them in ignorance."[150]

This stance is not different than Orientalists' who see *ittihad-ı İslam* as a union of forces against Europe. In an article that explains this theoretically, the degree of unity is explained in the following way:

"There are two bonds in Islam: the bond of feeling and the bond of assistance and fraternity." (Azimzade, 1327: 19) *"Other than the natural bonds, there are also the bonds of compassion and politics."* (Azimzade, 1327: 7) *"Religious ties are the least effectual of these."* (Azimzade, 1327: 13) *"The clan ties are weaker than the ties of the fatherland. As a result, ties to the fatherland cannot resist racial ties, and racial ties cannot continue their existence against religious ties. When one nation of the human kind is threatened by another with greater social solidarity, it has to acquire some social solidarity in the same strength. For example if we imagine the nations of Christianity united under religious solidarity, Turks will be nothing in comparison. As a result, to be equal in power and comparison all Muslims should join under the Turks."* (Azimzade, 1327: 6)

[149] İttihad-ı İslam, n. 5: 1
[150] Behjet Wahby Bey, "Pan-Islamism"; The nineteenth century 60, No: 363 (January-June 1907), pp. 862-63

5.4.5. İttihad-ı İslam as a force in sleep

"Islam is the most important, most potent force among the existing forces of the world, but today this force is in sleep. But it is not dead." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 299)[151]

In a piece which points to the quantitative side of Islam,[152] there is an emphasis on the fact that the increasing capacity of it through unity was mentioned centuries before: "*Today around three hundred million Muslims constitute one nation and a mass of Muhammedans.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 12-20)

According to the same author Islam, despite the efforts around it to soften it and make it similar to Orthodox Christianity, has a very different structure inherent in it. Both socially and politically "*Islam is not simply a religion of the conscience. It is a way of governing at the same time.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 58) "*Because Qur'an is addressing itself to all Muslims without distinction, everyone is liable with political duties.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 64) However, *İttihad-ı İslam* is a political and not a religious issue: "*Some men of intellectual freedom, and we have always been proud of being for intellectual freedom, consider İttihad-ı İslam to be a religious issue. They see the publications and endeavors for this concept to be reactionary blows. We have always said that Islam has two qualities: religious and political. We are not discussing the religious quality here. Religion is of the consciousness. What we really deal with is Islam's political and social quality.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 12)

5.4.6. İttihad-ı İslam as moral and social unity

For some Young Turks who considered Islam for its functionality, *İttihad-ı İslam* was also debated for its function. One of the newspapers examined for this thesis, *İctihad*, thought it necessary for *ittihad-ı Islam* to be spiritual and social unity rather than a political one:

"It shouldn't be supposed from what I said that I am one of those madly in love with the idea of pan-Islamism; that idea –in the sense you understand it- is a dream. I know that the time has passed for such a dream to become a reality. If the intention from ittihad-ı İslam is a political unity, it is impossible. If it is an approach and union in spiritual, literary, emotional, economical, social senses there is nothing to say against it; you will find me

[151] This quote has a chance similarity to K. Arnold J. Toynbee's perception of Pan-Islamism: "it is in sleep even today but if it wakes up it will have a great psychological effect on Islam's striking side." (Sırma, 1985: 33)

among the most unselfish propagandists and the fieriest defenders. And nothing else should be thought of except this when we say ittihad-ı İslam." (Quoting from Abdullah Cevdet, Hanioğlu, 1981: 154)

According to Abdullah Cevdet, who argued that the belief that by political unity Muslims could get rid of Europeans was an illusion and no Islamic country had ever achieved it, and ideas like this had no benefit to Islam; a political Islamic union was not possible, as Islam itself was an impediment to the formation of the idea of nation. The idea of Islamic unity can only be used to create a national consciousness and to safeguard constitutionalism in Ottoman lands; a point which Cevdet underlined constantly to argue against Abdulhamid II who used *ittihad-ı İslam* policies; and argued that the idea originated from the Young Turks in the first place (Demir, 2000: 216).

Although their views differed generally, Murat Bey's approach to *ittihad-ı İslam* shows similarities to Abdullah Cevdet[153]:

"Unity is a moral force. We will see the future of Ottomans to be fortunate, the umma of Islam contented, the Ottomans happy, and the land prosperous."[154] *"Undoubtedly, ittihad-ı İslam's effect will be seen in increasing the power and prestige of the high office of the Caliphate in the world. However, the worries that this unity will work politically and materially are unfounded. The subjects of a foreign government who is in amiable relations with the sublime office of the Caliphate will never revolt or oppose. This is because their actions will be rejected even by the Caliph."*[155]

In short, most of the Young Turks saw *ittihad-ı İslam* as a way for Muslims who found themselves weak against Europe, to recover and be saved from the situation they were in by supporting each other. Islamic unity which was in the essence of Islam would wake this sleeping force and give Muslims their freedoms back, if successful.

5.4.7. İttihad-ı İslam from the point of its harms

"How did Islam came to be in this situation? As knowledge was acquired and there was progress people divided into different groups. They tried to use religion in science. The

[153] *Mizan* describes the official ideology of the state as Ottomanism, and its cultural policy as *ittihad-ı İslam*. (Şirin, 2007: 128)
[154] Tunalı, "Osmanlılık Âleminde Sû-i istimal", p.176, 14 May 1896.
[155] Unsigned, Mizan, "Kanun-ı Esasimiz ve İttihad-ı İslam," 16 September 1908, p.212

governments of each group tried to impose its own belief. In the end the Caliphs brought idolater Turks and made them soldiers to use them against Arabs. The religion of Turks, like all Mongols, was worshipping the ruler; Turks are still like that. Later Genghis Khan came about. He burned down everywhere, and ruined the existing civilization. Today, if you go to Diyarbakır, Hakkari or Iran and tell the children "Hulagu is coming!" they would run away in fear. The first name I heard from my mother to describe a tyrant and a monster was Hulagu. After him, Genghis' descendants accepted Islam. But what Islam! Laws stayed the same; they only accepted the daily prayers and the fasting. When knowledge started to advance, we brought up Timur who came and caused a second massacre in the Islamic countries. You know the famous damascene swords? Today, when the art has advanced so much and England has taken the lead in blacksmithing, they still cannot uncover the mystery behind its production. This art was also lost in that massacre. What did the Ottomans do after that? My apologies, but history is there. Didn't they copy what Genghis did? Didn't we make everyone all the way to Tunis, Algiers and Morocco; kneel to a Janissary leader in three to four hundred years?" (quoting from Ishak Sukuti Bey, Aydoğan, 2004: 115)

İttihad-ı İslam politics had the backing of Young Turks only when it was taken in the context of Islamic fraternity and had a social and cultural content. When it was used politically, it was defined as an intellectual movement that would be hard to apply; it was claimed that when equality is abolished in the political and legal sense, enmities in the Ottoman Empire would increase and there would be debates around sects: "*Abdulhamid's policies increased the disunion and antagonism among Muslims and non-Muslims*." (quoting from Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, Yuva, 2007: 332)

We can see this attitude mostly in the articles written against *ittihad-ı İslam* in the Young Turk press:

"It was more useful to serve Islamic fraternity than ittihad-ı İslam. A few brothers can be in different places and all can follow their own interests but still be known and helpful to the others. If one of them tries to dominate the others, it would create conflict. Conflict brings suspicion, takes away power."[156]

The view that Abdulhamid's policies of *ittihad-ı İslam* left the Ottomans alone in the international area had many supporters among the Young Turks:

[156] Unsigned, "Ittihad-ı Islam Makalesinden (mabad)," Kanun-i Esasi, No:10, Year:2, pp.1-2, 22 March 1898.

"*Twenty years ago we had sincere friends among Christian Europe who defended us and our rights. Now there is no one left to take our side. They don't allow us to keep places we held with the power of our sword and with the price of our blood. Every event that has passed in our national history in the last twenty years awakened the old enmities of Christians. The reality of Islam becomes manifest to them. Who is responsible for this? With regret, with a thousand regrets, it is our Caliph Abdulhamid who himself served the anti-Islamic public opinion in Europe to go this far. Whenever someone tried to talk about the abilities of Muslims, he tried to prove the reverse. He showed us as barbaric and fanatical. Sultan Hamid desires the destruction of Islam, though he is the Caliph of Islam and all Muslims. Who can prove that this is wrong?*"[157]

For almost all of them, and I would add Abdulhamid II to this group as well, *ittihad-ı İslam* as a project that would gather all Muslims under one roof was an unrealistic but nice dream which was not an order of the religion of Islam. (Yılmaz, 2004: 429)

The harms of *ittihad-ı İslam* policies were mentioned in different ways:

1. *İttihad-ı İslam* as a state policy meant giving up half of the Ottoman Empire and half of the population; the majority of the Balkans are non-Muslim.

2. It meant being ignorant to the historical realities and the actualities of the day; Islamic unity was never achieved after the first four Caliphs. Even at the time of the Empire's prime, during the rules of Selim I and Süleyman I, this unity was unachieved. It is not hard to see that it is harder to achieve in the Empire's weak days.

3. This idea is contrary to the political realities of the time. Some parts of the Islamic World, like northern Africa and India are controlled by enemies like Britain while Muslims in the Middle Asia are under Russia suzerainty. These enemies work incessantly against the foundation of an Islamic union. While there are dreams of Islamic unity in Istanbul, people are arming themselves against the Turks in Damascus, Baghdad and Mecca and founding secret societies.

4. All places that could be organized in this way are under the rule of the British, the French and Russians. It is not plausible to make them enemies for this purpose and

[157] Unsigned, *Mizan*, n.28, p.3, 12 July 1897, Genoa.

take refuge in Germany. In fact, this is why Germany is supporting *ittihad-ı İslam*, they want to have a weak and underdeveloped Turkey that is indebted to Germany and has enemies everywhere, so that they can exploit it some more.[158](Ünal, 200: 56-59)

Still, the Young Turks were reactive to hiding the discussions of *ittihad-ı İslam* or giving it up because of the fear of Europeans. It was unnecessary and stupid to hide it from Europeans who knew everything that was going on, anyway. "*Diplomacy is considered a merit only in the Foreign Ministry; it is called hypocrisy in other places*." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 302) "*The politics of imperialism is almost an issue of Islam, and the politics of Islam is essential in the European, even in the World, politics*." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 7)

"In our country, most of the people and especially some state officials shiver in fear when someone says ittihad-ı İslam. They repeat the saying 'An elder who is in dire need, cannot provide help to those in need' and think that this policy can cause great disaster for us, and call the fury of everyone on our state. We occasionally hear people saying: 'First we should see to our own affairs, we can think about the situation of the Muslims around us later' or, 'we lose the Balkans while trying to control India' or 'we provoked Italy to be against us with such dreams.' We feel sorry for such objections. Those who talk like this, don't even know what ittihad-ı İslam is. When Europeans are measuring the mountains in the moon, we don't even know the Islamic World we are part of and cannot define the religious, political and moral environment we are living; this is unforgivable." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 10-11)

The Young Turks were not using any force while trying to institute this unity, and though they were aware of bad intentions they were not offending anyone: "*We don't ask the existing elements to leave their language by accepting Turkish, or to leave their religion and accept Islam and become Turks by leavening their nationality to become Ottomans and join*

[158] Ottoman-German friendship was crowned by pan-Islamism and German interests were well-hidden behind it. The Kaiser's Jerusalem visit, the opening of a Lutheran Church in Jerusalem, his purchase of land for a house for Virgin Mary , the building of a fountain in Sultan Ahmed square, his visit of Saladin's tomb in Syria in Arab clothing, his emphasis on his friendship with Sultan Abdulhamid drawing parallels between Harun al-Rashid and Charlemagne; allowed him to become the savior of 300 million Muslims. Even Mehmet Akif had high hopes for him:
"You are a mother, you are a German
Then with mind and consciousness, you are a human
Do you know that in the East your gaze
Is for the miserable the first sunrise" (Ünal, 2000: 56-59)

the unity; this would be unfair and ridiculous. No one has the right to tell us to leave our religion aside, to accept their religion, or not to find power in religious unity. Today, except Armenians, some Ottoman elements have states outside and these states have ambitions accepted even by these elements. It is impossible to unify the interests of the fatherland with these ambitions. They know it, we and the world know it as well. To behave like we don't know does not serve any purpose. Can we expect good from hypocrisy and lies? We should build our real policies now." (İttihad-ı İslam, n. 5:3)

Young Turks were for the spreading of the *ittihad-ı İslam* propaganda rather than keeping it as a secret, "*talking about the programs and the purposes of ittihad-ı İslam five times a day like the call to prayer gives a special sublimity to the soul and increases the physical power at the same time.*" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 352) Officially "*more than 20 million of the 30 million Ottomans are Muslims and the official religion of the state is made clear to be Islam in the Constitution.*" (İttihad-ı İslam, n.3: 2)

The most repeated point in the Young Turk press was neither the impossibility of help from Muslims who were themselves under occupation and oppression nor the impossibility of German help to the Muslims that they kept promising. They were advising Muslims to keep low and not expect help from Abdulhamid in times of trouble, and advising Abdulhamid to expect nothing from Islamic lands that could not do anything for themselves:

"If Abdulhamid II causes war between Islamic and Christian worlds to continue his tyranny a bit longer, even the German Emperor who has almost no Muslim subject would join his numerous enemies. Is there any cause for suspecting he would say "Let me take over some place in the Mediterranean coast you can do whatever you want" to Russia and Britain? Wouldn't the Emperor who fears that the Chinese would wake up and threaten Europe, fight with his Krupp guns and soldiers to the last against ittihad-ı İslam which threatens Christianity and his future interests? It is no wonder that he would prefer Indian and other Muslims to stay under British rule or suffer Russian invasion than acquire a position to threaten Europe under Turkish leadership."[159]

"If the Caliph Abdulhamid Khan declares religious war and the Muslims of Bulgaria and Romania revolt against their governments to help us, would it be good or bad for them?

[159] Unsigned, "İttihad-ı İslam Makalesinden (mabad)", *Kanun-i Esasi*, No: 11 Year:2 p.3-4, 28 March 1898.

Would their governments enjoy this revolt? Wouldn't they suppress them with their armed forces?"[160]

In fact, nationalism was on the rise and even the Muslim elements within the Empire started emphasizing their national characteristics, and the state did not have the talent or the power to resist this:

"Today, even Albanian, Kurdish and Circassian Muslims in Turkey started nurturing ideas about their own national lives. Leave aside the non-Muslim nations, the time for considering non-Turkish Muslim nations as a single Muslim nation is past. The greatest object, the greatest patriotism is to construct a general unity of society by working for progress and protecting lives through talking no longer of sects, Muslims ad non-Muslims, rulers and the ruled, and ensuring equal law and special rule for each and every different nation in the exalted realms."[161]

"It is obvious that we cannot rule what is in our hands according to the necessity and protect them from the intervention and invasion of the foreigners. As long as we don't have the wisdom for the affairs, the troubles will increase according to the size of the country. The losses will increase. The previous courage of the Ottoman nation will not suffice in this century. If wisdom in the head accompanies the courage of the heart, success will follow."[162]

5.5. Evaluation

In this section, *ittihad-ı İslam* its emergence, development and perception were questioned and it was evaluated with all its aspects with the sources and actors that fed it.

This section considered the factors behind the birth and development of the movement around the concept. The feeling of unity among Muslims is something inherent to Islam, but *ittihad-ı İslam* is a new and modern concept that came with the ideologization of the religion. I tried to provide a short history and examples for this development.

To sum up, we can gather the factors allowing the birth and development of the movement for Islamic unity under five general categories:

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[160] Unsigned, "İttihad-ı İslam Makalesinden (mabad)", *Kanun-i Esasi*, No: 10 Year:2 pp.1-2, 22 March 1898.
[161] An Armenian who desires a healthy and united fatherland, "Mektubu Mahsusa," *İctihad*, pp.14-16, Kanuni sani 1905, year 1, n. 2.
[162] Unsigned, "İttihad-ı İslam," *Kanun-i Esasi*, No:9 Year:2, 15 March 1898.

1. Developments in social structures (reforms in the fields of agriculture, economy and bureaucracy, migrations etc.)

2. Political developments parallel to these changes in social structure; either as their causes or as their results (the demands of changing, developing and modernizing groups, anti-Imperialist reactions against Western powers etc.)

3. The rise of the importance of Caliphate as a result of the colonialization of the Islamic world, the increasing calls for help from the Ottoman Empire and the negative attitudes and opinions of Western powers towards Islamic unity,

4. Changes in intellectual attitudes, and the birth of modern ideologies (ideologization of Islam and the conservative Ottoman reaction to the edict of Islahat in 1856 changing *ummah* into a nation and assuming Islam as an ideology)

5. The shape and direction given to socio-political developments by Abdulhamid II as the Sultan and the Caliph (Karpat, 1987: 14)

On the other hand, though it can be based on the Qur'an and be defended as an Islamic idea, *ittihad-ı İslam* owes its existence in the 19th century mostly to the orientalist studies. A minority of Orientalists was seeing the developments as dangerous, but the general perception was that the Muslims did not have the power to create a movement and ideology at this scale which would organize the resistance against the colonialists and ensure solidarity among themselves.

Lastly, Young Turks approach to *ittihad-ı İslam* was examined. Young Turks were agreed that *ittihad-ı İslam* was intellectually impossible, and historically it was achieved only a few times and for very brief periods. Still, they thought of the concept as a way for the Muslims to recover and save themselves from the hard times they were in by holding on to each other. They took it as a concept that would help culturally awaken a national consciousness and ensure constitutionalism in Ottoman lands. The politics of *ittihad-ı İslam* were meaningful for and supported by Young Turks as long as it had a social and cultural content in the context of Islamic fraternity. When it was used politically, it was defined as a project that was impossible to apply; and that would increase enmity in the Ottoman Empire by demolishing political and legal equality and create debates on religion and sects. Politically, *ittihad-ı İslam* was evaluated with the harms it would bring.

After all this, there are three main actors and three main consequences that should be mentioned about the concept and the policies attached to it:

The first is about Abdulhamid's policies: in this period international activities that could be considered under *ittihad-ı İslam* were generally brought up when there was a disagreement or a tension with European states on certain subjects; this shows that the aim was not really a religious purpose, but political benefit. These kind of policies intensified prior to and after the War against Russia, they almost came to a halt in 1880s to be revived again in 1890s during Armenian troubles and the Greek War.

The second is about European powers and Orientalist literature: Today, after so much research, we know that unlike what some European politicians, statesmen and journalists argued there was neither a well-organized spying activity around the world nor a systematic effort to organize military groups in Islamic countries. Even in India which was in the center of such speculation, the investigations made by the British governments could not verify the claims that the Ottoman Empire was trying to incite revolt against British rule and also could not prove the existence of a secret society.

The third and the last is about the Young Turks' perception: It is possible to argue that the intellectual hardships and contradictions in this issue were caused by the organization of *ittihad-ı İslam* policies by the state and those who were in state payroll. This way the endeavors were led and controlled from a single center but they occasionally could not follow developments, and were almost always faced with the opposition of intellectuals. Young Turks criticized Abdulhamid for not being sincere about these efforts and being unqualified to be the center of such a policy causing suspicion in the Islamic world, while some *ulama* and Islamist intellectuals were abstaining arguing that the Sultan's way of rule was not in line with the policies he claimed to follow. As a result, an intellectual depth and dynamism needed for a worldwide policy to take root could not be achieved. Moreover, it was not possible to get rid of traditionalism, and a strong alternative for the troubles of the Islamic world could not be developed. Similarly there was no strong connection to other religious-political intellectual movements in various Islamic countries and they could not be led to similar purposes. As a result, it would be right to argue that similar developments in the Islamic World was the result of reaction and came about with the instinct to respond to intellectual attacks.

6. CHAPTER

PERIPHERY (THE OTTOMANS OF THE TIME AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD)

From the speech of a French general delivered on July 14, before the battalion composed of Algerian and Senegalese who were dispatched in Casablanca and who have been fighting in Morocco for a year onward:

"Soldiers you see this flag composed of three colors. This flag belongs to France that has sacrificed its life and wealth for the world's humanity liberty fraternity and equality. France will never forget your usefulness and devotion that you have demonstrated in Barbary. There is no French left who still has a doubt about our success of seventy-eighty-year experience. Many Algerians died in Barbary. Certainly, we French people will give a reward to Algerians for that. We will not regard Algerians as uncivilized. Even though you have concretely served us in our protectorates such as Senegal, Dahumi (?) and others, as they are Zoroastrian pagans, some French people looked you favorably upon your services in that time. Yet this time, in Barbary, you have fought like a French person against Moroccans with whom you share the same religion and the same language. Long live France!"[163]

The answer of an Algerian to the above-mentioned speech:

"General! It is true that we Algerians, selling the lands and properties we inherited from our ancestors, were left penniless because of the taverns, brothels and especially Algeria Agricultural Bank that were opened up by the civilized France. At such a time by embracing us, France accepted us to its army that would be glorious and honorable for people. By this means, we were saved from being in destitute. It let us suffer from illnesses and misery in its hellish protectorates like Madagascar Senegal and Tungin. It fell back on our bloods in order to complete its African-French protectorates, which is the decuple of France, by subjugating the Moroccan lands. Do not look for humanity in us anymore. You already know that an ignorant, hungry and miserable people would not have the traits you are asking for. As French people keep us in ignorance and dispossessing us of our properties, we would not to fail to sacrifice our lives. Yes general. We Algerians shed our blood in Morocco much more than you. On behalf of Algerians, I thank you for your word that you would not regard us as uncivilized. You French people have proved this in Moroccan

[163] Unsigned, Sultanate of Marrakech, İctihad, June1908, No: 8, p. 300, year 2.

insurrection that you sacrifice your lives for equality fraternity and liberty. You have demonstrated your fraternity and equality to the ones who sacrificed their lives for the France's ideas by sending the body of a disloyal lieutenant who was stabbed in the back as he was escaping from you. The bodies of we Algerians and Senegalese were left under the feet of the Moors' animals. Their bodies were left to crows and wild birds. I believe that there would not be a better example for the equality of France. Long live France! Down with the Moors and Algerians who are not able to defend their countries."

"It is also strange that, regardless of their places and their races, Muslims are always admirers and friends of Ottomans and they desire to see a few Ottoman artisans among them. I was feeling this amity not only among Muslims but maybe in all Eastern society. When I was in Beijing, I was with five hundred people in a lecture given by an Indian Zoroastrian. In a quite long speech, for some reason he mentioned about the Ottoman reform and said that "the progress of the Ottoman government is an honor for all the Easterners. The life of Ottoman nation is the life of the whole East. The collapse of the Ottomans will be a death for all the nations of the East. Therefore, we cordially wish that the Ottomans will appear in the arena as soon as possible." When he said this, even though there were a few Muslims in the assemblage, he received a loud applause. In addition to that, he repeatedly stated that Japans have respect for the Ottomans."

(Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1978b: 163)

As the nineteenth century is the century of death-agony for the Ottomans, it is also for the Habsburgs and Romanovs and all the great world empires. While they do not have power to run the existing system any more, they require supplementary ideologies and nationalisms, new myths to hold these together and new experiences and symbols. (Deringil, 1993: 3)

In this chapter, we are going to examine the state of the Ottoman Empire in its periphery and especially in the regions dependent to it, the events taking place regionally and the solutions adopted for them, and more importantly the place it occupies in the Young Turk press within the context of Islamic unity in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, fighting for survival as the leader of Islamic world, just before its dissolution.

In the tables' part of this thesis, there are several maps concerning the process from the time Sultan Abdülhamid II acceded to the throne, up until the 1908 revolution. In these

maps, besides the remaining and lost territories, the information is given on which part was occupied by whom, in order to draw a picture of the Islamic world of the time.

On the other hand, both in these maps and in the other sources of the period, we are given contradictory numbers concerning the Muslim population. Nevertheless, according to the most accurate information we have, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, 55% of Rumelia; 45% of Istanbul and 15 % of Anatolia and Syria regions were non-Muslims. (Akarlı, 2000:27) Even though it is hard to reach accurate numbers due to the lack of population censuses[164] at that time, this also provides a source for the subject and especially depicts the Muslims who are unaware of each other:

For instance, contrary to the source which states that *"The latest statistics show the population of the Ottoman Empire as 18 million Muslims and 6.5 million Christians."*[165] according to another source from five years ago, the Muslim population of the whole world is mentioned as three hundred million:

"The population of the people of Islam which is given as three hundred million includes Muslims of China whose existence has been lately heard."[166]

In another source, however, the number of Muslims living only in Russia is mentioned as twenty million and the population in total is given as two hundred million:

"In the large nations of Russia, young and old age population of Islam is estimated as twenty million. Even though the overall Sunni and non-Sunni population of Islam in Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Bosnia, Cyprus, in the lands of Egypt and Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Zanzibar, in the other parts of Africa and the Bedouins, townsmen and the illiterate of it, in Iran, Afghan, Bukhara lands and in their appendages, in the islands of Australia is not known for certain, when the 3 sums of above-mentioned residents added, it is disputable that the overall population would exceed two hundred million."[167]

Yet, in another source, we encounter a number in between those mentioned above:

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[164] Although the first population census in the Ottoman State carried out in 1831 in order to designate the number of Muslim soldiers who were going to go to war and the new tax sources, it was not become systematic until 1927.
[165] Author: F, Bir müsahebe, İctihad, 1 September 1904, year 1, No: 1, p. 8.
[166] Unsigned, Ehl-i İslamla Türkiye ve Almanya, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 30, p.2, year 2, 30 January 1899.
[167] Unsigned, Ehl-i islamla Almanya ve Türkiye, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 31, p. 5-6, year 2, 6 February 1899.

"Under the English rule eighty five million, in the Netherlands colony thirty million, in Russia ten million etc.… in total two hundred and fifty million Muslims appeal God for salvation and they set their hopes on the caliph who is the deputy of Mohammed."[168]

In the periodicals studied, the common tendency is to inform about the conditions of the Muslims of the world and especially those under the Ottoman rule, and also to support them either by asking for charity and prayer or organizing them. Besides that, it is questioned why the world of Islam has deteriorated and also sought for solutions by creating a political awareness:

"We are conducting an inquiry concerning ***the reasons of the deterioration of the world of Islam****. Our questions are as follows:*

1. *What are the causes and conditions necessitating the reasons of the deterioration of the world of Islam?*

2. *What is the most effective precaution to prevent the world of Islam from an overall deterioration by giving Muslims a fresh life?... Answers could be written in every language."*[169]

The purpose of these kinds of inscriptions are indeed clear: To warn Muslims about the gradual deterioration of the world of Islam, three-quarter of which is still under the domination of non-Muslims, to awaken them and to provoke against Sultan Abdülhamid II, whom they never consider worthy of the title of caliphate. The quote below is a clear example of this frequent situation:

"The three-quarter of Islam came under the domination of non-Muslims which was once with more than two million people a sovereign nation by being in charge of its own administrations and state. They were dispossessed of their governments. While the rest of Islam has an independent land, only the lower part holds a political position. Yet, each existing Muslim domain is about to …. You, on the other hand, remain indifferent to this concern for your main interest. You are not attempting to understand the reasons of the collapse of your political condition and not considering preventing this process of deterioration in the future by going to necessary measures. Your glory gradually decreases.

[168] Abdülhamid II, Siyasi Hatıratım(ter.) S.Can, İstanbul, 1984, p.178.
[169] Unsigned, Tahkikat-i ilmiye (anket), İctihad, 1 September 1904, No:1, p.16.

Either you do not see this silence or you see but you do not pay attention. You believe you have glorious governments but you are making a tragic mistake.

In conclusion, during the reign of present sultan Abdülhamid II, Bulgaria, east Rumelia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Teselya Epir (an Albanian word meaning above, ….) Cyprus, Crete, Çerkezistan (Batum, Kars, Ardahan), Tunisia, Egypt and the dependencies of Sudan were lost by Muslims. All these losses were not enough to direct your politics.

You are appealing to God to save your state. Yet, you do not fulfill your own responsibilities to save your state. The losses of your state, decrease of your power and the other hardships on your politics led you to commit a sin against God by slandering unjustly on non-Muslim subjects. Eight; these losses and hardships however, were brought by your selfish Sultan and your nonresistance and cowardice. ….[170]

In these inscriptions, the oppressions that Muslims suffer from and that Christians have raised to kill Muslims[171] are mentioned, besides creating theoretical solutions to save people from this situation and stating that all the Muslims should unite to object these cases. When these solutions are adopted, for example when a benevolent society is established, it is argued a little unrealistically that the non-Muslims will not be able to intervene Muslims:

"The society should lead off with an effort by forming an aid committee immediately. In case the explicit conditions of the state and the complaints are voiced to Europe, Russia could not intervene much; it could not make us unacceptable offers…"[172]

Even at this point, Sultan Abdülhamid II is not regarded as responsible; it is claimed that the religion of Islam has no guilt and the society is criticized for not reacting against this sultan who loses Muslim lands one by one. For instance, in the inscriptions stating that the Ottomans left Rumelia, hence Europe, it is questioned who brought the glorious Ottoman state which evolved from the people only of four hundred tents to this condition:

"The religion of Mohammed! Is that the reason for the nightmare of negligence and ignorance on the Islamic states? Far from it! The sharia of Mohammed by no means has a fault.

[170] Unsigned, Müslümanlar uyanın!, İctihad, kanuni sani 1905, 1st year, No: 2, p. 7-10.
[171] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mekâtib, No: 91, 9 April 1906, p.3.
[172] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Ne Yapmalı?, No:37, Date 1 Recep 1321 Wednesday 23 September 1903, p.1.

Bring the Ottoman Empire to your mind as a map, in the day of Sultan Hamid's ceremony of accession to the throne: Look at Rumelia as the adjacent of Danube and Sava, Anatolia as neighbors of Caucasus, Ararat and Iran, Arabia within Indian sea and the African-Ottomans in between the Mediterranean Sea and the seas of other peoples'. Together with being a civilization in the middle of seas, it is a fertile land which brings together Europe, Asia and Africa, interconnects Black sea, Mediterranean and Jeddah and contains these ghazis and canals. Such beautiful seas, gulfs and islands… everything is wonderful. Hereby, it is like God created it delicately. What else would you expect? In Russia which constitutes the one seventh of the world, does not have even the one twelfth of the beauties of the nature in the well-protected domains. That means it is not the fault of the domain. So, is this the fault of the Turkish nation which the fundamental state, or the community of Islam in the position of dominant people or of the general public? Therefore, the deterioration of the Ottoman social commission does not have its sources in religion, domain, nation, religion or nothing… It is the devotion of the Ottomans which created a grand state out of forty hundred tents of people and enriched its honor with the sharia."[173]

All this ignorance not only prevents a unity among people, but it also causes discord. In the inscriptions it is mentioned that besides the Muslims of the world, Ottoman society stays separate from each other and blind, and even that this discord is observed in mosques.[174]

Although it is possible to find hundreds of examples about these criticisms and descriptions, in the rest of this study, through the periodicals and by concentrating of specific periods, the way the conditions of Muslims of the world is narrated will be examined according to regions.

6.1. Balkans

Balkans or Rumelia as it is called in Turkish, meaning the lands conquered from East Roman Empire, had a critical importance for the Ottomans in terms of expanding into the west. Having a Turkish name meaning "steep and forestry mountain range", especially with the ideology of Ottomanism, Balkans rose in value in times of keeping the non-Muslim

[173] Unsigned, Mizan, "Ne Var, Ne Yok?", No:169, 26 March 1896, p.2433
[174] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Nifâk Neticeleri, No:40, Date 15 Şaban 1321 Thursday 25 November 1903, p.1.

population, was built up by getting an important amount from the state budget and railed entirely. Nevertheless, this region was lost when the Ottomans were on the verge of collapse.

Indeed, Balkans is not a periphery of the empire; on the contrary it is the heart of it. Ottomans settled this region one hundred years before they conquered Istanbul and made Edirne the second capital in 1361. (Georgeon, 2012:25)

Ottomans, from the beginning to the end, distinguished Balkans and showed a maximum effort to build it up. There are several other reasons besides the above-mentioned ones, for this particular attention. Most of the statesmen from the time of *devşirme* come from Balkans and Balkans are everything for the Ottomans.

On the other hand, although within the process until the reign of Abdülhamid II, considerable investments are made in Balkan lands, very small return was achieved. Therefore, besides it was clear that this region would be lost in time, Balkans are started to be regarded as bloodsucker lands. In addition, in this period, distinctly from his successors Abdülhamid II directs his interest from Balkans towards Islamic regions where Arabs are settled. So that, in his memoirs, by implying the lost lands after the Berlin Congress he states that "I am not sorry for losing the Balkan states as they are hard to govern and diminish our national power. As we become smaller and fall apart, we would get stronger and recover from the illness. The day we get stronger inside, Europe will see that the "sick man" that they joke about have become a "strong man" ". (Georgeon, 2012:365)

Indeed, with the influence of the ideas of French Revolution, the first separatist movements emerged in Balkans where non-Muslims live in the Ottoman lands. Why non-Muslim subjects were influenced from the nationalist ideas of Europe stems from inner and outer factors. As an inner factor, the fact that the Ottoman administrative system is based on the *millet* system, enabled non-Muslims to keep their ethnic, religious and cultural identities which provide a basis for a political separation. At the same time, the *millet* system obliged non-Muslims to live within the empire as second-class citizens. Another inner factor which caused this separation of the Ottoman system was that during this time Ottomans were experiencing a serious economic, political and social collapse.

Major triggering elements which accelerated the separation among Balkan Christians were external factors. Contrary to the collapse within the Ottoman Empire, Europe was rising

economically. Through the commercial treaties, the Christian society within the Ottoman subjects gained more strength in trade. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, an influential mercantile class emerged composed of Rums, Bulgarians and Serbians who prospered as a result of the trade relation with the western states and the privileges.

First non-Muslim communities within the Ottoman subjects that were influenced from those ideas were Greeks and Serbians. Although the first separatist uprising was staged by Serbians, Greeks were the first among Balkan communities to achieve their independence in 1830. Serbians founded Serbia as an independent kingdom after 1878 Berlin Treaty[175] and Bulgarians founded independent Bulgaria in 1908.

Although it will be mentioned below one by one, it should be noted here that even the population density of Muslims was low compared to other regions, the issue of Balkans in the context of Islamic unity, the information and the interpretation of the events took place in the Balkans[176] and especially the condition of Muslims and non-Muslims in these lands[177] took more place in Young Turk periodicals than any other Islamic regions.

There are many reasons for that. First of all, most of the Young Turks have their origins in Balkans and the main movement-oriented wing of the 1908 revolution was developed in Balkans. In addition, Young Turks could act more freely as Balkans relatively became more liberated and less oppressive with the influence of foreigners. On the other hand, since Balkans was the most possible region to be lost by the Ottomans, careful attention was directed there. As this was the case, the reports like

"It is stated that after Christians outraged a mosque in Shkoder by throwing a pig's head inside, Muslims killed two Christians. It is told that there is also one death from Muslims"[178] had already lost its uncommonness.

Sultan Abdülhamid II, his policy on Balkans[179] and the officers he sent to Balkans were already being criticized:

[175] With the Berlin Treaty signed after 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war which took place following the enthronment of Abdülhamid II, the Ottoman State had mostly lost its power in the Balkans, and more than one million Muslims became refugee in the Balkans and Caucasus.
[176] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Siyasi, Hâl-i Hazır, No:4, Date 15 Sefer 1320 Friday, 23 May 1902, p.2.
[177] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Bir Rica, No: 5, Date 1 Rebî-ül-evvel 1320 Saturday 7 June 1902, p.1.
[178] Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 16, p.4, year 1, 12 April 1897.

"What is the commissar of the state doing there? What the hell are their deputies doing? Why don't they protect Islam? Do they confine themselves only to writing reports, sending photographs of some idle to Istanbul or making an appearance in the holy mosque only in religious festivals? Why does Commissar Nasuhi Bey Efendi not protest the calamities such as the issue of deceased Kazım Bey? Why does he not ask for the punishments of the aggressors against Islam? Does he not draw a lesson from the Bulgarian headman? He goes on the rampage for the Macedonian rebels. If not, is it the mabeyn-i şahane who does not allow the pursuance of these kinds of cases? Does he not understand who the subjects are and who the sovereign is? If he does not afraid of God, does he not ashamed of people?"[180]

Although it was attempted to unite some Muslim communities against all these bad course of events, it is understood that they were not successful:

"Unfortunately, it comes out from the thoughts of some newspapers that there are committees of Islamic community in Rumelia, yet most of their members do not help eligibly the missions of religion and devoutness."[181]

Since it is not possible to include here all Balkan Muslims and their experiences one by one, I will confine myself to the issues of Bulgaria where Muslims became a minority and to Bosnia Herzegovina which was occupied by Habsburg Empire and has hard times.

6.1.1. Albanians

Albanians were the most solid base for the Ottoman Empire, which was losing power during the nineteenth century, to continue its existence. Particularly in the eighteenth century, Albanians played a leading role in quelling the Greek uprising and maintaining the balance in

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[179] Abdülhamid II established his Balkan policy on the existing controversies among the Balkan statesamd by basing his relations with them on these controversies, he tried to prevent a possible agreement between them. (Karal, 1983: 189) According to this, Serbians and Bulgarians cannot make an alliance; Bulgarians hate Romanians;Romanians, Bulgarians and Greeks are enemies; According to Bulgarians, in Macedonia their nation dominates. Greeks on the other hand, claim that Greeks in Macedonia are forcibly Bulgarinized. The controversy between the churches which emerged in 1870, separated Bulgarians and Greeks from each other. (Quoting from Abdülhamid II, 1987, Özbozdağlı, 2005:49)

[180] Unsigned, Bosna'da himmet-i İslamiye, gayret-i vataniye, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, year 2, p. 3-4, 28 April 1898

[181] Unsigned, Bosna'da himmet-i islamiye, gayret-i vataniye, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, year 2, p. 3-4, 28 April 1898

the Balkans for the benefit of the Ottomans. On the other hand, both European[182] and Balkan states bred the discontent that grew among Albanians and Albanian intellectuals by supporting the Albanian national movement after the 1878 Berlin Treaty. (Urfa, 2010:35-36)

For Abdülhamid II, Albania took place on the top among the surrounding regions that were hard to govern. Albanian population was divided into two main communities: Greg's in the north, Tosks in the south. These two communities diverge in terms of their dialects, customs and the relations with the sublime port. Tosks were better integrated with the Ottoman state and they gave many army officers and civil-servants to the state. There is also a religious aspect to be added to this: 70% of Albanians were Muslims; 20% of the population who were mostly Orthodox lived in the south; the other 10% were Catholic and they mostly gathered in the north. Little more than one million Albanians lived in Albania; yet this was not because of its significant population; rather it derived from the fact that it was the front guard of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. (Georgeon, 2012:256)

With these motivations, Abdülhamid II conducted an intensive propaganda campaign among Albanians. The content of this propaganda was that it was only the Ottoman Empire who could save them from the cupidity of the neighboring states and secure the uniformity: Uniformity around the Ottoman Empire. Within this context, the mechanism of "religionization" was operated which had a profound effect during the last years of the Ottoman period and with the spread of religious orders, Abdülhamid II started to adopt a Sunnitization policy by strongly emphasizing the image of caliphate. In the first years of the century, many ulamas were sent to Albanian provinces, Qurans were distributed for free and schools were open with the curriculums in which Islamic ethics and religion took more and more place gradually. Such that, despite of the measures taken against Albanian, at the end of 1901 Ottoman public authorities even decided to send there ulama who could speak Albanian in order to enhance the effectiveness of the propaganda in Kosovo. (Clayer, 2013: 422)

In addition, Abdülhamid II pursued a policy for integrating Albanians with the central structure of the state. Even, more than five hundred Albanian armorers were employed in the first army. (Georgeon, 2012:258) Indeed, Albanians fought devotedly in the 1877-78 Turkish-Russian war just as other communities.

[182] For detailed information on the policies of the European states on Balkans in this period see: Umran Gökyer, XIX. Yüzyıl'da Avrupa Devletlerinin Balkan Politikaları, Fırat Üniversitesi, M.A. Thesis, 2011.

Nevertheless, the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire was not apparently the only issue that Albanians were fighting for. Albanians had to be awake against their traditional enemies both in the north and south in order not to let them occupy some parts of their countries. (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 163)

There were reasonable causes for that. The Greek militants who did not join the 1877-78 war attempted to attack to Albanian lands; militias assaulted the environs of Santi Quaranta and occupied the coast. Even though they were removed and exterminated, as the Ottomans were completely defeated in the war, they had to sign Ayastefanos (Yeşilköy) Treaty which conditioned the loss of almost all the lands of the empire in the Balkans; leaving some parts of east Albania to Bulgaria that will be founded soon and leaving Kosovo, which is in the northeast, to Serbians. All these accelerated the rise of the Albanian national movement which was feeling by then that they were under a severe threat.[183] (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 164)

On the other hand, at least from Albanians' point of view, Turkish government deserves the most serious accusation for its political policy between 1882 and 1912. This is because Turkish authorities did not pay regard to the rights that were acquired quite hard by the abrogation of the Ottoman basic law (Kanun-i Esasi) and not gathering of the parliament and they also came after and punished Muslim Albanians (Catholics were a little more free) who dared reading and writing in their own languages.[184] What made it even more unbearable was the fact that during the same period all other neighboring communities, Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarians, Romanians and Italians were given the permission to open schools, publish newspapers in their own languages in Albanian lands and to make propaganda in countenance of their interests and against Albanians. It is expectable that this attitude provoked especially the Albanian intellectuals. Such that, receiving education in Albanian language gradually became the main demand for every patriot. (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 174-5)

[183] As a result of these, the first gang which took Bulgarian-Macedonian gang organizations as example, was established in 1906 in South Albania and Macedonia. The aim of these gangs was to prevent the enemy gangs that were trying to attack Albanian territories. (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 176)

[184] In 1896, in Kannia (the one around Avlonya), the houses of the local Aghas were invaded to see if there were any Albanian writings. The houses of Abbas Agha Hamzaraj and a few other Aghas were invaded abroad and when Albanian books were found, accused Aghas were sent to Yanina dungeon and seventeen people among the notables were imprisoned for twenty years. (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 174)

Under such circumstances of course, the attempts of Young Turks to turn every Muslim Albanian to "good Turks" brought benefit to neither country as it could be seen in the long quotation below which we put almost all of it as it summarizes the general attitude. (Ekrem Bey Vlora, 2006: 180)

In the ITC declaration named "to our Albanian brothers" which is full of sentences that would provoke all the emotions of Albanian nation, it is written that:

"Oh Albanian nation with the courage making the world shiver; oh lionhearted Albanian men! Do you not see that we are full of betrayers inside? We are losing the property and the nation. They want to dishonor us. Oh Albanian lions, how much longer you will be patient? If lions like you do not make an effort to pick the holy Quran up from where it fell and to save Islam, who will do it? You have proved that you are clever enough not to expect any favor from the present government. Be sure that Sultan Hamid and his men in the palace is the greatest enemy of Islam. Do you not see Rumelia? Who let foreigners to come there? Who put the whole nation under a foreign command? Would we experience all these, if we reformed our country and government ourselves, and if we governed justly? Who let Montenegrins dishonor us and our children? When Bulgarians started banditry, the government brought armies, filled Rumelia with soldiers. The blood of Muslims was shedding everywhere. The government did not see Muslims; it did not save from the sword of Bulgarians. It advanced upon Albania with its greatest corps…

Oh Albanian nation, open your eyes, know your friend and foe. Calamity days are coming. We are losing Rumelia. You will be lost as well. The world is surprised to see that a liberated and valiant nation like Albanians is asleep. What happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Are you certain that the grief caused by Sultan Hamid for our Muslim brothers there, will not happen to you as well? There Islam was dishonored. Austrian government dispossessed Bosnians of their arms. Their notables were extinguished. Some of them were imprisoned and some of them were banished. Only a blunt axe was given to eight Bosnian houses. Our religious fellows were left like a woman. Our women were raped. The whole Islam was captured. Who does among you not believe in this? Did you not see what happened to them?" (Aydoğan, 2004: 153-4)

"They are making plans everyday on how to share Rumelia and Anatolia and on separating Albania from the government of Islam. They are writing on European

Newspapers. Sultan Hamid is secretly conducting negotiations. Oh that Sultan Hamid, got Islam into trouble! And he will continue! If you would not draw a lesson from this awaken, there is no other solution but saying God rest Rumelia."

Oh our Albanian brothers! You already know that a man lives for his honor and country. Do you see that the honor is under the feet of the enemy and in the hands of traitors? If so, what are you waiting for? You would not abstain from dying for religion and the country. You would risk death. Oh Muslims, liven up, take an oath among you, unite before God's solidarity and will not be separated until death.

They entered Pristina in the name of reformation and tomorrow they would enter Pec, Prizren and Shkoder. They will enslave all of us; we shall come to our senses. Could we not have reformed ourselves? Did we not have clever men? All these calamities were caused by cruel Abdülhamid II: It is possible that soon they will expel our soldiers from Rumelia and will disgrace and enslave us. You are truthful Muslims, honorable servants of God, the most valiant community of our prophet and you would not afraid of dying for nation and religion. So, do not be patient any more. It is a curse to abide by Sultan Hamid. It is also because the greatest ulama of Egypt and India gave a fatwa about this cruel Sultan. They stated that it is unacceptable to abide by a Sultan who does not let the reading of Quran and its verses in the madrassas and mosques, who rules out the hadiths, who takes the enemy into the lands of Islam and who leaves people to traitorous apostates.

Oh the honorable men of Albania who grew among the noted lions such as the sons of Mahmut Bey, Ali Pashas of Gosina, Haji Zeynel Beys and Ali Pashas of Tepelena! Instead of making the enemies attack on our lands and stirring controversy, work on the unity of Islamic nation. We shall cooperate for the abolishment of the enemies who betray their countries and put these villains into their places. Since we are Muslims, we shall get stronger by cooperating and sacrifice our lives." (Aydoğan, 2004: 155-6)

Our country will fall apart. God forbid, if we lose Rumelia, as the enemy will be placed between Albania and Istanbul, which has the office of caliphate, the end will be a calamity for the whole nation. If so the people of Islam, we shall awaken now. We shall open our eyes because the enemies are on our back, we are coming to grief. We shall demand a fair government which is governed by a national assembly in order to get rid of this evil

government. If it is needed in this cause, we shall sacrifice the last drop of our blood." (Aydoğan, 2004: 157)

At the end of this declaration, a sword was drawn vertically. Under this picture, the sentence below was written:

"For God's sake read this declaration yourselves and make other Muslim brothers read it and tell them. We shall attach one copy to the doors of the mosques so that all Muslims read and open their eyes." (Aydoğan, 2004: 157)

6.1.2. Crete

The nationalist movements which spread with French Revolution and the Ottoman non-Muslims' demands for independence as a consequence of this, provocations of Russians which began with Tsar Peter, the deterioration of the Ottoman rule and the activities of the "Ethnic Society" (Eterya Cemiyeti) founded by Greeks, the uprisings in Morea had negative effects on Cretan people. Particularly after the Greek State had founded, Greeks started to see Crete as an important constituent of Megali Idea[185] to expand their lands and establish the Great Greece. (Toprak, 2011: 207)

The uprisings since 1821 were intensified gradually despite of all the concessions and privileges and internal migration occurred from the country to town in Crete[186] between the years 1896 and 1897, especially after the events of Chania and Candia. These migrations reached an advanced stage with the occupation of the island by Greece on February 1897. Even though the occupation failed, the defeat of Greece led Cretans to take various actions against Turks. This situation also brought about negative effects for the Turks in the island. Despite the fact that Greece was defeated in the war, through diplomatic means with the oppression and effort of the Great States, it managed to acquire some territories from the Ottoman Empire and expand its lands. Besides these, there are some different benefits of this victory which had no diplomatic advantage.

[185] Megali Idea represents the Great Hellenic Empire which includes Aegean Islands, West Anatolia, Blacksea, Rhodes, Crete, Bozcaada, Cyprus, Epir, Macedonia, West and East Thrace, being Istanbul the capital city.
[186] For detailed information on Crete see: Pınar Şenışık, The Transformation Of Ottoman Crete:Cretans, Evolts And Diplomatic Politics In The Late Ottoman Empire, 1895-1898, Dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2007; Serap Toprak, XIX. Yüzyilda Balkanlarda Ulusçuluk Hareketleri ve Avrupalı Devletlerin Balkanlar Politikasi,Ankara Üniversitesi, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara,2011,p.206-223

The victory of Ottoman armies created reactions in Muslim world. Indian Muslims also followed the war closely, held public demonstrations, collected donations, and prayed for Ottoman success with the continuous statements. They enthusiastically celebrated the victory, garnished their stores, they glorified the valor of Turks. These were like an encouragement for the Ottoman victory. On August 1898, Indian deputy Lord Hamilton recorded that "The victory of the Ottomans over Greeks changed everything, and he added that "Hereafter, Muslims will create bigger problems." (Georgeon, 2012:466)

Finally upon the events in Candia, Turks stepped into action against English occupation forces and Greeks. Taking this as a pretext, England landed troops to the island, and afterwards the four Great States asked from the sublime port to draw back the Turkish troops from Crete with a joint note on 5 October 1989.[187] Even though the Ottoman state objected to this offering which meant waiving its rights on the island, England, France, Russia and Italy paid no attention to this and on 5 November 1898 ejected forcibly the Ottoman soldiers from the island. In this way, the rule of the island was left to the four European states.

Nevertheless, in this period, the relations among these four states and the atmosphere were not suitable for the island's subordination either to Greece or to the occupying states. Therefore, it was decided to leave Crete to the Ottoman sovereignty, yet to appoint Greek Prince Yorgi as the governor of the island. Hence, with the oppression of the four occupying Great States, the sublime port had to appoint Prince Yorgi to the proconsulate of Crete and after that most of the troops and navies of the Great States left Crete.

The island was under the governance of Istanbul only on paper. This governance was also limited only to the Ottoman flag that was flying on Chania Castle. What was at issue could have been "suzerainty" rather than "sovereignty". In any case, there was still an official connection –although it was a loose one- with the empire and this was quite important for the sultan. In this process, some of the Cretan Muslims who lost their trust began to migrate to

[187] The aim of the Cretan Greeks after 1897 was already to prevent the reestablishment of the Ottoman hegemony. In order to achieve this aim, Greeks expelled Muslims from the island and adopted a policy of placing Greeks to the places left by the Muslims. Supporting this policy of the Greeks, in the news in the newspapers, it is informed that the Greeks in Caucasus asked for from Prince George to be settled in the places left by the Muslims and this was accepted by Prince George.
On 6 September 1898, when the English troop attempted to enter the tax department where the Ottoman officers were in charge, in order to take over the authority of collecting the tithe tax it got the reaction of the officers and the Muslim community. The events of serious clash is called Kandiye events.

Anatolia and led to the increase of the migration wave, while some others stayed and staged uprisings. (Georgeon, 2012:464)

During the years that uprisings began, all the hopes had not yet disappeared. In the accounts which mention about the existence of Christian governors who were not against the Ottoman state, the possibility of staying as Cretan Ottomans is expected*: "The only basis of the hostility was formed by Cretan Christians' tendency to hurt Ottomans' feelings and their attacks against Muslims. Today the Christian rulers of Crete say "We do not want Greece, we want to engage with the improvement of the island as Ottomans with our compatriots". As not much is demanded other than remaining as Cretan Ottomans, the order of our Cretan coreligionists to maintain the order and the safety by sending back the tyrants becomes a significant issue."*[188]

On the other hand, the fact that the existence of the Ottomans soldiers in Crete ceased, led to a trashing for the Muslims. Although the security of the region was left to European states and the governor of Crete promised to protect Muslims, the situation was quite underwhelming for Muslims. The leaving of Ottoman soldiers from Crete and the sadness of Muslim islanders about this situation is one of the most distressing events in the history of Turkish nation. When the Ottoman troops drew back from the island in 1898, Crete became an almost lost province and after that the Greeks in the island tried very hard for the union with Greece. (Oğuz, 2006: 57-8)

The issue of Crete had a wide coverage on Young Turk newspapers. Mentioning whenever possible about the conditions of Cretans and thousands of people who migrated to Turkey, they voiced frequently that these people were tortured[189] and their villages were devastated[190].[191] They told in great detail that the government did not assert its rights on Crete, they nearly supported Greece and the Cretans were governed not from Istanbul but from Athens.[192]

[188] Unsigned, Mizan, Girit umuru, 12 March 1896, No: 167, p. 2423.
[189] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mekâtib, No: 92, 25 April 1906, p. 2.
[190] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Şundan Bundan, No: 46,Date 15 Zi-lkâ'de 1321 Tuesday, 2 February 1904,p.3.
[191] For another example see: Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Girit, No: 9, Date 1 Cemâzi-yel-evvel 1320 Wednesday 7 August 1902, p. 1.
[192] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Girid'in Bugünkü Hâli, No: 58, Date 15 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1322 Saturday 27 August 1940, p.2.

A clear and detailed letter about Crete is quoted below verbatim as it sets an example for all other documents which we encountered during the research:

"As it is widely known, the island of Crete is a province governed by the Ottoman state… As it is confirmed by the official statements of the consulates of the Great States residing in Chania, the center of the government of Crete, contrary to the assertions of the attacks and oppressions by the Muslims of the island, poor Muslims have been victims of attacks and targets of assaults and today their life conditions are not endurable.

"The consuls and the commanders of the occupying forces affirm that the Muslims of Crete help maintaining public order, they are honorable and hardworking, and also they always tend to have good relations with their compatriot Greeks. Despite this, besides Greeks by no means express affection to poor Muslims, they take sending us forcibly from the island as their national duty. Therefore, since we could not tolerate the suppression we have been suffering from during this international occupation for ten years, going to our villages, we barter our properties away as we could not manage them. In this way we are forced to migrate. Therefore, from ninety thousand Muslims, only four thousand are left in the island. Our victimization and quietness aroused attention and compassion of the Great States. Massacre of Sinai, the event of Trise and the atrocities that came one after another have led Great States and whole Europe to affirm that Muslims are indeed oppressed and excused.

It could be questioned why Cretan Christians are being hostile merciless to poor Muslims; the reason is quite obvious. While Cretan Christians do not hide their attempts to separate our country from the Ottoman state ever since a century, the Muslims of the island see it patriotism to show that they would prefer dying to the separation from the Ottoman state.

This is a quite clear thesis which does not require a proof: The only reason of these uprisings staged in the island of Crete ever since a century is that Cretan Greeks have national fervent wishes to separate the island from the Ottoman state and to annex to Greece. Therefore the reason is not Turkey's maladministration. The hazardous effects of the discretionary administration were not felt in the island. As it is historically known, Ottomans came the island upon the invitation of Greeks and saved them from the atrocity of Venetians. Despite the janissary system, as the island was the asylum for Greeks, for a long time there was a strong commitment between the Ottoman state and the Cretan people. ... Indeed, the

uprisings in Crete grew by the riot in Morea and the provocations of Ethnic Society. Since these uprisings, Crete has been autonomous for a very long time.

Particularly the last ten years of the autonomy, the material and moral needs of the country have been destroyed. Besides this, in every national assembly gathering, Greek members of the parliament do not abstain from declaring that the island has annexed to Greece. Nevertheless, Muslim deputies insisted to protest these declarations of independence without a fear of their weaknesses, victimization and atrocity.

As it is seen, this patriotism is the reason for the hostility between Christian and Muslim subjects, or rather the hostility expressed by Greeks to Muslims.

Greeks wish to annex to Greece and Muslims desire to remain as Ottoman. Today, against the regulations of international law, a committee of deputies was sent to the king of Greece about the island's annexation to Greece which is under the occupation of four states and which is fundamentally an Ottoman province, and the general administration of the island. The government invited the national assembly for an emergency meeting in order for an attempt to confirm the annexation of the island to the great states. Yet, the Muslim deputies will disapprove this annexation and they will defend the interests of Islam with the state of law at the cost of their lives.

During these demonstrations in Candia, an old Muslim man who was over eighty five years-old, was martyred by Christians, by being stabbed sixteen times. In addition, The Vezir Mosque was stoned and its windows were broken. The community that was performing the tarawih prayer by that time had to leave their prayer and went to the police station and demanded a few police soldier to guard the mosque. Yet, as police officer called back these police soldiers when the Muslims started their prayer, before Christians stone Muslims again, they had to leave the mosque right after the prayer.

For two days, we have not received any news about the lives of the Muslims engaging in seasonal agriculture who attempted to go their villages…

The undersecretary of education minister Nesimi Efendi who abstained from pledging loyalty to the king of Greece and the other Muslim officers were dismissed, by the time the minarets in Chania were being shot and the Muslims were outraged.[193]

Muslims in Crete send many letters to the Young Turk full of *agitations* and emotions, and they called for help with various ways:

"Oh my God what a calamity, starvation and thirst would be nothing compared to this. Alas! Warrior autrocity! Oh my God, are we not Muslims? Even if we forgot Islam, are we not Turks? Even if we are not Turks, Oh Turkish Muslim, Oh Turk, Oh sons of Ottomans, are we not humans? Tell us, are we not? How could I write? If I tell the truth they cut my tongue if I say wrongly it would not be suitable for Islam. At least Mr. Author, you write in your newspaper and tell the truth to our brothers who are oppressed materially and morally like us.

Our community is quite devastated! The people of Islam have no name, and it does not have a form any more. There was a government that we know as sublime port. They inflicted Ismail Bey upon us, as if the trouble we suffer from the Greek insurgents was not enough for us. It is even worse than devil, demon and illicitness. Alas our poor condition!

We have sent to the caliph various request letters. We do not understand if Islam has totally abolished. The caliph sent Ismail Bey here right away. Instead of surveying our conditions, he is spying.

Fortunately the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress saved many families from starving with the aids they provided in Crete. Otherwise we would have died of starving.[194]

"The murders by Christians are continuing. Several nights the muezzins who recite the azan in the minarets were stoned by Christians. Last week in Candia, a Muslim was slaughtered in front of English soldiers' eyes. Again a Muslim who was going up to the villages of Candia was murdered. Without question, since they buried him after destroying his body, it could not be found. The only fault of these poor people was to be a Muslim.[195]

[193] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Girit'ten Mektûp, No: 140-21, 26 October 1908, p. 5.
[194] A Cretan Muslim, seen in the Balkan newspaper, Girit'ten mektup şarkta afat, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 18, p. 3, year 2, 22 June 1898.
[195] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Haniye'den Mektup, No: 9, 15 August 1906, p. 4.

"We have always protested this atrocity. We wanted to look neither like the nine million Egyptians who accepted two troops of English soldiers enthusiastically nor like Cyprians who welcomed the English in wool-gathering. Cretan Muslims did not abstain from any attempts or any complaints. Not only for a wicked murder, but we also have made complaints, and still making, everyday about a tiniest outrage or an attack to the consuls, ambassador and even to sultans either orally or by writing with a strong language. Yet, we could not get more than a polite answer or a favorable treatment. When we consider the whole civilization and humanism of Europe, we would be left only with a good treatment. Besides this, we would love our wounds with no possibility to be healed, in order to give a lesson to the Ottomans with today's condition of Crete." (Quoting from a letter sent from Crete, Aydoğan, 2004: 378)

Indeed, it was told in the Young Turk newspapers that Cretan Muslims should have the same rights and freedoms like in other countries and this is possible with a few changes in the basic law of Crete.[196]They also tried to provide financial assistance with several campaigns and the amount of this assistance etc. was told in the newspapers.[197]

"In order to help directly to our Cretan subjects who meet a different disaster every day, a committee was established composed of honorable people of Geneva. Since it is certain that the aid which will be sent here will be used for reducing our poverty, we took it as our duty to call the honorable nation and the people of religion to this task of humanity. Address…"[198]

The fact that the Cretans asked for help even from the Shah of Iran upon not receiving any help from other Muslims, had a broad repercussion in Young Turk newspapers:

"As the desperate cry of our subjects who are the victims of the administration of Hamid and who are left miserable in the hands of Cretan bandits, they applied to Shah of Iran Muzaferiddun Khan. A copy of the telegram they sent is presented to the patriots.[199]

[196] Cretan Muslims, No: 94, 24 May 1906, p. 1.
[197] Unsigned, Mizan, İlan, No: 29, p. 1, 19 July 1897, Geneva.
[198] Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, No: 14, 30 March 1897, p. 8.
[199] Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, No: 14, 30 March 1897, p. 8.

Meanwhile despite the oppression they suffered from, with a few exceptions Cretans were told the same things that were told other minorities and they were commanded not to leave their country:

"By writing an open letter to Ibrahim Ethem Bey of Crete, the officer of Committee of Union and Progress Murat Bey suggests Cretan Muslims to be patient and not to leave Crete. It is true that before the insurrection of Morea, there were many Muslim subjects in Greece. We now see the disadvantages of migrating as soon as the sovereignty is lost. Wherever it is, all Muslim subjects should stay where they are and by stopping daydreaming they should be engaged in education, trade and art in order to keep puritanism alive." [200]

On the other hand, some Cretans resented Young Turks because of their "Ottomanist" attitudes:

"A Greek officer named Roka is sent copies of "Council of Community" (Şura-yı Ümmet) to be conveyed to domestic affairs. We went to the Greek custom house on the border as it was deemed necessary. We personally witnessed that the newspapers there are used as table sheet and cone. Of course we felt disappointed. Be sure that there is no Greek that would make alliance with you. We shall take care of ourselves. Their future is like a shining sun and ours is like a cancer full of clouds. Today the situation is this, God knows tomorrow. They could serve us under the condition of benefiting from us. There are many things to tell here. Yet, we should not only see the surface. Their promises are empty." (Quoting from a letter sent from Yenişehir to Paris before the 1907 congress, Aydoğan, 2004: 412-413)

6.2. Iran

The relation between the Ottoman State and Iran had always been hostile for centuries. The most significant event shaping the Ottoman-Iran relations was denominational differences. The fact that Iran took Shiism as state policy and tried to export it created problems with its neighbor Ottoman State whose subjects were (mostly) Sunni. Until the nineteenth century, the Iran-Ottoman relations had peace or war periods but they never built up an alliance.[201]

[200] Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, year 1, 5 April 1897, p. 4.
[201] The fact that in the nineteenth century Russia tried to go down from the North to the Middle East and aims of England on the region, left Iran in a difficult situation. Nevertheless, because of the old distrust and hostility

The nineteenth century however, brought them into a different state: the Ottoman state had declined and Iran lost its old power. Meanwhile, European states became stronger gradually and began to attack to the territories of both Islamic states. Their rich territories, strategic positions and weak economic and military structures led the European states be aggressive to them. The most significant point that brought them together besides other common grounds was that their enemies were common as well. In short, both states found it more advantageous for their interests to take joint action. (Aybi, 2009:88)

On the other hand, after the Shi'i population in Iraq in 1890s started to grow more than Sunnis led particularly Cevdet Pasha and other advisors of Abdülhamid II to convince him that the most effective solution in the long run would be a convergence of Shi'is and Sunnis or the union of them (Islamic unity). The actions of the Ottoman State on religion created reactions among the religious scholars of Iran. In addition, Ottomans realized that while the religious scholars were under their control, the religious scholar in Iran were able to put pressure on the state. In this context, while the Ottoman state was carrying out political actions with Iran, it tried to reach the religious authorities there. In this way, besides trying to subject Iranians to caliphate, Ottomans would also be able to use them to apply pressure on Iran.

This attempt came into effect in a short time and in lodges of the Iranian State, when elegies are read in the places of deputies, officers and the lodges of combatants, first time after years someone other than the Shah of Iran was prayed for. Even in this period, the Shah of Iran desired to establish good relations between two states with the idea of Islamic solidarity. Abdülhamid II also attached importance to this issue and asked for help from the prominent Islamic scholar Cemaleddin-i Afgani who was in Istanbul by then for the unity of Sunnism and Shiism (1839-1897).[202] Notwithstanding, the Islamic Unity supported by Afgani in a political way and Islamism followed by Abdülhamid II considerably differed according

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between the two states, Iran did not lean towards the Ottoman State. In Nasıruddin Shah period, even though it was not in war with the Ottoman State, Iran appealed to the Russian Tsar and requested the correction of the borders for the benefit of Iran.In addition, with the (1878) Berlin Congress, Iran gained the Kotur region. Despite that, the Ottoman administration showed determination for having close relations with Iran. For instance, as an act of kindness, the Ottoman State abolished the restrictions on Iranian visitors in the entrance and exit of Karbala and Atebat-ı Aliye where is accepted as holy by the Shi'ites. (Aybi, 2009: 89)

[202] For detailed information see: Hayrettin Karaman, "Efgani" article,DİA,10/463, in addition Aytek Sever, A Pan-Islamıst In Istanbul: Jamal Ad-Din Afghani And Hamidian Islamism, 1892-1897, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, M.A., 2010.

to quality and geographical area. Although there was a convergence between the two in 1890s, this never turned to an agreement.[203] (Karpat, 1987: 13-14) Nevertheless, the relation between Abdülhamid II and Afgani[204], which was positive at the beginning and destroyed in time, was discussed in different studies on Iran and the idea that there was an agreement between the two on the issues of Islamic Unity and politics of Iran was argued by many of them.

The attitude of the Sultan on this issue could be learned from the document that he recorded addressing Cemaleddin Afgani. In his memoirs he assigned Afgani, whom he actually did not trust and did not believe in, the task of "eliminating the controversies among the Islamic sects". This is message is similar to keeping the title of caliph insistently despite knowing that it has no power beyond being internationally symbolic. About the controversies which he did not believe that could be eliminated, he assigned someone who would not take an attempt about this issue for sure but who is recognized both in foreign and Muslim states.

Although this thesis will not get into the details of this relation, suffice it to say that the advices taken from Afgani were quite helpful and the attempts of convergence between the Ottoman state and Iran yielded results through the end of the century. In this respect, the visit made by the Shah of Iran in 1900s gave Abdülhamid II the chance to prove that he is the leader of Islam.[205] (Aybi, 2009:91)

About Afgani on the other hand, with the reasons such as the dangerous thoughts of him, his relations with Young Turks[206] and the fact that the Shah of Iran Nasirüddin was

[203] While Abdülhamid II governed the movement of pan-Islamism as a policy to create an orginized nation living in a specific territory borders, Afgani pursued the goal of creating an anti-capitalist unity-front among the Muslim sultans and countries. According to this, thanks to this Islamic unity that was founded with public's will and had a constitution, the western intervention could have been prevented. "He, when he accepted the invitation of Abdülhamid II to Istanbul; he had the hope for establishing an "Islamic front" composed of the Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and the depended regions in the form of confederation or federation around the caliphate. Afgani forwarded his idea the caliph through Necib Melhame and he stated that he saw the Ottoman State as the core for the Islamic unity. (Doğan, 2006: 29)

[204] What Afgani and Senûsîs tried to do was to reorganize the institution of caliphate in a quite modernist way, concordant with the political structures and regimes of the modern world. (Anbar, 2007: 30)

[205] C.H.Becker says that "The attempts of approaching Shi'i Iran is based on Abdülhamid II. In any case, the visit of Shah to Istanbul was a great success. It is certain that if an intellectual Muslim writes on an English journal about the unity of three Muslim states, it is completely Abdülhamid II's approach." (Türköne, 1993: 35)

[206] "It is heard that unfortunately the city's prodicy Seyyid Cemaleddin Afgani has passed away. One of the victim of the period of Abdülhamid II is the above-mentioned. In the next issue we will write his biography." Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, No: 12, p. 9, 18 February 1897 and "In the last issue we forgot to mention that the city's thinker of whom we wrote the biogrophy and included pictures the deceased Sheyh Seyyid Cemaleddin Afgani was a signicant person and advisor in Committe of Union and Progress." Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, year 1, 5 April 1897, p. 4.

killed by one of the men's of Afgani[207] the relationship between the Sultan and him deteriorated. Besides, during the reign of Abdülhamid II, he never left his politics on Iran and pan Islamism. (Özcan, 1997: 79)

The relationship between Afgani and Abdülhamid II was treated in the Young Turk press through Abdülhamid II's unreliableness:

"On a day of enthronement, by taking the deceased to his private secretariat, in a hidden room he talking for an hour and saying by addressing him "living with you in the world and being buried together and resuscitating together again would be my only wish from God. I would like to manage what my ancestor Sultan Selim could not do with sword with political measure" would only be seen as his desire for Islamic unity.

The fact that deceased Cemaleddin sent around 400 letters to the officer and powerful members of Islamic states and received favorable replies provided recuperation for our lost spirit. Yet, the unreliableness in the nature of the Sultan prevented this."[208]

in his account on the convergence among the Ottomans and Iran on the ground of Islamic unity, Vollers, who was among the famous orientalists in the last periods of the Ottoman State, estimated what the two most important leaders of Islam might have talked about during Shah's visit of Istanbul in 1990: *"If we consider the general situation, I suppose that many Persian and Turkish courtesy statements (Which language could be compared to these two in this respect?) were used in order to hide both the ideas of the speaker and the difficulty of the discussion. Even though the two leaders presented ideas that we can define as pan Islamism, the hope for the unity of Shiism and Sunnism is as little as the possibility of the removal of the differences between the Catholics and the Roman Church by the European states and establishing a new way of life."* (Türköne, 1993: 98)

Indeed, the Ottoman-Iran relations were always unsatisfactory despite all the efforts. The hostility which had been growing for centuries, reached its peak with the provocations of other states, particularly of England.

[207] Although after this event with various tricks Afgani was asked to be sent to Iran, Abdülhamid II did not lean towards this and possible prevented his execution.
[208] Unsigned, İttihad-ı İslam yazısının devamı, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 9, year 2, p. 3, 15 March 1898.

The issue of the relations with Iran was occasionally touched on in Young Turk press. Nevertheless, in Young Turk newspapers, there were considerable differences of opinion on Iran, as on the other subjects. Some newspapers sympathized Iran out of Sunni-Shi'i dichotomy, by putting forward the vicinity rights, the same religious affiliation and even being the leader of this language:

"Help glorious soldiers! Come to the help of Iran." (İttihad-ı İslam, no.2: 7)

"Good news! Thank goodness. Liberal Iran prevailed. Settar Khan devastated and disgraced the same states. He formed a temporary administration in where martyrized and dismissed the governor. God bless you. Long live Iranians. Long live free Muslims." (İttihad-ı İslam, no.2: 5)

"Iran is an Islamic state. The Ottoman state cannot remain indifferent to the good or bad things done to it for the reasons of neighborhood, the same religious affiliation and holding the leadership of Islam. In this case, if the Ottoman State, together with England Russia, helps and serves to the improvement of the conditions of Iran, it would both perform its duty and make the attempts of the two states easier." (İttihad-ı İslam, nr.4: 8)

Some other Young Turk newspapers as well state that the approaches of Iran even if they are simple have deep meanings:

"The vizier of foreign affairs in Tehran collected five thousand seven hundred manats for the poor of Caucasian and sent the consul in order to distribute here.

The issue is not about money; six thousand manats does not heal the wounds of the poor of Caucasus neither is it a considerable help.

The issue is caring or leaving, the sole remedy is brotherhood.

Form this point of view, this help of Iran has a real worth and dignity."[209]

"Today, all the people of Islam, tender-hearted people, every Muslim and non-Muslim should partake in the example of lending a helping hand of Iranian Muslims to our Muslim brothers in Caucasus who are drowned in fire and blood. In the letters we receive from Caucasus, heart-wrenching conditions and calamities are described. In Egypt, they are

[209] Unsigned, İran'dan himmet ve iane, İctihad, p.158, 21 March 1906, No: 10, year1.

endeavoring for more than a month to establish an aid committee in order to cope with the difficulties and disasters of Muslims in Russia, yet there is no outcome yet. The director of Liva newspaper Mustafa Kamil Pasha has requested from Prince Cemil Tosun Pasha to accept being the leader and patronage of the aid committee."[210]

On the other hand, regardless of how the relations with Iran were, many Young Turk newspapers believed that the fact that the relations with Iran seemed good did not mean the Islamic unity was totally being established and it was clearly a fraud. They were also writing their articles in this direction:

"There are many articles on Islamic unity in the newspapers of the states other than Turkey. One of the provocative pictures of the Sultan was proudly telling that the Islamic unity had established. The evidence for this was the medal sent by Abdülhamid II to the Shah of Iran and that the committee in charge of taking the medal to the Shah was welcomed ostentatiously in Tehran. One would doubt whether Russia sent a medal there, would the reception not have been more ostentatious? Yet, shifting this is also easy for the Sultan. It is said that in order to get rid of the bad, a reason is needed. It seems that they are terribly afraid of that. They also could not trust the other side. Other than this, the expenses on ceremony and ostentatious reception ceremonies are not favorable for the purity of Islam. If there is devoutness between them, was it not enough for the two glorious sultans to exchange ideas through the ambassadors in their countries? The intention would be hidden from the world. It would not have been found out even if there was a fraud in this. There would not have been more debts on the empty national treasuries of both states. What shall be said, in case the Shah of Iran is convinced for the union, which is the only hope for the intended salvation of the two states, only by a medal? We consider Shah as wiser and more serious. Every Muslim would be happy for the union of these two Islamic states. Nevertheless, the state of this tyranny and prodigality make everyone sad. If these two states end the sectarian tension among the Muslim subjects and include the lower states and Afghan government in their alliance, a reasonable unity of thirty four million Muslims would be achieved. Yet, if they are that courageous, as of vastness and power, striving only with magnificent Russia would be hard and their success would be suspicious. It is a reasonable prudence to find a

[210] Unsigned, ictihad(cevap),İctihad, 158-9, 21 March 1906, No: 10, year 1.

forth ally against the above-mentioned states which have apparent ambitions and devastations even in their desired material and moral progress.[211]

As much as Young Turks trusted and respected the Ottoman Sultan, they loved the Shah of Iran. It is stated in the articles that both behaved for their interests, leaving the one third of their countries to Christian states when needed and setting against Muslim soldiers for a square meter of land, the commitments are not fulfilled:

"After stating that Turkey's present Sultan has left the one third of the empire to Christian states in a quarter century and the Shah of Iran has let the thirteen large provinces to be dominated by Russian tsarisms within eighty years: now on the border of Turkey for a few square meters land, they come to the brutality, idleness and iniquity of making Muslim soldiers kill each other. Where were these brave fellows when the above-mentioned valuable provinces were dispossessed from them? Upon the strike of the ultimatum of England, our deceitful Sultan abandoned Taba shamefully and affirmed the dominance of Britain over Egypt. Now as Muslims, besides not having anything Islamic other than our name, we do not witness in Muslim Sultans anything royal except their titles. In this edition of the study, there is a speech of the Shah of Iran, he gives many promises. Ours also gave many promises in the beginning of his reign. Yet, they have nothing to do with loyalty… at least the Shah of Iran has the royal nobleness in his thoughts and manners. The possibility of seeing more Islamic and royal acts in him is higher. [212]

"Sultans of Iran and Marrakech shall get title they like. Hostility for that would be inappropriate. There would be no harm if the Shah of Iran says he is the Shah of the world and Sultan of Marrakech he is the present caliph. This would be proved with power.

For certain, they would all be pleased for the fraternal attitude of the Sultan towards them and they would accept his advices. It is also a fundamental duty to abolish the meaningless hostility between Shiism and Sunnism by developing the good relationships with the Iranian government. For the benefit of Islam, it is necessary for the Sultan to set an example for the other Muslim states, to consolidate his own state and to direct the

[211] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:15 Year:2 p.7, 2 Zi'l-hicce *1315*, İttihad-ı İslam.
[212] Abdullah Cevdet, İran ve Türkiye ihtilafı, İctihad, July 1906 No: 1, year 2, p. 1.

government for consultation. It is quite obvious that without a national assembly neither the desired progress nor keeping the available property is possible."[213]

6.3. Asia

Although most of the Ottoman lands were in Asia, with Asian Muslims, primarily the Muslims of the Far East is aimed at. Even though they were not in the Ottoman lands, these Muslims, about whom the Ottomans were informed, were quite significant for the perception of a global Islamic unity; since Asian Muslims were volunteered on their own for the Islamic unity, while with all other Muslims, either in their own lands or in the neighbors', there was a relationship based on mutual interests or obligation.

In this context, in this study will not include the all Muslims in Asia, but rather it will discuss the Chinese, Indian, Turkestani and little the Japanese Muslims who appeared in the Young Turk press although in a lesser extent.

Even though the number of the **Muslims in China** was not exactly known, according to Gota it was thirty, and for Traveler Abdurreşit Ibrahim Efendi it was one hundred million. According to some Young Turk newspapers this number was fifty million, while for Celal Nuri it was at least sixty million. (Celal Nuri, İttihad-ı İslam: 127)

There were Muslims in all over China. Nevertheless, the provinces where the population of Muslims were dense should be divided into two. The first is Turkestani China in the north, the population of which was mostly Turkish. The second is Kansu (it is notable that this word is Turkish) in the south and Yunnan. People in this province were Chinese. Besides these, all over Beijing and China, significant Muslim communities were working on the continuity of Islam. (Celal Nuri, İttihad-ı İslam: 126)

In the Young Turk press, Chinese Muslims were mostly mentioned about the oppression they suffered from by the Zoroastrian Chinese government. The resentment at this point was shown of course against Abdülhamid II, rather than the Chinese government:

"…. How fast they registered the caliphate documents and found a huge capital for a meaningless arrogance? The duty of the caliph could be given to the Protestant priests who

[213] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 13 Year:2 p.2-3, 11 April 1898, Front he article İttihad-ı İslam -(Maba' d ve Hitam).

engage in missionary activities in China to exert dominance with the order of convivial emperor. Because the Ottoman navy deals with services of the caliphate such as protecting the borders, conquering lands and discovering the distant lands. Even sending a religious scholar does not accord with the caliph. Instead of this, it accords more with the virtue of the caliph to spend on spies and servants. Yet, the Chinese government and the Zoroastrian public of it dare to oppress and uproot the poor Muslims. So a grand emperor who resides in Europe …. Within Turkey and caliphate there are no Ottoman employees such as merchant, traveler, craftsman, publisher on Islam and politician. Even if there are, as it is be clear that they would not be allowed for services that would be beneficial for the caliphate, would they send ships all the way to China in order to serve for the interests of Ottomans?

Here to Muslims' disadvantage and to their own interest, if they hear that a Christian emperor who protects that caliph with all his power, saying that they and all Muslims will always be friend while drinking wine, would they not hate this sentence and come to grief for this position of the caliph?

The Muslims of Kashmir who were pervaded by the Zoroastrian Chinese state a few years ago are about to be ruined because of the attacks of the Zoroastrians. Where is the love of the German emperor, spiritual power and friend of the caliph of Turkey, to Muslims? How much does it cost? Who does care it?"[214]

The number of the **Muslims of India** however, was around seventy-five million in 1901 (Celal Nuri, Ittihad-ı İslam: 126) and since Pakistan had not yet separated from India back then, Muslims constituted approximately forty percent of the population of Indian region.[215] Therefore the position of Indian Muslims in India was quite strong. So that, there were Islamic newspapers in India, published by Muslims in English. (Celal Nuri, İttihad-ı İslam: 128)

In this sense, the article of Ahmet Hamdi titled "The interview of two Muslim reporters in Plovdiv" is quite interesting. In the interview held with Indian journalist Ibrahim Bey for his connection on the subject he states that *"Today India has totally awaked. Now there are two large communities in India. One deals only with politics and the other with*

[214] Unsigned, Ehl-i İslamla Türkiye ve Almanya, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 30, p. 2 year 2, 30 January 1899.
[215] For a detailed article on the Indian Muslims of the next period see: Halil İnalcık, Islamic Caliphate, Turkey and Muslims in India, in Shariah, Ummah and Khilafah, Dr.I.H.Qureshi Memorial Lectures, edt. By Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, University of Karachi, 1987, p.25.

education. The name of the political community in India is "Al india Müslem League", and the other's name related to education is "Al india Educational Conference".

Nevertheless, the main feature of the years 1858-1914 in India was the weakening of the beliefs of Hindu communities. This resulted in the reemergence of the hostility between Muslims and Hindus in a different way. It was suggested that there were two main reasons for the hostility and rivalry between these two communities which developed especially in cities: First, upon the government's adoption of constitutionalism, Muslims were alarmed about coming under the rule of Hindus and they began clashing with them.

The second reason according to Indian patriots was that the main reason of these clashes was the English. Therefore they saw these clashes as a game of a secret police who applies the principle of "Create controversy in order to take over". They claimed that in case the English leave the country and the locals take over, the controversy will end.[216]

We also believe that it is right to search for the reasons of the controversies in Indian society and the troubles that Muslims suffered from in the administration of the English government. Although compared to Hindus Muslims were minority in terms population, they were the most resisting group against the English invasion. (Turgut, 1995: 12)

England made various provisions for strengthening its hegemony and ending the controversy between Muslims and Hindus in the region. We may array the efforts of England for ensuring stability as below:

1. Trying to prove that jihad is not a principle of Islam.[217]

2. Disengaging Indian Muslims with the outer Turks and Muslims by claiming that Ottoman caliphs usurped the caliphate which actually belonged to Quraysh.[218]

[216] For a detailed information the issue see: Hintli Seyit Abdülmecit; Alem-i İslam, Istanbul 1328.
[217] The ideas of Gulam Ahmed and the denomination he founded was effective in the proliferation of this idea. The member of these denominations whose numbers were gradualy increasing, were influential in India, Pencap being in the first place. Gulam Ahmed who claimed he was the restorer of the nineteenth century, argued the needlessness of every kind of rebellion and jihad and the unimportance of haj. As this served the purposes of the English, they did not pay much attention to the ideas of Gulam Ahmed against the missionaries. Until the end of the English hegemony, being a member of this denomination was the easiest way for advancing in civil service and for gaining the trust of your superiors. (Turgut, 1995: 13)
[218] We may summarize these discussion in terms of our subject and their general terms in three main ideas: First; The idea that the caliphate belongs to a family. The ones who supports this idea cite the verse that is assumed to be heard by Ebu Bekir from the prophet: "The calips will certainly be from Quraysh community". Second; the

Sultan Abdülhamid II on the other hand, was closely interested in Indian Muslims and created some contact points with them. Through the Ottoman Special Organization and the officers he sent he tried to connect millions of Muslims who were left in an authority gap, and he succeeded in this. When Indian Muslims began to trouble English colonial government, realizing that India which they overindulged had begun to deteriorate, they started to implement soft policies on the Ottoman State and make compassions at some points. The political investments of Abdülhamid II on India did not run into the ground, and they even continued after the Sultan's dethronement. Besides the material contributions of the Muslims in that region to national struggle, the friendly relationship between Pakistan and today's Turkish Republic has the roots in these politics. (Turgut, 1995: 164)

The most critical issue concerning the Indian Muslims was that they were quite loyal to Ottoman caliphate. According to Young Turk press, Indian Muslims were over adherent to the Ottoman caliphate:

"It is said that there are almost sixty million Muslims in India and its subordinates. Yet, as in Egypt they are also not informed about the conditions of the Ottomans, except for what is written exaggeratedly by an immoral liar mass who bleeds the Ottoman poor and whose sect is ambiguous. Indian Muslims read about the official news of the palace in the leased newspapers. Every prosperity and wellbeing is attributed to the belief of his splendor. While this belief is quite meaningless, it is also detrimental for the Muslims of both states. Although Indian Muslims are more daydreamer than Egyptians, somehow most of them feel the necessity for the perpetuity of Turkish state. Yet, the Ottoman state suffers under unprecedented oppression and tyranny of the civilized states and takes pleasure from this. Therefore, Indian Muslims consider the Ottomans, who lose power materially and morally and who are now very close to a total collapse, as developed and fortunate only by virtue of

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claim that the caliphate does not only belong to the Quraysh community, but it also belongs to Al-i Muhammed, in other words to Hashemites and the members of the Shi'i denomination support this idea. Third; the idea that all the Muslims can be a caliph based on the hadith of the prophet "Even if the leader is a slave Habesha obey him". This thought mostly belongs to the members of Externals and Mu'tezile denomination. The English hegemony which dominated India supported the first idea among them and supported the followers of that. (Bayur, 1987: 500)

the civilized states. They do not about truth and spirit. For instance, when it is called caliph for someone they regard him like four great caliphs."[219]

The hostility of Young Turks towards Abdülhamid II was so great that sometimes they supported the English against him:

"England that claimed to make the greatest favor to Turkey by chasing Hamid is benightedly regarded as our greatest enemy since it expelled treacherous Hamid! Now Hamid begs for money from the Muslims under the rule of England. Yet this year India suffered from famine and poverty. He could not contrive to send the one percent of the money he spends for spies to the poor of that country. Can we pay attention to the words of this stupid anymore? Would they support the miserable promises? Who would take refuge in the ominous protection of the owl of Yıldız?"[220]

Nevertheless, even though they had a great hatred for Abdülhamid II, most Young Turks took it as their duty to protect Abdülhamid II and Muslim Indians against the English. *"Yes, Indian Muslims they have an absolute loyalty for the office of caliphate. Because we certainly know that in case Ottoman government reveals tiniest weakness, English threat emerges. Also, England would never wish the dependence of Indian Muslims on the office of caliphate. Even, England offered us a kingdom. It says us that "if you wish I create an autonomous kingdom for you. The king shall be someone among you and I leave totally. Yet you should break your connection and dependence with the Ottoman government. After all, it is meaningless because the caliphate is in Yemen. You should be committed to Europe." England always tries to disseminate this opinion. This is the policy it follows."* (Quoting from Sebil-ur Reşad; Volume: 2-4, issue: 28 page: 39, Turgut, 1995: 150)

On the other hand, Indian Muslims always did all they could do to help the Ottoman state. On this issue they generally made two sorts of attempts: Founding various fraternities to receive help and asking from the queen of England and English government to support and help the Ottoman state by sending letters to them.[221] (Çetinsaya, 1988: 36)

Beyond all these however, according to Young Turks, it was neither true nor possible or realistic to expect anything from the Indian Muslims. It was not true because in present

[219] Unsigned, Ehl-i İslamla Türkiye ve Almanya, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 30, p. 2 year 2, 30 January 1899.
[220] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:23 Year: 1 p.1-3, 28 June 1897, Mukiyese-i Akl u cehl
[221] It was seen that Hindus also participated in these activities for various reasons. (Çetinsaya, 1988: 96)

conditions Indian Muslims tried to help also other Islamic states, besides staying closer to the Ottomans because of the caliphate, they could not hope anything more than practicing their religion freely. It was not possible because besides the fact that the Ottomans did not have a proper ship to surge soldiers or send help to India when needed, it was also obvious that even if they were freed of the English, they would come into the hands of Russia. Moreover, Indian Muslims were not able to do more than helping financially or sending letter since they were struggling for their life. It was not realistic because even in the time of Kanuni, Ottomans could not help Indian Muslims against Portuguese, and then it was unreasonable to help either from the sea or land:

"The Sunnis of the Muslims of India that we could rely upon most is a helpless mass only praying for our favor. They have religious strength. Yet, they do not have a tendency and eagerness for war and fight. According to the statements of the ones who know them well, in general they are more undeveloped than Egyptians. While we hope for help from the Egyptians whose political life depends on us, could we expect for help from Indians? The religious authorities and notables of the Indian Muslims do not consult anyone about politics. Since they do not see English rule oppositional for their religious issues, they keep silent and do their business. The evidence for their acceptance of their condition is that around ninety thousand English can handle the whole India. Indians do not hope anything more than being free in religion and this is excellent in their country. Some of them support us as we are Muslims and they consider the best for us. As they consider the best for us, they also do for Bukhara, Zanzibar, Marrakech, Iran and other Muslim states. Everyone could pray for the caliph they wish. Indian Muslims financially helped us by collecting money and encouraging the good. They also do not begrudge helping other Muslims if they could. Even if there are some little Muslim governments under the rule of the English they have almost no contact with us. Last year some of us saw Ebubekir Khan who visited Istanbul while traveling. Nevertheless, there is no one who has seen the others.

The Muslims in the north India are quite courageous. The insurrection of some communities derives from the idea of independence and the provocations of foreigners. Besides the fact that they do not consider subordinating or helping to us, it is also not possible for these to be actualized. Other than the distance in between, everyone knows about the political atmosphere and subjection. The hope for benefiting from the insurrection of that community is quite vague. The fact that the Amir of Afghanistan, Abdurrahman, who is

prudent in his businesses and who is aware of the civilized conditions, is not in contact with the abovementioned community is good evidence showing that things do not go right. Even if Indians revolt by supporting us and expel the English from their countries, beyond any doubt they will be invaded by Russians. Because it is known that also in the past they lived under an oppressive regime. Could we help Indian Muslims who asked for our help even in the period of Kanuni when we had our most powerful times and when we were dominating ostensibly? Among pashas who went to help them, some gained a poor reputation and some acquired a considerable wealth. The state did not gain anything. The Indian Muslims, who could not resist the Portuguese government and asked for our help back then, cannot do anything more than praying for the Ottoman State that was the least powerful among the great states and did not have a proper ship despite the fact that English and Russians and all other greedy states have an eye on their country. Although other Islamic states have good remarks about us, it is because Mecca and Medina belong to us. Even if the Indian Muslims from various distant states wish to help us, is it possible for them to unite by communicating with each other and affirming a decision in this direction?

In case they unite in this respect, with what reason and from whom we would be given a helping hand? It is apparent that there is no possibility for this either over land or sea. How could we fulfill our duty of helping Indians, when we need to win over the Christians who would attack us all together due to the holy war that we will declare? Could our highway and marine dispatches endure hardships of such a divine command? Until now this kind of thing has not occurred and how could the possibility of this be now imagined?"[222]

In Young Turk newspapers, various articles were published on Islam in Japan, and especially on the committee which was sent there by Abdülhamid II. Japan had already aroused Islamic states' attention as they were among the powerful and prestigious states of the time despite not being Christian.[223]

"Japans are attempting to survey the aftermath of Islam. For this they form scholarly committees and communities. We knew that an individual among Chinese scholars called

[222] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 11, Year:2 p.3-4, 28 March 1898, From the article ittihad-ı İslam (mabad)
[223] While even in today's global and mass media newspapers do not much mention about the Muslims in the other countries, it is striking that in the less Islamic newspaper of the period, İçtihad world's Muslims took that much place.

Hasan deals with Islamic publications and even he published a religious book[224] *on this issue."*[225]

According to this, in the abovementioned Asia, seventy five million around India, in China and Indian China sixty million, in Malaysia and Oceania fifty million[226], and in total there were about five million Muslims. (Celal Nuri, İttihad-ı İslam: 128) In Young Turk press, particularly India had a wide coverage. Also for their cordiality and sensitivity on the devotion to the caliphate and for their high population, they deserved more attention.

6.4. Arabs

The black stone of the shining Islamic unity, which is our felicity of Kaaba, is the honorable Kaaba and the pearlescence of it is the tomb of the prophet. The honorable Mecca is the Arab peninsula. The shining civilization of Medina is the Ottoman State.[227]

Bediüzzaman Said Nursi

The Arab world, North Africa, Egypt, Arab Peninsula Syria and Iraq being in the first place, was under the Ottoman rule for over four hundred years and Arabs both continued their existence in a relatively free structure and they also occupied an important place in the Ottoman central administration. The Ottoman Empire protected the Arab world and Islam from the foreign attacks for almost four hundred years and granted Arab provinces considerable autonomy.

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's comment on Arabia which states *"The actual Arabia is composed of Yemen and Hedjaz provinces, yet with the spirit of unity brought by Islam, the praiseworthy Arabic nation effused out of the Arab peninsula in order to glorify the name of God and made many countries Arabia such as Egypt, Damascus and Bagdad"*[228] claims that this region had boundaries beyond the geographical boundaries.

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[224] Abdullah Cevdet, Japonya'da Müslümanlık, İctihad, p. 167, April 1906, No: 11, year 1.

[225] In the same source, a similar leverage of Islamization is mentioned for the Indian Muslims: "This movement is quite influential in India. In the quarrel between Muslims and Budists, Muslim scholars always win. Budists give up.

It is heralded that a Muslim woman in India gave an Islamic school one hundred ruble. Would that be an object lesson to the millioner princes and princeses."

[226] Unfortunately however, in Young Turk newspapers we could not find much on this region where there were many Muslims.

[227] http://www.ittihad.com.tr/index.php?Itemid=30&id=27&option=com_content&task=view quotation 29 December 2010.

[228] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa; Cevdet **Paşa** Tarihinden Seçmeler, MEB, İstanbul, l994, p. 131

Indeed, the fact that the prophet Muhammed himself was from Arabia provided Arabs a privileged position before Muslims. Although Islam forbid every kind of racism and commands that superiority comes only with devotion, and even if the prophecy does not pass anyone through lineage, culturally, the titles like *seydi* and *şerif* which are given to the prophet's descendants, still prevail with the honor of sharing this exclusive blood and all Arabs more or less receive a share from this pride. Nevertheless, this by no means puts Arabs in a privileged position before either God or Muslims.

The fact that prophet Muhammed was born and lived in Arab lands and they had the holy lands that every Muslim who can afford it is obliged to make pilgrimage there, is very crucial both economically and politically. Particularly during the time when the caliphate was in effect, these lands had immense value in terms of caliphate and Islamic unity, since having the office of caliphate was only possible with dominating these lands.[229]

Therefore, it is possible to come across articles from time to time which state that Hedjaz[230] was even more significant from Istanbul and the straits that were the most valuable properties of the state:

"From the Ottoman sultanate's point of view, Hedjaz is hundred times more significant than the straits. The Ottoman State has two capital cities: Istanbul and honorable Mecca. For that matter, in case the Sultan leaves Dolmabahçe and resides and rules in Mecca, I believe that his dignity and rank would be raised ten times more." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 313)

Hence, for the colonialist states which were aware of the possible hazards that Ottomans and caliphate could pose, this region was a center of attention and in various ways they tried to separate Arabs from the Ottoman State and to rule themselves.

[229] At this point, we should note that the Ottoman Sultans saw themselves not as the ruler of Kaabah but as the servant of it. When Yavuz Sultan Selim Khan conquered Egypt in 1516 and the caliphate passed from the Abbasids to the Ottomans, when the friday prayer was being performed the imam he said Hakim'ül harameynişşerifeyn (the ruler of Mecca and Medina). Yavuz Sultan Selim immediately raised and said "Imam Efendi, do not say hakim'ül harameynişşşerifeyn, instead say Hadim'ül harameyn (the servant of Mecca and Medina)". What he said was very well received by Muslims.

[230] The Hedjaz province was composed of Mecca, Medina, Jeddah and other towns depended to them and surrounded from the east by Necid, from the West by the Red Sea, from the South by the Asir Sanjak and from the North by the Jerrusalem Sanjak, el-Ariş and Akabe guards. KURŞUN, Zekeriya: (1998), Necid ve Ahsa'da Osmanlı Hakimiyeti:Vehhabi hareketi ve Suud Devletinin Ortaya Çıkışı, TTK Yayını, Ankara, p.437.

Before that, after Yavuz Selim took Arabia under Ottomans' rule, a governor was appointed in Jeddah and from time to time garrisons were purveyed in Mecca, Medina, and Jeddah and in some other small cities. Nevertheless, in Jeddah the Ottoman power had been decentralized and the local authorities could always act quite independently. So that, from Istanbul to Mecca and Medina a state officer was sent very rarely and except for the cases that could jeopardize the stability in the region, the state did not much intervene in the autonomy of the emirs. (Çiçek, 2007:8)

Nevertheless, the Ottoman hegemony should be examined as two periods in terms of the administration policies in the region adopted by the Ottoman state. The first period is the one that the Ottoman State was politically and administratively powerful. In this period, as the Ottoman administrative system had a decentralized structure, the Ottoman hegemony in the region was mostly symbolic and the power of the central administration was not felt much. The second period begins when the Ottomans started to decline and the region was attracted more attention from the European powers. Within this period, the Ottomans tended more to adopt centralization policies in the region with the influence of both the attention of Europeans and the reforms introduced by taking the nation-state system of the west as a model. (Çiçek, 2007: 5)

This second period was a hard period in every respect for the Ottoman State in all its territories. Arab peoples' movements for independence[231], which began before Abdülhamid II's time and continued during his reign and which were facilitated by the support and protection of the European powers, took place in Egypt and especially in Syria that separated first, and also in the regions such as Lebanon, Hedjaz, Yemen and Iraq.[232] These movements which emerged with the aims of establishing an independent Arab state and the Arabic caliphate were also caused by the facts that the Ottoman State continuously lost territory and as in the example of Egypt, European powers began to invade Muslim lands. (Doğan, 2006: 38)

[231] For a more detailed information on the Arab nationalism see: Tufan Buzpınar, "Arap Milliyetçiliğinin Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gelişim Süreci", Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi, volume: 2, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 1999; Justin McCarthy, Osmanlı'ya Veda, İmparatorluk Çökerken Osmanlı Halkları, Etkileşim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006.

[232] The idea of Arab nationalism first emerged among Christian Arabs. The missionary schools which were established by 1728 and activated by 1860s by the great Powers that increased their activities throughout the nineteenth century wereeffective in this. Through these schools, western ideas spreaded among the people of the region and close relations were established with the West.

In a period of provocations and rebellions, a great deal of effort was devoted in order to keep Arabs within the state and prominent statesmen such as Ziya Pasha (1877), Cevdet Pasha (1878) and Mithat Pasha (1879-1881), who were known as reformists, were designated to this region as governors. As a result of this and similar policies, particularly during the reign of Abdülhamid II, it could be said that Arabs adopted more positive attitudes towards the state.[233] The policy of Islamic unity, which was applied with the personal effort of the Sultan, ensured Arabs' dependence to the Ottoman State which they considered as the symbol of both the caliphate and Islam. Therefore, the Arabist movement, which at the end would have evolved to Arab nationalism and separatist movements with the attempts of Christian Arabs, could not gain the expected support of Muslim Arabs in this period.

Abdülhamid II took the responsibility on the issues concerning the Arabs and all those issues were dealt with from Yıldız Palace. Arab Pashas were appointed to high positions and the "Sheikh Group" that was composed of Sheikh Ebul Huda, Sheikh Muhammed Zafir of Medina, and Sheikh Esat from Yıldız Palace and of Cemaleddin Afgani who came and went sometimes, convinced Sultan Abdülhamid II that the policy of Islamic unity is valid and it should be continued to be followed. (Quoting from Berkes, 2002: Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma, Bilgenoğlu, 2006: 335)

No spending for this cause was a waste and as it is seen in the example below it received support:

"The grand Kaaba should be improved in a degree that worthy of a capital city of the state having almost three million subjects. The most important Islamic institutions and most essential publications should be found there." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 314)

Although there are some controversies about the population of Arabia at that period, this confusion stems from the difficulties and errors of censuses, rather than being intentional or political. Ahmet Raşit Efendi; drew a table in his work which shows the administrative divisions of the region by year 1291 (1875). Here, districts and townships are also demonstrated. In the table, the population of Arabia was shown as:

[233] Indeed Arab nationalism did not want a total separation from the beginning, it rather wanted equality and authonomy. For instance, Butrus al-Bostani, an interesting leader of the Arab nationalism, embraced Ottomanism; because in Syria where divided into religions, Ottomanism seemed that it was going to bring about the unity of Syria. (Quoting from Albert Hourani., The Emergence of Modern Middle East, .London, Macmillan 1981. P. 125, Taşkesenlioğlu,2006: 41.

Yemen and Asir	2.202.150
South Arabia (hadramavt)	1.550.000
Arabia (Oman and Maskat)	1.350.000
Necd Region (Bahrain)	2.350.000
Hedjaz and surroundings	3.250.000
Total	**10.702.150**

Moreover, he commented that: *"A part of Arabia is far from settlement and is desert, as it is around residential and built-up districts; the geographers estimated the population as twelve million. Nevertheless, when I (poor) was around Yemen and Hedjaz, I investigated the population of many communities while going around and as I recorded accurately, we estimate that the overall population of Arabia is between ten million and eleven million. If there is an exaggeration in our estimation, it would not be less than nine million."* (Turgut, 1995: 68-9)

There are many controversies on these numbers. For instance, the population of Hedjaz province that was three million as it is seen in the table above was one million according to Celal Nuri; for Hilmi Pasha it was six million and it was three million according to Tevfik Beyefendi who was in charge in the governorship there. Celal Nuri reaches the number 17.500.000 for the total population of Arabs in West Asia by adding the number of Arabs such as in Syria as 3.500.000, in Palestine as 500.000 and in Arab Iraq as 2.000.000.

Almost one million of this seventeen and a half million are non-Muslims, and the other one million and maybe a little more that it are Zeydis. If we calculate the numbers of Druses and Mütevalis and subtract two and a half million from this sum, we get fifteen million Sunni Arabs in Asia. At least twelve million of them were Ottoman subjects. (Celal Nuri, 1912: 82)

Young Turks also concerned themselves with the issue of the Arab world, although not as much as Abdülhamid II. There is a contradiction however, in the relation between Young Turks and Arabs. On the one hand, there were the Ottomanists who wished to continue their existence within the Ottoman integrity and who looked western powers with suspicion and they predominated in that period. On the other hand, there were Arabists, who were closer to the European powers with the influence of missionaries and who were concerned with the exclusive rights and privileges of the Arabs. (Doğan, 2006: 47)

The Committee of Union and Progressed wished to stay in contact with those Ottomanist Arabs and to increase its effectiveness in the Arab regions by opening party buildings in Syria[234] and Cairo:

"The idea of nationalism emerged during the elections of some deputies who are members of the noble Arab community. Under the unity of Islam, as all the Muslims act as a whole in all businesses and situations, they form Islam. Politically staying together under the magnificent name of Ottoman and it is already a duty not to suggest the idea of independent nation as a malady. Religiously, we would like to be certain that for the reason of being connected to Islam, our deputies will not try to reverse with all their effort the idea of unity." (İttihad-ı İslam, no.3: 8*)*

Besides these, there were some committees established between Young Turks and Arabs. Some Arabs like Reşid Rıza and Refik el-Azm and Young Turk members like Abdullah Cevdet united in 1897 under Ottoman Consultation Committee (Osmanlı İstişare Cemiyeti) and carried on their activities more influentially. There were some other similar committees founded again in these dates:

"With the aim of saving and developing the Ottoman State that is the center of Islam, some zealous Arabs who strive devotedly here and abroad and work for the publications of free Turks decided to establish a committee of Arabs. The caliphate of Yıldız, with the concern (!) of Arabs, made the Arab notables who stayed as hostage in prisons and in exile, the target of the oppression and venality as their activities aroused hatred and a feeling of vengeance in society. Therefore, the main committee of Arabs has been established this time in Paris and together with the Turkish brothers, four members also from them got into the parliament so as to work in cooperation. As a result of the negotiations, five articles were agreed on as the main duties and they are as follows:

1. *Protecting the all Arab race without making madhab discriminations*

2. *With the subject hood of the Arab nation under Ottomans, applying the whole basic law in the central caliphate*

[234] Like the issue of Syria, Egypt caused serious trouble in the last period of the Ottoman State. The issue is examined widely in the articles titled "Letters of Syria". It is told in these articles that the western Powers try to expel the Ottomans from those lands and provoke people for rebellion. Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Suriye Mektupları (3), No: 119, Date 20 July 1907, p. 2.

3. *Complete equality among the subjects*

4. *Implementing the necessary reforms in an appropriate way*

5. *Maintaining independent economy in Arab provinces and appointing the deputy governors from sons of Arabs.*

Now, we will conduct necessary negotiations with the Muslim brothers in London by sending to members there from the above-mentioned committee. In addition, in Egypt two daily newspapers will be established in Arabic and French and the first one will be "el-menşei arap". Inquiries would be conduct and opinions would be stated in the following issues."[235]

After 1908 however, the fact that the Committee of Union and Progress turned to adopt more centralist policies to a large extent brought about the end of the alliance between the Arabs and the Committee of Union and Progress.

In the Young Turk press, Arabs were mostly mentioned about the insurrections they led with the influence of provocations, the conditions told in the letters and about the criticisms voiced against Abdülhamid II's activities in the Arab world.[236]

The insurrections, either led with the justifiable reasons or not, and which were mostly launched with the provocations of the western powers, brought about the end of a state that was having a difficult period and was struggling for existence:

"I would not consider that necessary, as the manners of Arabs are royal and divine. Such that, since the people here are mostly hungry and naked and have not got accustomed to civilization, they do not hesitate to tend the side they see much money."[237]

They were mentioned about the letters they sent and with those letters it was possible to be aware of that region and understand their conditions. For instance, in a letter sent from Jerusalem, it is broadly told that the foreigners in the Ottoman State immediately begin disparaging the Ottomans as they go abroad; the Turks on the other hand, indirectly take the

[235] Seen in the "Cemiyet-i Arabiye" newspapers, Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, No: 1 p. 8, 21 December 1896.
[236] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Arap İsyanı, No: 79, 18 July 1905, p. 2.
[237] Unsigned, Yemen ahvalinden bahis layihanın mabadi, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 24, p. 3, year 2, 8 September 1898

blames that were placed upon them by staying silent; what means to be a citizen within this context and the necessity of this in an Ottomanist context.[238]

Besides this, with the information coming from various parts of the Ottoman lands, sensitivities were tried to be kept strong and the society was called to react if needed in some way or another. One of those accounts was the one which informs that two hundred and fifty soldiers of around eight hundred who were sent to Suez were extremely sick and they were all barefooted in miserable condition.[239]

Indeed, the number of those eight hundred soldiers is quite symbolic; [240] because the Yemen region, especially due to the Zeydi madhab understanding, was among the regions that troubled the Ottoman State in its last period. For the protection of Yemen, which had a strategic significance for not losing the Hedjaz region, the state struggled very hard. Against the insurrections which were increasingly continuing during Abdülhamid II's time, the Sultan put a great effort to Sunnitize the society and he took advantage of some influential people on this purpose. In the other Arab region however, although Abülhamid II's Islamic unity policies had a calming effect, as most of the Zeydi Yemenis did not recognize any other imams than their own[241], they did not pay much attention to the Sunni caliph.

"In Yemen, the Zeydi community was rebelling against oppression. Since the oppression of the officers and soldiers on the people was gradually increasing, it is assured that until all the communities are destroyed, they are determined to strive against the Turks. According to the news coming from Yemen, the rebels around Gafl completely destroyed a battalion from the Ottoman army. They also forced Marshal Abdullah Pasha with his soldiers to withdraw to "Sinai". The poor Yemenis became hostile towards their coreligionists because of power, distance, oppression and transgression. If the great government had justice and devotion, such insurrections and disorder would not occur in any of the

[238] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Vatandaşlık, No: 45, Date 1 Zi'l-ka'de 1321 Tuesday, 19 January 1904, p. 2.
[239] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Şuûnât, No: 84, 14 October 1905, p. 3.
[240] In the existing conditions, sending soldiers to Yemen was quite hard. The sources recorded that soldiers waited for months for ship in Iskenderun and arrived Yemen very exhausted. (Quoting from Tanrıkut, Hatipoğlu, 2004: 60) The Yemen folk songs that the soldiers sang, are still listened today. (For some examples and detailed information on Yemen insurrections see: Hatipoğlu, 2004: ek 1)
[241] At this point, Vahabbi movement was another issue which troubled the Ottoman State in the Arab lands for a long time and which of course served the purpose of the European Powers. Vahhabis believed that only the Arabs could turn Islam to its essential purity, by claiming that the Turks accepted Islam later and therefore they are not familiar to it and they caused Islam to lose it purity. For Vahabbis, the real Islam was in the period of the prophet Muhammed; the only nation that could continue and maintain Islam is Arabs. So, like Zeydis, Vahhabis protested the Ottoman hegemony and caliphate of the Ottoman Sultan. (Doğan, 2006: 17)

provinces. The caliph Abdülhamid II Khan says with his evil language that "Let me suck in you and you would pray"[242]

Within this turmoil, while the Ottoman administration called Yemenis to obey the caliph with verses of Quran and hadiths, with some other verses and hadiths, Zeydi imams called people for jihad against the Ottoman state. The precautions like asking from the officials it sent to wear religious clothes to ingratiate themselves or appointing faithful officials were not enough to put down the insurrections in Yemen. Moreover, instead of the Turkish soldiers who were killed by the locals with the provocations of imams, they founded a military unit named "hamidiye" composed of locals, and by establishing the 7th Army here, they appointed the shrewdest pashas here. On the other hand, the sources show that between 1869 and 1905, one million Anatolians martyrized in Yemen. (Quoting from İctihad, issue: 139, Hatipoğlu, 2004: 53-54)

The tragic situation of those soldiers had a wide coverage in the Young Turk press. The news on Young Turk newspapers were mostly as follows: The soldiers sent to **Yemen** were in a worse condition than servants[243], the Yemen province was almost destroyed and in a very bad condition[244], the Arabs in Yemen rebelled because of this turmoil, and the English took advantage of this and what kind of tricks they try[245], the Bedouins invaded central provinces, especially with the help of the English[246], the fact that the Ottomans should take precautions[247], the situation was getting worse and thousands of soldiers did not come back[248], the martyrdom of five thousand soldiers and that destruction increases gradually[249]. On the other hand, as the Young Turks were already filled with the feeling of hostility towards the Sultan, they approached Yemen and Yemenis with an Ottomanist manner and with an endless helpfulness, rather than enmity:

"...I saw an article, to be honest I could not believe my eyes, while mentioning about the Yemen case, it says that that many soldiers and ammunition should be sent in order to put down the Yemen insurrection and things meaning that the Arabs should be overpowered.

[242] Unsigned, Dur kanını içeyim sen de dua et, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 37, p. 7, year 2, 2 May 1899.
[243] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mekâtib, No: 92, 25 April 1906, p. 2.
[244] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mekâtib, No: 91, 9 April 1906, p. 3.
[245] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Yemen Meselesi, No: 117, Date 1 July 1907, p. 4.
[246] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Hilafet ve Yemen, No: 80, 16 August 1905, p. 3.
[247] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Yemen, No: 78, Tuesday 4 July 1905, p. 1.
[248] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Yemen Meselesi, No: 120-121, 1 September 1907, p. 1.
[249] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, 5000 Askerin Şehâdeti, No: 116, 15 June 1907, p. 8.

What a meaningless idea, before everything we should send justice and the light of knowledge there. What could we do without these? We should not forget the cruelty that we inflicted there. We shall think consolingly."[250]

"This place is governed by the most powerful and fair officers, so that there would not be a possibility for insurrection and the plans of the foreigners would not answer the purpose."[251]

"In these days, four thousand of the Yemeni Muslims who rebelled against the oppression of the government and two thousand of the state soldiers were killed in a bloody battle. The population in Turkey diminishes in this way. The country is being destroyed, within twenty three years the number of the soldiers who died because of the insurrections and illnesses is over sixty thousand. The number of the people who died because of the insurrection is a few times more than the above-mentioned number."[252]

Other than Yemen, another Arab land that was focused on was the first lost Arab land: the fertile Egypt:

"The Egypt region has been completely and de facto separated from the Ottoman Sultanate. As in this article, we do not wish to mention about the political relationship between them, we would not attack it more than this. If wanted, maybe we would include it so that the wise people compare and understand the real conditions of the two. The expansion of the Ottoman Sultanate or in other words the Well Protected Domain is one million one hundred and forty thousand square kilometer. Europe is (61) thousand square kilometer, Asia is (688) thousand and Africa is (398) thousand square kilometer. Moreover, the extension the Egypt region out of the provinces of Sudan is (400) thousand square kilometer. The real extension, in other words the part that is inhabited is less than (13) thousand square kilometer. That is to say, the Egypt region is almost equal to one eighty eighth of the Ottoman State. The number of the inhabitants of the Ottoman provinces however, is not known. It is because the state began taking a census in 1885, it has not completed it yet. Therefore, the scholars have disagreement about designating the number; some says that it is less than twenty million. Some of them believes that it is twenty seven million six hundred and eighty

[250] Unsigned, Yemen'e dair, From a private letter, September 1907, No: 4, p. 266, year 2.
[251] Unsigned, Kanun-i esasi, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 16, year 1, 12 April 1897, p. 3
[252] Unsigned, Yemen: 4bin artı 2000 eşittir 6bin Müslüman, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 29, p.3, 23 January 1899, year 2.

eight thousand. Here, with some reasons not be mentioned here, according to us the number is not more than (22) million. (4 2/4) million of it is in Europe, (16 ¼) of it in Asia and one million of it in Africa. The census shows that the number of the inhabitants of the Egypt region is (9) million. The Egypt region which is the eighty eighth of the Ottoman State feeds more than double of it. I suppose that the reason of this great difference between the extensions and the populations of the two is the endless deserts of the Ottoman State. Indeed, even if there are deserts in the Arab peninsula, it is not that much in its territories. When we look at its past, we see that the above-mentioned state had fed the double of the present number. The fertile and isolated deserts around Turkey in our century were developed states in the past which comprised many cities, towns and high populations. Even, it would be similar today to the agriculture, development and prosperity of the provinces of Egypt."[253]

From Young Turks' point of view, losing Egypt was undoubtedly Abdülhamid II's fault. Even Sultan Selim, who brought two million Muslims under the caliphate, did not attempt to argue for the caliphate or did not tire the world with his claims on caliphate as much as Abdülhamid II who gave Egypt:

"Abdülhamid II brought the caliphate, which has its perpetuity from God, its life from justice and its supremacy from the duty of protecting Mecca and Medina, to the Roman emperors' claims on divinity. Yet, and unfortunately, this nonsensical claim of the caliphate could prevent neither the oppression and destruction, nor the loss of Egypt."[254]

Besides this, even though Egypt was lost, the connection with it was important both for the Islamic unity and the Egyptians' endless love towards the Ottomans:

"The money that is collected for the aid of soldiers in Egypt is almost forty thousand liras"[255]

"The whole Islamic world is grateful for Egypt's exhibition of its seriousness on connection and love to our state that is the center of Islamic unity."(İttihad-ı İslam, no.2: 5)

The last point that should be mentioned about this issue is Arabic. In the Young Turk press, it was possible to read articles both on the necessity of the education in Arabic and that

[253] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 22, Year: 1 p.4-7, 14 June 1897 (E's-Saltanatu'l- Osmaniye ve'I-Kutru'I-Mısri).
[254] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mısır ve Mısırlılar, No: 32, Date 15 Rebî-ül-âhır 1321 Saturday 11 June 1903, s.1.
[255] Unsigned, Havadis, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 16, p. 4, year 1, 12 April 1897.

we were doomed to it. In the articles arguing the unifying power of Arabic on the Islamic world, the deficiencies in teaching Arabic, which is the language of the religion, were emphasized:

"It is regretted that today Arabic is not cared much. Especially, the neglect of the Ottoman government cannot be forgiven in any case. If Turkish is the language of politics in the Islamic world, Arabic is the language of religion. Both Turkish and Arabic necessitate an official protection. Even though the teaching of Arabic is obligatory in our schools, because of the inefficiency of the methods and the incapacity of the teachers we do not get favorable results. Moreover, the students who had education for twenty years by sitting on heels cannot even four lines in Arabic.[256] *In order to keep the color of our Islam, we should practically teach Arabic. Since it is the common language of every Muslim we are obliged to put emphasis on teaching it as needed. Only with the generalization of Arabic Muslims will get closer. Muslim brotherhood comes about by speaking one language with brothers. Like this, the government should take Arabic literary texts under protection. These are very important tools for it."*(Celal Nuri, 1912: 72) The same thought is seen in another source as: *"Muslim brotherhood can only be possible by speaking one language among brothers. In their Zionist activities, Jews put the spread of the use of Hebrew to the first place. Therefore, leaving Arabic is an inexcusable and unacceptable fault. Arabic should not remain as an old language only on coins and in prayers. Besides Turkish and Persian, every Muslim should regard Arabic his own language and use it as his mother tongue."* (Celal Nuri, 1912: 72) Sermons also have importance on this issue: *"All the sermons should begin in Arabic but continue in the local language."* (Celal Nuri, 1912: 320)

Besides this, Young Turks' stance against the neglect of Turkish as opposed to the widespread use of Arabic should be analyzed retrospectively. Although Turkish was the third language that was spoken the most in the world after English and German (Celal Nuri, 1912: 102), internal activities are insufficient: *"Whatever his language, someone who goes to Arabic states learns Arabic, on the other hand a person who comes to our country and stays for 20-30 years cannot learn 20-30 Turkish words."* (Celal Nuri, 1912: 70)

In the 69th issue of the Mizan newspaper, in an article of Abidin Pasha, the use of Arabic in the medial language was addressed based on the discussion between Said Bey and

[256] The fact that "the students should be practically accustomed to speak Arabic and Persian" is also emphasized in some other places. (İttihad-ı İslam, no.2: 8)

Kasım Efendi in the Tarik newspaper. The author who makes comparisons with Europeans, states that Greeks and the French had influenced from Latin, but they began to use their own languages. He emphasizes that although Arabs do not use any language other than their own, the fact that we were influenced a lot by another language is a weird situation: *"While every language in the world, without taking words from Arabic, formed and completed their medical language, is this incapacity only belongs to Turkey? Nevertheless, if all of the terms could not be found in Turkish, then unavoidable they shall take terms preferably from Arabic."*[257]

6.5. Russia

Although for the Europeans the purpose of encountering Ottomans and other Islamic communities was subordination, economic exploitation, subjection and controlling, the encounter of the Turks and the Russians constituted a cruel destruction war against Turkish-Islamic communities in the name of Orthodox Slavs of Russia. Turkish and Islamic communities in Central Asia which were invaded by Russians were militarily subjected to the most merciless massacres in history. As Russians had the advantage of being in the region that is far from the starting point of the Ottoman power and they had the opportunity of attacking the defenseless regions of the Turks, they tried to turn the region to a Russian land by destroying Turkishness and Islam in the Turkish and Islamic lands. (Turgut, 1995: 40)

Tsarist Russia purposed to exploit Turkistan as a safe market for cheap source of raw materials and industrial products. In order to reach its aim, first it built castles and then dispossessed the Turkistani of their properties with annexation. In order to make the policies they followed persistent, besides the obligation of sending Turkish children to the same schools with that of Russian, they placed importance on teaching Turkish dialects with Russian letters in schools and teaching hand crafts rather than positive sciences. (Yılmaz, 2012: 38)

On the other hand, Russians, who, beginning from the Crimean war, suspected about Muslims within their borders, were afraid particularly of the possible success of the Ottoman propaganda. The first precaution taken against this was oppression, but when this had a counter-effect and strengthened the religious feelings they left this method. After this, the Tsar government tried to prevent possible Pan-Islamist activities by establishing private

[257] Abidin Paşa, Mizan, Funun ve Edebiyat, No: 69, 1 November 1888, İstanbul, Issue 69, p. 685-6.

schools and offices. (Landau: 2001: 202) Russian regarded even the simplest cultural or religious demands as a threat for the future of Russia and they believed that Istanbul was behind all the demands of Muslims and in order to fight against this threat;

1. They revealed the Pan-Islamist activities and in order to prevent the revolutionary desires they established a secret agency,

2. By inspecting the Muslim provinces continuously, they kept the teachers and religious men who had a connection with the society under the surveillance,

3. They decided the police department to impose a strict control on Pan-Islamist publishers, every kind of literary work and article. (Quoting from Eraslan, 1992: 339-340, Dündar, 2006: 33)

Nevertheless, the policies they followed for the persistence of their exploitation policies benefited to Muslims and especially to Turks of Russia. The fact that the Turks living in the Tsarist Russia were under political, religious and cultural oppression helped them to acquire their national identity more easily.[258] This was the main reason why the sense of Turkishness first emerged in Tsarist Russia. Within this process, with the support of Abdülhamid II, close contacts were established with Turkistan, some Turkistani governors came to Istanbul, and some officers went to Turkistan. In this period, Istanbul press reached over Turkistan and the efficiency was achieved during the years of National Struggle. (Turgut, 1995: 165)

On the other hand, Muslim intellectuals in Russia, as the leaders of the society, joined the struggle for independence not only intellectually, but also actively. Also, they tried to unite Turkistani people and they were gathered around various units to unionize themselves. İsmail Gaspıraly who applied these ideas best collaborated with the delegate of the Unity of Muslims Party (İttifakü'l Müslimin Partisi), Abdurraşit İbrahimov. This party, the foundation date of which goes back to the period that the movement of Muslim religious men in Russia

[258] Russia, which accepted Islam as the official religion of the Central Asia in 1876, between 1867-1888, during the incumbency of Kaufman who worked as the first Governor General of Turkestan; followed a policy of strenghtening Russia without fighting with Muslim communities.According to this; **the idle Muslim culture would probably dissolve and people will turn by themselves to more developed Russian culture.** In these first years of the Russian hegemony in the Central Asia, the main issues of the government were: maintaining Russia's safety and supressing slavery. This policy of Kaufman which he believed that would result in Russia's favor, while helped Russia's exploitation policy, it also influenced cultural awakening of the Turks. (Turgut, 1995: 39)

was developing, had Tatar, Kazak, Bashkir, Azeri etc. delegates. A. İbrahimov and Yusuf Akçura, founders of the party, heavily contributed to the spread of pan-Islamism and Turkishness in Turkistan. (Yılmaz, 2012: 38)

In that period, Muslim intellectuals of Russia were mentioned about in the newspapers by the Young Turks for setting an example to the society:

"Today we do not see that many real Muslims, community servants or community seigniors among Muslim men. Muslims, we expect men like Zeynel Abidin Tagıyev from you. While we are proud of the existence of Zeynel Abidin Tagıyev, we are quite ashamed by his loneliness and uniqueness. Yet, we are certain of the blessedness of the Turkish blood, so of the future."[259]

Another interesting point about the Muslims of Russia in this period was that the number of Turks living in the Russian Empire was more than the number of Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Even though various different sources give different numbers, according to Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, in Russia where Turks were found the most, in terms of the official statistics there were eighteen and a half million Turks.[260] There were ten-twelve million Turks in the Ottoman State, three million in Azerbaijan, five million in Afghanistan and six-seven million Turks in East Turkistan and the other parts of China. According to this calculation, it means that the number of the Muslim Turks in Europe and Asia was forty million. (Quoting from Salname-i Servet-i Fünun, Akçuraoğlu, Makale, Istanbul, 1327, p. 189-190, Turgut, 1995: 25)

"Muslims in the Russian Empire have five thousand four hundred and eighty three mosques and six hundred and twenty madrasas. Approximately one thousand and a half people are religious officials. In Orenburg province, the muftis of Ufa and Crimea are in the first place of those religious officials. In Tatary, Islam and the followers of Sunnah constitute the most powerful religion."[261]

[259] Doktor Abdullah Cevdet, ihya-i la yemut, İctihad, September 1907, No: 4, p. 269, year 2.
[260] Turks consisted almost 75% of the Muslim population. On the other hand, besides the Turks who became Muslim, there were Christian or Animist Turks like Moldova Gagauz, Volga Chuvashes, Siberia Yakuts and Altais. (Turgut, 1995: 38)
[261] Reinhard Dozy, Tarih-I İslamiyet, Çev.Abdullah Cevdet. Volume: 2, Mısır, 1908, p. 566.

Together with this, among the Turks in Russia, Islam was spreading gradually by having more and more followers and every new precaution that the Russians took against Muslims and regulations were having backlashes and resulted in more major rebellions:

"The religious beliefs of the eight million Russian Muslims (nine million Muslims in Asia are included in this) have awakened, as the beliefs of Muslims in diaspora awakened. Islam has a relatively privileged position in Russia. Even though they were suppressed from time to time, the experience has demonstrated that when the Ula and Volga Tatars who do not obey the state church, are shown as martyrs, they succeed more easily. Then they disturb the religious beliefs of Muslim Kazaks. The same thing was valid for the Kirgiz. These poor Asian nomad communities love Islam more than the Cross. In this way, among the Finish on the Volga coast, Islam is slowly but increasingly having more followers. The religious notables of Islam are demonstrating that they are hardworking, learned and even more magnificent in their appearance and superior in the religious educations than those of Orthodox priests. As in Islamic countries, schools and mosques are administered by the charitable foundations. Traditionally, the positions of judges and teachers are mostly undertaken by civil servants. Only, the highest religious leader was appointed, the Şeyhülislam who resides in Orenburg and the mufti of Crimea, by the state. Russian Muslims enjoy a certain degree of independence among themselves. Yet, the government takes strict precautions against denominations, saints and marabouts. Despite all the oppressions, it is sufficient to know their power of resistance that they keep inside them. These denominations have quite a few members in Caucasians. The insurrection of the Muslim Cherkes in 1886 could only be put down by twelve battalions and fifteen cavalry troops. It cannot be regarded as coincidence."[262]

Young Turk newspapers in this period had not yet differentiated the issue of Muslims in Russia with that of Muslims in other regions. They gave place to their letters, voiced the oppression and the injustice that they were subjected to and organized some aid campaigns for them. Moreover, as they always did, they suggested them to improve themselves within their conditions and to continue their struggle where they are in a peaceful way and with more efficient ways in the long run, instead of trusting Abdülhamid II and relying on the discourses of Islamic unity.

[262] Von Eckard, Deutsche Rundschau, Volume XCVIII; 1899, p. 61-81.

The letters coming from Russia wounds feelings:

"Oh our religious fellows! Are you informed about us, the poor Caucasian Muslims? Open your eyes. Look around you. Learn about the situation of your religious fellows in Caucasia. See what happened to us. …We have lost our sons, ancestors, mothers, fathers and relatives. We have lost our brave boys whom we fed among us. Our houses were plundered and fired. Our blood filled the earth. Hear that the voice of our cries and shouts are very high. Everyone is crying for us. Our eyes have turned blind because of crying. …We offer condolences to heartsick mothers and brothers. The whole world is amazed with this. Nice people offer condolences. We regarded you, our religious fellows, as real men. We did not hear anything from you. Traditionally, when a relative of a Muslim dies, people go and offer him condolences, so that he feels relieved a bit. Yet, we have not seen so far anyone from Muslims offering us condolences. Brothers! Each one of you cannot offer us condolences. You could only do it by helping us. Make an effort. Look at our situation attentively. Collect aid for your brothers. Oh Muslim brothers! Make an effort. We are your religious fellows. Do not forget us. We will not forget you either. We will remember you until death. We became destitute and sacrificed our lives. Cruel Armenians oppressed us. Our domes have been destroyed. The cities were devastated. We do not have anyone except you. Do not forget us. Do whatever you can do for the sake of God.

Oh tears shedding from our eyes.

We lack endurance. We do not have a life. We have been left bloodless. We have been victimized for the sake of religion and nation. Our foreign brothers will not help us? No way! Or they are not informed.

Cry our mothers and fathers, bleed. Shed blood from your saintly eyes. You have lost your sons. You have lost your brothers. We have lost our fathers for whom we suffered trouble. They have sacrificed their lives for the sake of religion. Now, there is no one hiding you. You would be left miserable, bewildered in destitute. Make cry, make cry, raise our voice. We are all heartsick. All of us have lost our sons. Bleed oh Caucasian Muslims."[263]

[263] Kafkas Müslümanları dava vekilleri reisi Hüseyin … Mekatip, İslam kardeşlerimize mektup, aynen, İctihad, April 1906, No: 11, p. 161-162, year 1.

Young Turk newspapers did not ignore these reproaches of Muslims. Especially the subjects in Russia, Russia which made a noise on behalf of the Orthodox in the Ottoman lands and which devastated Balkans, explained with examples how Russia hurt Muslims, examined and cursed the double standards and the immoral enforcements:

"As the ones who kill Muslims are forgiven for a nominal fee, the number of the people who attempt to kill Muslims gradually increases. While the petition of a Russian is put into process immediately, a Muslim who files a complaint of an attack and asks for help for protection is sentenced to imprisonment. To the people who inflict pain on Muslims are openly protected by the government. The Zoroastrian bandits who take courage from this help of the government, attack Muslims' honor and property every day."[264]

As always, this was also Abdülhamid II's fault and if Muslims in Russia were going to blame someone, it should have been him, and he should have been the last person to be appealed:

"You are saying that Muslims are subjected to oppression and humiliation in Russia, and with only saying this you hope for help. Muslims are oppressed and humiliated not because of being Muslim, but because being ignorant and lazy. Do you think that the Muslims in Istanbul where you call the center of caliphate with devotion are less oppressed and humiliated by their so-called Muslim government? It is said that Russian government wants to teach imams and you Turkish. Is this bad? Then you would at least avoid signing the documents you do not know and do not understand. Russian government recruiting soldiers from you and makes them attack on your religious fellows. Does Abdülhamid II, whom you call caliph, not do this? Were the Arabs who were martyrized in Yemen by our soldiers not Muslims? The soldiers who killed them are not Muslims? The commander-in-chief of these soldiers is not the caliph Abdülhamid II? Is the reason of the insurrection of our Arab citizens and coreligionists something else from oppression and hostility? You write that you have sent this letter to the embassies of Germany, America, Austria, England, Italy, Russia, Japan and France. Although you put the verse of Quran "the only task of people is making effort" (Leyse lil insani illa ma Sa'y) to the top of your letter and although you have not made any real effort so far, how come you can hope getting rid of this humiliation? In Russia, the most oppressed nation is Jews. Do you not see that the Jews occupy positions as doctors,

[264] Kazanlı Hacı Ahmed, Rusya Müslümanları, İctihad, No: 4, year 1, p. 6-9, March 1905.

architects, attorneys and deal with industry and trade despite every kind of obstacles and difficulties? There are twenty million Muslims in Russia. How many professors, doctors, company executive and bankers could be found among this twenty million Muslims? Russia even hardly accepts Jewish girls and boys to the secondary schools and universities. Thousand of male and female Jewish students among the Russian subjects are educated in Paris, Berlin, London and Geneva universities. These difficulties and immigration is because they are not accepted in the universities in Petersburg, Moscow and other Russian cities.

Muslims on the other hand, are accepted in all the schools in Russia. Why do you not send their children to school? Things would be different in case you do and send them to Europe and if they return Russia and gain high positions as officers in the government or in private businesses. Stop saying the center of the caliphate, the center of the caliphate! Abdülhamid II has ruined the reputation and the dignity of the caliphate. The main reason of the oppression that all the Muslims were subjected to is Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman Sultans like Abdülhamid II who were despotic and betrayer. If Abdülhamid II were not an enemy of religion and state, Turkey would become a strong civilized Islamic government within twenty eight years. Then, Muslims would create a holy refuge and a higher education center. On the contrary, with his dark period Abdülhamid II has ruined one third of the Ottoman properties. Now, the Sultan of Turkey prostrates himself before the chamberlain of Bulgaria. It is apparent how useless it is to ask for help from someone who has martyrized his brother and his own son. Do not waste your time with sending futile petitions and letters. Our brothers, learn science and make money, it is not possible earning money without science, learning science without money and achieving and preserving independence without these. Muslim subjects of the Muslim governments are more oppressed than the Muslims in Russia. You say that Russia makes the soldiers eat pork. Abdülhamid II causes the Muslim soldiers die of hunger and poverty. With that money he feeds his spies whom he hired for maintaining his tyranny. There is no security and equality anywhere in the Ottoman State. Turk, Armenian, Kurdish, Arab, Greek all kill each other. It is the caliphate of Islam which brings about this disorder and fight. Now we do not have anything out of the reputation of Islam. Crying, sending petitions are useless. According to the latest telegrams received from Russia, today in Caucasus Muslims are in fight with the Armenian citizens. If the ignorance is not the reason for this violence and barbarism, what is it? It is the time of science, industry and trade. Open your eyes look at the Japans, learn science. Learn Turkish, Russian, French and other languages. Teach your children. Conduct businesses, if we stay ignorant as we are

now, our destiny would not be other than downfall and humiliation not only in Russia but in the most independent and just country of the world.

To sum up, you are quite right in some of your demands in your petition that we have read. But you are wrong about the means of obtaining that right.[265]

These kinds of suggestions in the Young Turk newspapers were not rare. According to them, the most despotic country of the word was the Ottoman State and the sultan was Abdülhamid II. Instead of believing in his caliphate and accepting his invitation, Muslims of the world should have taken care of themselves in their regions. Within this context, for prescription, from time to time they even determined detailed and clear road maps. The notice and the work program addressing the Muslims in Russia that was published by the Paris branch of the Committee of Union and Progress on 26 March 1906 as an answer to the letter sent to Ahmet Rıza Bey from Caucasus was as follows:

"1. An effort should be made for the unity of the Muslims at one point in Caucasus and even in whole Russia. Our neighbors Dagestanis and Circassions are brave and warriors. Additionally, they know using arms very well. Apply to the past of these two communities, count one by one the harms that the Armenians, who are the enemy of your religion and insurgent, inflicted not only to the Muslims in Caucasus, but also to the Muslims living within and outside the Ottoman borders by claiming that all of you are Muslims. There is no doubt that Armenians will destabilize the issues of Shi'ism and Sunnism. Seeing the slightest controversy among the denomination, forgetting that insurgent Armenians as nonbelievers are the enemy of Islam and thus far they have condescended to murders and slanders both in Turkey and in Europe and America in order to destroy the Islamic government, one must be deprived of his reasoning with strong understanding and the love for Islam.

2. They should come into contact with the Polish and the Jews and take advantage of them.

3. In every city, parties like Committee of Union and Progress should be established.

4. Supply of money should be attached importance.

[265] Unsigned, ictihad(cevap), İctihad, p.11, March 1905, No. 4, year 1.

5. Rising against the Russian government openly should be avoided for now. Even though Russia is quite busy, it could seriously harm you. In this article it is exactly said that: "For a while, try to hide your hostility towards Russia and especially the issue of patriotism on adherence to Turkey. Notify the Russian government verbally or rather with declarations that you are loyal to the Russian government; you do not have any enmity towards Christianity, in other words you are not in a religious fight, just for protecting your property and honor and only because of the attacks, injustices and murders of Armenians you are in fight with them.

6. Armenians, who are the main obstacle for you to be freed from the Russian oppression, should be weakened; for this purpose, their wealth, which is their main strength, should be attacked.

7. Do not expect anything from Sultan Hamid and his government. Besides not helping you, he might even harm you in order not the idea of independence influence the Ottoman Turks. This government would soon fall, and then the new government would help you." (Quoting from Tüzün, Süleyman, Yakın Dönem Türk Politik Tarihi, Fakülte Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 19, Yılmaz, 2012: 43)

Right after the letter which involved these advices, on 9 April 1907, during the illness of Abdülhamid II, in a letter addressing Caucasians, it was stated that it was necessary to take advantage from this situation and the publications which would open the eyes of the Anatolian people were desired to be distributed within the Ottoman State. Even, it was stated that if there was constitutionalism in Turkey, the state became quite powerful and Caucasian Muslims would benefit from this. It is known that the Turkish-Armenian conflicts in Caucasus were provoked by the Russian government as they could not send sufficient number of soldiers there and according to this the fight of Turks and Armenian, by leaving Russia, was not right. The Paris branch of the Committee of Union and Progress was leading Turks to fight with Armenians rather than Russians as we saw above on the one hand, and uniting with Russians and fight with Armenians on the other. (Yılmaz, 2012: 45) Nevertheless, what they mostly did was advising Muslims in Russia to make use of the education opportunities they had and awakening people about its consequences:

"The Muslims who established their political independence, in other words who do not have a ruler other than their own should know that the real independence is only possible

with science and wealth. Therefore, if there is anything that we ignorant and arrogant Muslims do immediately is leaving arrogance and pride behind and boasting about the glory of the past, and educating ourselves according to the needs of the present day and future. Newspaper, school, library, reading house, theatre and house of correction are the first steps to be taken for liberation. Yet, before opening a school, you should have the will to guarantee the maintenance and the life of that school. Hence, a man who builds a mosque receives bequests for the repair and maintenance of the mosque. For such businesses the ignorance should be left and there are also two conditions; the first one is truthfulness and the second is money. Education! Education! We shout as "book, newspaper, science texts and literature" yet none of these would be acquired without money, therefore we request from the Muslim brothers in Russia that they do not choose industry and trade that are the obstacles of a nation. They shall send their children to Europe, some shall become engineer, some machinist, some civil servant, some farmer and some shall learn printing. After they complete their education in European schools, they would return their countries, set up factories and conduct businesses, and they make profit and become influential. The perpetuity and life of a nation could only be ensured in this way."[266]

It is possible to give more examples on this, but we will examine a last one here and conclude this discussion:

"Although our Muslim and Turkish brothers in Russia are founding and publishing many newspapers with their vigilance, we are expecting more substantial newspapers from them. As we said before and last, the first and last thing that ***Muslims in Russia*** *should* ***do*** *are:*

1. *Generalization of a literary language*
2. *Establishing a commission in every province for producing scientific and literary works which will enrich this language*
3. *Providing waqfs for covering the expenses of the printing for free in the beginning*

[266] Unsigned, Rusya Müslümanları uyanıyor, İctihad, p.130-131, teşrini evvel 1905, year 1, no: 9

4. *Selecting five-ten young people from every province among the outstanding intelligent ones and sending them to England, Germany, America, France, India and Istanbul to be educated on language, literature, science, art, industry and scholarly trade.*

5. *Placing emphasis on the education of algebra in the Muslim towns and neighborhoods… The most essential points for preeminence and civilization that we can think of for now are these. The others would be designated by time, place and local conditions. Our religious fellows in Russia give us fresh hopes. They shall be prosperous. The newspapers Tercüman, Hayat, İrşad and the others which are on the level of progress and vigilance, deserve gratitude."*[267]

Nevertheless, together with these advices, it was also mentioned that the limit was overstepped, being successful through such intellectual means and bloody attacks were required:

"Before focusing on the issue, it should be noted that the one who writes all these is from Russia and he is a Turk who has witnessed Russia's bloody flaming great revolution. He will present the devoted people in Turkey and Russia and the new Russians to the Turks who work for the improvement of their country and nation through publications in Egypt and in the independent countries of Europe under the name of Young Turk, Therefore, as I am a Russian Turk, the Ottoman notables shall not expect an ostentatious language from this text.

Until four years ago, although I was born and raised in Russia, since I could not know who the Russians were, I did not expect anything from the Russians and the Russian nation. As I am a Muslim Turk, like all the Muslims in Russia, I had a religious commitment towards Turkey, the Turks, and especially to the Young Turks, and I expected every kind of effort, courage and sacrifice only from the Turks in Turkey.

I would like to say that unless Young Turks do not change their course of action, unless five-ten thousand devoted people are not sacrificed by leaving fear and cowardliness, unless the people in Anatolia and Rumelia are not led to the right path and encouraged for

[267] Abdullah Cevdet, rusyaya dair, İctihad, p.2-3,no: 12, June 1906, year 1.

rebellion and revolution, they cannot succeed by shouting from Egypt and Europe. This is because the clamors and cries coming from far away cannot be heard from Turkey."[268]

Newspapers told whenever possible that Russians and Armenian attempted to oppress and murder Ottomans and Muslims, they made complaints to public authorities against them and they organized aid campaigns among them:[269]

"Contrary to what is understood from the language and statements of the European newspapers, it is understood from the letters that the order in Russia has not been maintained completely and for instance Muslims are quite oppressed and miserable. Fires on the one hand and bombs and bullets on the other ruined and devastated these poor people. As helping them materially and morally a primary duty for Muslims and humans, we applied to the notables of Egypt in an oral and written way and requested them to open up a charity."[270]

In the newspaper columns, such statements of Young Turks, who made an effort to support their Muslim brothers suffering from the West-Russian oppression, could be read quite often: "Brothers! The future is bright. Islam's period of suffering has ended. Now, we should work for union, progress and development in force. We should forget about hypocrisy, opportunism and cowardice. We should love each other. The columns of our newspaper are open to you. Inform us about the reality of the local situation and events without exaggerating and being impertinent. This desire is a request as it comes from us. Yet, if you appeal to your conscience, you would receive the answer that it is a civic responsibility." (İttihad-ı İslam, no:2: 7)

"Fortune shall be ashamed in destiny, unfortunate men shall be ashamed" but we are not hopeless yet. The fact that most of the Islamic scholars are effortless does not prove that the Islam is totally decayed and depleted. They are the real Muslims.

Oh people who have a slightest effort for Islam and humanity in their hearts, you see that Caucasus is in blood and fire. Armenians and Muslims are murdered. We shall help materially and morally to these miserable people. In Baku, administers of Hayat newspaper

[268] Jöntürk muhibb-i hasan Sabri Ayvazof, Rusya inkılab-ı kebiri, genç Türklere, İctihad, p. 294, No: 5, kanun-i sani 1908, year 2.
[269] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Kafkasya'dan Mektup, No: 103, 1 December 1906, p. 4.
[270] Rusya Müslümanlarımız, Unsigned, İctihad, April 1906, No: 11, p. 161, year 1.

and in Ganja the chiefs of the community of Islamic beneficence, accept and collect the aid and distribute it to the ones who need. In Egypt, the office of İctihad is ready to help."[271]

The aid collected under the title of "aid for Caucasian Muslims" was recorded with the names and amounts:[272]

"In order to help within possibility the children and wives who were left orphan and who were widowed among the Muslims in Caucasus, the ones oppressed and met a disaster lately; we have set an aid budget. As the financial aid received, it will be sent to the post office to Egypt, and as the total money reaches to fifty liras, it will be presented either to the administers of the daily newspaper Hayat which is published in Baku, or to Huseyin Bey who is the deputy in the community of Islamic beneficence in Ganja, as unsent mails. With Islam which commands "Muslims can only be brothers", it is time to prove that we are Muslims.

If there are people among the charitable and compassionate Muslims who do not want the mediation of the office of İctihad ... (an address is given to them)"[273]

Of course, in most of the articles the mistakes made by Abdülhamid II for the Islamic unity, was given a wide coverage. The fact that Abdülhamid II who called the Muslims of the world for jihad, had no worry about the things he would go through in case they came for help, was explained with the calculation of probabilities and with regret:

"In some newspapers such as Gayret which is published in Plovdiv, articles are published claiming that with a call of the office of caliphate, ***Muslims would take up arms for defending religion****. Explaining the peril of that idea is seemed necessary. In case Abdulhamid Khan who says that "I am the caliph" issues a serious or even religious invitation rather than a simple call, who would accept this? First of all, even if Bosnian Muslims would like to accept this invitation, as they are armless, the Austrian government would immediately expels them and puts down the insurrection, and then it would be constrained to put more pressure. In Russia, Muslims are not able to move."*[274]

"There are nearly five million Muslims in Russia. In case they accept the invitation of the caliphate, since they are armless and disorganized what could they do against the regular

[271] Unsigned, ictihad(cevap),İctihad, 158-9, 21 March 1906, No: 10, year: 1.
[272] Unsigned, Kafkasya Müslümanlarına iane, İctihad, p. 24, July 1906 No: 1, year 2.
[273] Unsigned, Uhuvvet-i İslamiye, İctihad, No.12, June 1906, p. 192, year 1.
[274] Unsigned, İttihad-ı İslam yazısının devamı, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 9, year 2, p. 3, 15 March 1898.

and armed army of Russia? With such an acceptation they would get themselves into trouble. They would be oppressed and expelled. We cannot help them. Because with such an invitation of the caliphate we would declare war against the Christian world, we would come under the attack of the whole Christian states besides Russia.

Is there anyone among the Muslims in Russia who could understand the peril of this and explain his religious fellows? Who would allow courting such danger? Most of the Muslims residing in Russia have already abandoned their hopes on us. Most of them are also totally unaware of our situation. All of them got accustomed to Russia. The notables are loyal to the ruler and they are very well informed about our situation. They would not even pay attention to our words like Islam is ending, Islam is declining. As an answer to these noises they would say "If Islam is ending there, it is not ending here. For such a long time we have been under Russian rule. There is no one here intervening our worship. Even though we do not have progress in education, you do not have either. We are more advanced in trade, arts and agriculture than you. Our villages are more developed than your cities. How can you prove that you are better Muslims than us? You have turned us over to Russians with your debauchery. You have not become wiser. Why do we have to work for saving you from the troubles which you made with your debauchery and stupidity? You have filled the world with vain successes and meaningless self-praise. Now you are crying by saying that the caliphate of Islam is declining. You are the reason for this decline not we. Instead of helping us by working appropriately to Sharia and wisdom, you downgraded us with your poor administration. You have become destitute. Now, when there is no hope for success, shall we put our property, honor and lives at risk to save you? Was it to announce the world that the great and the only Islamic state will be ruined after the reputation of the office of caliphate has turned us over to foreigners and brought you decline? Although it was possible to take advantage of the wideness and fertility of your country, and also the intelligence and courage of your people you did not help. Now do you hope to help us with making us hear your heartbreaking clamors? Alas!... they say. And it is reasonable to say this and it is for their benefit. No one takes pleasure from danger. God also commanded abstention from danger. Bukhara is also under the dominance of Russia. Even if it wants, it cannot move even slightly. It cannot take a stand against the Russian army. The emir of Bukhara –if there is anyone believing- follows the path of caliphate. Without taking fewness and idleness of his subjects into account, he considers furthering his cause with the help of Russia. We suppose that people of Bukhara are in good condition, by reading the old books. On the other hand, the

wretches are backward in every financial and moral progress because of the oppression of their government and they fell into ignorance and debauchery. It seems like they are unaware of us. They have no officers in İstanbul. The Ottoman State in addition, has not condescended yet to send an ambassador to Bukhara. And this derives from the opposition on caliphate."[275]

6.6. Africa

In Africa, the Ottoman State conquered first Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli in the North Africa, in the sixteenth century. At the beginning these places were ruled as one province and later as separate provinces. With their present names Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somali, Morocco, East Ethiopia, Niger, Chad, Kenya and Uganda came under the rule of the Ottoman State in different periods. In the nineteenth century, as the English dominated Egypt and began to occupy Sudan, France pervaded East Africa and conquered Algeria and Tunisia in the North Africa, the Ottomans drew back from Africa and Tunisia was occupied by France in 1881 and by England in 1882, Tripoli remained as the only province in Africa that belonged to the Ottoman State. Nevertheless, beginning from 1883, Tripoli began to attract the Italian government and Italians gradually increased their economic and politic power here.

In the sources, it recorded that during the period we study there were seventy nine million Muslims in Africa and most of them were of Arab origin. When we examine the population region to region we see a table as follows: (Celal Nuri, 1992: 88-89)

Egypt (except for the foreigners)	12.500.000
Sudanese Egypt	5.000.000
West Tripoli, Benghazi	1.000.000
Tunisia (except for the foreigners)	1. 500. 000

[275] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: l0 Year:2, p.1-2, 22 March 1898, Ittihad-ı Islam Makalesinden (mabad)

Algeria (except for the foreigners)	5.000. 000
Morocco (nearly)	10. 000. 000
Sahara	5. 000. 000
French Sudan	15. 000. 000
Senegal, Central Sudan, Vadai, Bagirmi etc.	5. 000. 000
Republic of Libya	500. 000
English Sudan, Niger etc.	8. 000. 000
German protectorates of East Cameroon	2. 500. 000
Congo, Kap, Mozambique, Madagascar, German East Africa protectorate, Zanzibar	3. 000. 000
English East Africa protectorate, Uganda etc.	2. 500. 000
Ethiopia and Eritrea etc.	2. 500. 000
Total	**79. 000. 000**

Moreover, with the influence of Senûsî order[276] in this period, Islam was spreading in Africa in a way that it alarmed Europeans. In an article in the New York Sun newspaper from 1 February 1885, it was stated that: *"Islam was spreading quite quickly and strikingly among the locals as the travelers agreed who visited Sahara, North Niger and surroundings; the existence of the Europeans in the black continent was encouraging Islam rather than preventing it, Senûsîs found many followers for Islam, according to the famous traveler Petherick et Schwinfurth, even most of the people in Galla and Somali who did not have any religious feelings so far, were converted to Islam by Senûsîs and they are quite influential in the region from Morocco to Mozambique, and the events in Sudan were directed to them.* "In addition, in the same article ascertained that *"Today, the spread of Islam concerns geographers, anthropologists, and everyone who is interested in Africa's commercial and inner development."* Also, again according to the assessment of New York Sun, *"If Islam is not averted; this will be harmful for the institutions of the whites in Africa"*.

This situation in Africa and the involvement of the European States was being observed especially by the Young Turks who were in exile there and this had a wide coverage in the Young Turk press. (Ünalp, 2010: 17) Mostly, as in the other Islamic regions that were lost, Young Turks, who believed that the Ottoman government's hopes for the Islamic unity would not grow here, and expecting this would be a failure, explained this with the countries one by one, especially in terms of the North African case:

"The Islamic government of Marrakech would not do anything for us. Have we ever asked so far about the condition of this government? Have we sent an ambassador to their capital city? When a man from an uncivilized community a little bit attack a European, the government is forced to pay a high amount of compensation. All the time its acts are intervened. Has the Ottoman government ever considered asking if these interventions and compensations are fair? Yet, it is known by the people who are aware of the secrecy of these acts that as the caliphate litigate; they take pleasure from this disaster. They say that the famous Arabic newspaper "el-Ceva'ib" was closed down since it advised entering into relations with Marrakech. In case the government of Marrakech forgets about the past and attempts to make an alliance and get into a religious war against the Christians, how and from which side they would begin the war? It does not have ships. Even if they had, how

[276] In this period, the most important religious order, the Senusî, aroused attention from both Italians and the Ottoman State; while the Ottoman State saw Senusîs as a powerful element against Italian imperialism, Senusîs desired to use Italians against the French threat. (Ünalp, 2010: 16)

would they dispatch them? In case they found a ship and sent them, they would come across hundreds of Christian battleships. If they move overland, they would need to turn towards east or south. In the east of Marrakech, the armed and regular army of the French is waiting. Before Marrakech arms their irregular communities, French armies would occupy Morocco. Maybe before France, the soldiers of England, Spain or other foreign state would invade the above-mentioned state. If they move to south, where would they find us? Now would the Moroccan Sultan put his country in this obvious jeopardy with the above-mentioned reason? Can this Sultan not consider scrutinizing that?

The Muslims in Algeria and Tunisia[277] *on the other hand, cannot act like the Muslims in Russia. They cannot do anything for our benefit. Does the Ottoman State have any power there that is enough to stand out against Italy which will attack Tripoli or another state? In case Arabs of Tripoli forget about the oppression of our administration and ask for help from the Tunisians with patriotism and in case Tunisians help them, would they be subjected to a strong opposition and banishment by the French? Who would allow a few unarmed Muslim provinces to fight against the grand states?*

Even Muslims in Egypt, who are regarded as the complementary part of the Ottoman State, would not give a quick response to the religious invitation of the caliph. They are armless and powerless as well. Additionally, there are differences of opinion among their notables. Some of them support the Sultan with the hope that he can help expelling the English from Egypt. Nevertheless, it cannot be expected from to help us practically. The ones who do not support the Ottoman State are content with their situation. Their businesses are going well; liberty and security are perfect, they do not afraid from anyone. They are protecting the state.

It is an impossible hard work to put Egyptians in an action of which the result is already known. Their attempt in a work that has a dubious and dangerous result is inconceivable.

The Muslims in ***Sudan*** *are quite confused. Someone with the claim of caliphate ruins his country with oppression and tyranny by gathering a group of ignorant rebels around him.*

[277] France was encouraged by Bismark to go to Tunusia in 1878, in Berlin Congress. The intention of the German prime minister was to occupy France far away. England on the other hand, offered Tunusia to France in or der to make them accept the Istanbul Treaty about Cyprus. (Bayur, 1987: 26)

Egypt wants to stand against the trouble of the English soldiers without artillery and arms, only with prayers and cause. Sudan is almost invaded. Our caliph on the other hand, cannot even dare to ask about what is happening there. He is more confused than the caliph of Sudan. Zanzibar is being occupied by the English and the German. The Sultan of Zanzibar is obtaining the title of caliph. Yet, our caliph does not approve his new title. The Sultan of Zanzibar resigns himself to the English and makes himself comfortable. He does not even remember us. We, in this case, get the information about Zanzibar from the maps. Zanzibar Muslims however, do not know what a map is. The Muslims living in the other parts of Africa also are totally unaware of the situation of the world. The number of the people who do not know about us is more than the ones who do. There are a few million Muslims around the Cape of Good Hope. Thanks to Ataullah and his brother Hişam Efendi they hear our name. They would say amen to the prayers said for us. Unlike others they cannot help practically."[278]

Since the administers of Morocco were descended from the prophet and Morocco is a country that the European powers regarded as having share in the caliphate, it aroused Young Turks' interest. In the press, it was often mentioned that the French and the Italian troops disturbed the peace there; the Ottomans remained insensitive to the oppression that the Moroccans faced and Abdülhamid II was blamed with this opportunity.[279] In some other places on the other hand, the ignorance of the Moroccans, the fact that they were provoked quite easily, they have no knowledge and if these conditions prevailed, the help of Germany or of any other country would not be sufficient for re-independence.

They think that it is only about calling Abdülaziz Abdülhamid II. Moreover, they find more appropriate to keep this thought with their abominable minds. Twelve million people in a country of 712300 kilometers and fertile lands are living ruined and affronted life under ignorance, tyranny and the outrage of the foreigners. Around one and a half year before, the government of Morocco began a fight for throne with one of the relatives of Abdülhamid II by claiming that the caliphate belongs to them. This divided the Moroccan into two parties. These ignorant people began to fight with each other. A fight has begun. If you ask a few people from these two parties the reason of this war they would not be able to explain it.

[278] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 11 Year:2 p. 3-4, 28 March 1898, ittihad-ı İslam Makalesinden (mabad)
[279] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Fas Meselesi, No: 120-121, 1 September 1907, p. 5.

In whole Morocco, there is not even one printing house. There is no newspaper in Arabic. There is no library. In conclusion, there is not anything related to science and civilization that Islam dignifies.

Three years ago, a respectable man visited Sultan and told him about books and printing. Sultan replied him by laughing and said that "We do not need books or printing. We are Muslims. Sword and horse are our books." The reason for telling this is to show the ills that kill the Islamic government of Morocco.

Whatever the intervention of Germany would be, the Islamic government of Marrakech has said goodbye to its independence and existence. They claim that the Emperor of Germany has suggested the idea of the union of the Sultan of Turkey and Moroccan Sultan. Yet, if the Turkish government has a slightest concern for safety, it should not be affected from the idea of amity that Germany presented. We have seen the German amity in Cretan case. This amity was only seen when Germany remained as a mere spectator. Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran remained as the only independent Islamic governments. At least they shall take advantage from the calamity of Marrakech and learn a lesson from this. With ignorance, oppression and without education and industry, perpetuity of a community is not possible. This should be known very well. The reason for this great disaster is the ruler of Islam and the coward deputies helping this tyrant, who continue this oppression with a temporary ambition although they are aware of the reality.

Progress in time, knowledge in the world

Is perpetuity of a community possible with ignorance?[280]

In Morocco, particularly the fact that Muslims fight with each other caused a deep sadness and the government which made no intervention was widely blamed:

"The news from here that worth telling: Seven million people of Islam who were left to the rule of a foolish, drunk, ignorant, disdainful tyrant throttle each other within blood. Even if Europeans are throttled meanwhile, this costs the tyrant a lot. The case of the doctor Moşan who was killed in Marrakech cost the local government five-six million francs. Together with this, the French demanded one hundred and a half thousand francs to be paid

[280] Abdullah Cevdet, Fas hükümeti islamiyesinin inkirazı, İctihad, No: 5, Year 1, April 1905, p. 70-72.

annually for the costs of a hospital with one hundred beds which will be built in the name of deceased doctor. The tyrant asked from the republic to state for how many years this allocation will be made. As an answer they certified that it will be received until God brings Marrakech down in ruins."[281]

Morocco was not surely the only place that had troubles. In journals, the difficulties that the Muslims in **Algeria** faced were mentioned and it was stated that provisions should be made against the developments in Algeria.[282]

"With the intervention of German government, creation of another Tunisia from Morocco by France with the agreement of France and England has been interrupted temporarily. We say temporarily and underline this word heavily. They are writing us from Morocco: the situation here is quite complicated; the public has insurrected against the ruler. There is not even one troop of soldiers around the ruler. Right now, in a life of pleasure, three prominent deputies of Marrakech have embraced the French hegemony. They by no means obey the commands of that government. As we presume, around Bosnia, French will occupy the Far West. The words of the government of second Andalusia are heard from the descended silence."[283]

The fact that Algeria fought with its brother under the French rule was another issue that gained attention from Young Turks and the example below describes the feelings in all the protectorates of Europe:

"From the speech of a French general delivered on July 14, before the battalion composed of Algerian and Senegalese who were dispatched in Casablanca and who have been fighting in Morocco for a year onward: "Soldiers you see this flag composed of three colors. This flag belongs to France that has sacrificed its life and wealth for the world's humanity liberty fraternity and equality. France will never forget your usefulness and devotion that you have demonstrated in Barbary. There is no French left who still has a doubt about our success of seventy-eighty-year experience. Many Algerians died in Barbary. Certainly, we French people will give a reward to Algerians for that. We will not regard Algerians as uncivilized. Even though you have concretely served us in our protectorates

[281] Unsigned, Fas hükümetinin hali, hususi bir mektuptan, İctihad, September 1907, No: 4, p. 261, year 2.
[282] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Cezayir Hatıratı, No: 120-121, Date 1 September 1907, p. 6.
[283] Unsigned, Fas hükümeti islamiyesi, İctihad, June 1906 No: 1, year 2, p. 17.

such as Senegal, Dahumi and others, as they are Zoroastrian pagans, some French people looked you favorably upon your services in that time. Yet this time, in Barbary, you have fought like a French person against Moroccans with whom you share the same religion and the same language. Long live France!"

The answer of an Algerian to the above-mentioned speech:

General! It is true that we Algerians, selling the lands and properties we inherited from our ancestors, were left penniless because of the taverns, brothels and especially Algeria Agricultural Bank that were opened up by the civilized France. At such a time by embracing us, France accepted us to its army that would be glorious and honorable for people. By this means, we were saved from being in destitute. It let us suffer from illnesses and misery in its hellish protectorates like Madagascar Senegal and Tungin (?). It fell back on our bloods in order to complete its African-French protectorates, which is the decuple of France, by subjugating the Moroccan lands. Do not look for humanity in us anymore. You already know that an ignorant, hungry and miserable people would not have the traits you are asking for. As French people keep us in ignorance and dispossessing us of our properties, we would not to fail to sacrifice our lives. Yes general. We Algerians shed our blood in Morocco much more than you. On behalf of Algerians, I thank you for your word that you would not regard us as uncivilized. You French people have proved this in Moroccan insurrection that you sacrifice your lives for equality fraternity and liberty. You have demonstrated your fraternity and equality to the ones who sacrificed their lives for the France's ideas by sending the body of a disloyal lieutenant who was stabbed in the back as he was escaping from you. The bodies of we Algerians and Senegalese were left under the feet of the Moors' animals. Their bodies were left to crows and wild birds. I believe that there would not be a better example for the equality of France. Long live France! Down with the Moors and Algerians who are not able to defend their countries."[284]

On the other hand, in the journals the letters coming from Africa were also given place, particularly those addressing Abdülhamid II had a wide coverage in the Young Turk pages. Africans were angry with Abdülhamid II who was not able to fulfill the hopes and expectations, and they were mentioning about the faults of Germany as they found it guilty for choosing its ally:

[284] Unsigned, Merakeş sultanlığı, İctihad, June 1908, No: 8, p. 300, year 2.

"In the second issue of the newspaper which was founded to demand the improvement of the Ottoman State, a letter that is obviously addressing the Sultan is translated as follows. An open letter from the subject of Egypt and Sudan to the Sultan:

Magister, Sudan is my homeland. It is under your hegemony. Its people have been going through disorder and insurrection for a very long time. I very well know that they requested many times from your majesty, they sent officers to Istanbul and they demanded remedying their situation by the improvement of their administrations. Yet, you did not bestow a favor to them. You behaved with the thought that the strong oppresses the weak. The ignorance reached the limit and our country overstepped the limits in the world. So, the English caused their fight through their Egyptian brothers. Most of them were killed and their countries were destroyed. Their children were left orphan and their women were widowed. You however, watch from a distance, and you do not condescend to question your lost justice. What about asking about the situation of those poor people…Magister.

What if you sent some religious scholars to advise and guide the Sudanese? It is known how talented and capable they are. If you really wanted to grant Muslims favor and help them, the Sudanese would not have gone through all these disasters. I have no doubt that when the states of the Sultan are conquered, in order to praise and tell your glory and divine features, and for the mention of your name in benedictions you will gather and motivate your coward spies. This is what you do. You would not be afraid of God because they killed Muslims with the orders of the English. What is the reason of this, if it is not your negligence?

I explicitly state that without having any benefits for Muslims as you are the caliph in Turkey you are doubted in terms of political success and supremacy than the caliph in Sudan. I do not know if the ones who defend your majesty do not understand my thoughts on your acts, maladministration and weak politics, what would they believe after that?

Oh Abdülhamid II! The Emperor of Germany congratulated the Queen of England for the victory of their soldiers in Sudan. You said that "This Emperor supports you. We would make an alliance with you and turn against England for your love." Even your newspapers

were writing that the Emperor is your loyal ally. Have you not realized how he insulted you with this congratulatory?"[285]

The demands that were put forward in the places where Young Turks themselves visited were also included in the newspaper columns just like the letters. It is interesting however that we did not encounter many articles in the period and sources we study about our last territory in Africa, Tripoli.

6.7. Islamic Unity in other regions

Besides these, in the Young Turk journals information on the other Islamic regions was given in times, yet although they did not help the Muslims in the vicinity, they were questioning the ways other than praying for them to help the Muslims living beyond the ocean:

"The ones who hear about the weakness of the Javanese in Australia who are the subjects of the Netherland State would cry. They face the oppression and insult of their government in many different ways.

"The trade officers of the Ottoman State who reside in Batavia only receive their salary. Even if they object the violence committed by the government of Netherlands towards people no one would pay attention. The poor Javanese learn that the Ottoman State exist as they approach Hedjaz. As they remember that it holds the holy places, they pray for the peace of it. They suppose that our state is very strong. These poor ask within their state "Why do you not help us?" Would they imagine us condescending to ask help from them?"[286]

"In short, Muslims in Australia are not in a condition that would enable them to accept the invitation of Abdülhamid II Khan and to help us practically. Even if these poor could do anything they would not help. Within the present situation they are excusable. While the Muslims do not have the power to help the Muslims who are in the vicinity to some degree and familiar to us in the North Africa where the governments are diverged, what could the

[285] Mehmet ferc Es-Sudani, vekahati (Arsızlık, utanmazlık, hayasızlık), Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, p. 6-7, 28 April 1898, year 2.
[286] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 10, Year:2, p.1-2, 22 March 1898, Ittihad-ı Islam Makalesinden (mabad).

poor Javanese do who are unaware of the world's situation, armless and powerless inherently?"[287]

6.8. Evaluation

Although, as the most prominent actor of the movement of Islamic Unity in the nineteenth century Islamic world, Sultan Abdülhamid II argued that rather than the jihad itself, the name of jihad was a weapon and without obligation even calling the name of this weapon should have been avoided, his most significant activity and success in the nineteenth century was the movement of Islamic Unity.

In the period from 1878 until the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottoman State followed an independent policy and it did not enter into permanent agreements with any state, rather it adopted a balance policy with precise calculations. Besides these, Abdülhamid II's insistence on centralization, his social, economic, and military reform policy, tight fiscal policy, his emphasis on Islam as a religion and (social and political) ideology and his prudence and providence enabled him to rule the state for many years without a significant territory loss.

Within this context, there two purposes of Abdülhamid II's Islamic Unity policy: First was to establish a network in international politics by using the caliphate and to use this as a trump against the colonialist European powers. The second purpose was intended to create a unity and a common identity among the Muslim population which centered upon domestic politics. In this politics, the call was "Islam is in danger", the reason was "Western Christian powers" and the remedy sought was "gathering around the caliphate". This simple formula indeed attracted millions of Muslims around different parts of the world who were used to wait for a savior during the time of crises and disasters and played an important role in the Islamic countries under colonial administration to develop their national identity.

In this chapter, Balkans, Crete, Iran, Asia, Arabia, Russia and Africa where the Ottoman State adopted the policy of Islamic Unity, both the Muslim population there and the policies that were aimed at them and also the reflection this had on the Young Turk press were examined. Within this context, it has been demonstrated that Abdülhamid II could not operate an effective policy of Islamic Unity as it was feared in the Islamic world, the Young

[287] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 11 Year:2 p.3-4, 28 March 1898, ittihad-ı İslam Makalesinden (mabad).

Turks who sharply criticized him on the other hand, in their articles in which sometimes mercy and complaint, and sometimes advices and anger came to the forefront, could not provide alternatives other than informing people, consistently suggesting Muslim brotherhood instead of Islamic Unity, advising Muslims to stay where they were and by no means leaving their countries and organizing aid campaigns for the Muslims under poor conditions.

7. CHAPTER

REFERENCE

7.1. Caliphate

7.1.1. Ottoman Caliphate

"As a caliph, the Ottoman Sultan is the spiritual leader of the world of Sunni Islam…Although the claim of the Ottoman Sultans on caliphate is fabricated and unreal, their titles as caliphs were accepted not only by their Sunni Muslim subjects, but also by other Muslims in India, Arabia and Africa. It seems that dominating the sacred places of Islam and having the prophet's sacred relics including his sword and his cardigan are found sufficient to be the prophet's caliph." (Quoting from the England Foreign and Commonwealth Office's 1906 annual report on Turkey, Özcan, 2002: 90)

Putting the idea of Islamic Unity into practice and the adoption of it as a policy or remaining of it as a utopic concept were depended on whether certain conditions were fulfilled or not in this vein and here the first and most significant was the existence of a leader, an independent caliph around whom all the Muslims were gathered.[288] (Landau, 1990: 5-6)

In Islamic states the subject of caliphate, which refers to the institution of the presidency after the prophet, the caliph means *"the person who substitutes and represents someone"* and it is used for the top leader, the president. (DİA, article of "Caliphate": 593)

For this reason, the caliphate is the primary issue that has been discussed in the history of Islam. The caliphate is more of a spiritual issue rather than religious. The caliph is not much related to economic issues but more to nation's rights and people's interests; he is subjected to present conditions. (Kara, 1997: 260-61) In this context, the comparison of Ibn Haldun is worth noting: *"Caliphate is nothing more than the public affairs that are referred*

[288] After this condition was fulfiled, in order to take personal or regional risks, it was needed to be ready for a total patriotic, political, economic, or even military movement and a state that all Muslims were a member of. (Landau, 1990: 5-6)

to people's judgments and discretionary power. If it was among the primary issues of the religion, the state of caliphate would be like the state of religious services…"

Historically speaking, the caliphate had its peak period during Hulefa-i Raşidin's time, and it lost its influence beginning from the Umayyad's period and turned to sultanate. Since the fourteenth century however, the idea of one caliph in the Islamic world was left, the title was borne by independent Muslim rulers and in a little while this was legalized. In this period, every Muslim leader who was de facto independent and who took on the task of enforcing Sharia could regard himself caliph. (Çetinsaya, 1988: 16)

The Ottomans on the other hand, began to use the title of "caliph" since Murat I (1326-1389), yet in order to reach the status of the greatest leader of the Islamic world de facto; they had to wait until entering Cairo in 1517. As a result of this, Yavuz Sultan Selim[289] borne the title of Hadim'ül Haremeyn-iş-Şerifeyn (servant of Mecca and Madina) in Aleppo, and in Cairo the keys of the city of Mecca were presented him by the son of Mecca's headman. (Çetinsaya, 1988: 17) In that way, the Ottomans took on the task of protecting the Islamic world against the attacks of Christians, also they were already providing Muslims with a valuable service by protecting Mecca and Medina.[290] (Buzpınar, 2004: 119-120)

Nevertheless, the major turning point in Ottoman caliphate occurred with 1774 Küçük Kaynarca Treaty and later with 1789 Aynalıkavak Treaty.[291]In the third article of Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, it was stated that *"Belonging to a Muslim sect, in virtue of my fair Sultan who is the imam of Muslims and the unifying caliph, the liberty bestowed to Crimean Muslims, without detriment to their state and country their denominational businesses would be regulated in accordance with Islamic Sharia in respect to the empire"*[292] and in this way the Muslims in Crimea, which was no longer an Ottoman land, were tried to be kept religiously dependent to the Ottoman caliphate. There are three faces of this article: First of all, it was a considerable progress that the Ottoman caliphate, which was in times attached importance or ignored throughout three hundred years, took place and was clearly

[289] For a detailed study on the issue of Ottoman Sultans' use of the title of caliphate and the transfer of caliphate to Yavuz Sultan Selim see Faruk Sümer, "Yavuz Selim Halifeliği Devraldı mı?", Belleten, December 1992, v. LVI, sy. 217, p. 675-701.
[290] İnalcık associates the argument that the Ottoman sultans were the caliph of all Muslims with the gaza understanding. İnalcık, "The Ottomans and the Caliphate", p. 320.
[291] For the whole text in English see J. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the near and Middle East, A Documentary Record, 1515–1915,II, N.York, 1956
[292] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, 83/1, p. 145 quoted by Buzpınar, 2004:121.

emphasized for the first time in an international treaty. Second, the Ottoman administers wished and revealed determination to take advantage of the influence of the caliphate in their efforts on strengthening the state. In other words, clearly the institution of caliphate was tried to be used for political purposes. The third and the most important one in terms of future developments, was that it was the first treaty which stated the divergence between the Sultan's religious and political authorities and it set an example in this regard. In this treaty, it was specifically stated that the Sultan would not be able to intervene in the political and administrative regulations in Crimea and whoever was elected as the leader the caliph-sultan would recognize him.

In the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, similar regulations were introduced for Muslims in the Ottomans' lost territories and it was seen a solution that Muslims remained dependent to the caliphate religiously and the name of sultan-caliph was mentioned in the sermons as an indicative of this. Even, the şeyhülislam prepared an instruction book, by force of this responsibility, on how the Muslims in the lost territories were going to regulate their religious lives. (Buzpınar, 2004: 121-2)

After this event, the caliphate turned to an international spiritual institution. When we came to the reign of Abdülhamid II however, the title of "caliph" became more significant and sacred than being the Sultan of the Ottoman State.[293] Such that his greatest desire was to assert the Ottoman caliphate as an indisputable reality and to ensure that everyone recognized it. (Özcan, 1997: 64) In this sense, Abdülhamid II did not only use caliphate to unite the Ottoman Muslims, he also used it to legitimize almost all his reforms. (Karpat, 2005: 22)

Abdullah Cevdet states that *"Ottoman hegemony has two different spans of authority: Worldly government and spiritual government. The worldly government is known very well but the spiritual one is recognized only through the Caliphate of Islam. Therefore, the fact that the spiritual government bears the title of caliph is of vital importance. If we put the strategic significance of the Turkey aside, without the title of "caliph", Turkish emperor would be equal to the king of Morocco"*. He also points out that the caliphate strengthened Abdülhamid II quite a lot and the facts that the caliphate, with an elected and real power, could be functional in a system that was structured as the republic of Islamic world. Yet, he was also aware that this project was only a utopia. (Bürüngüz, 2005: 38)

[293] Besides this, Abdülhamid II used his title as caliph in religious affairs but in administrative affairs he mostly used the rights and authorities of sultanate. (Karpat, 2005: 438)

This was an interesting parallel period in which theoretical and practical evidences related to the legitimization of the Ottoman State were started to be discussed. It was interesting because until the middle of the nineteenth century the madrasas did not show a serious approach on the Ottoman caliphate and even in the madrasas under their control, the religious scholars taught books including the hadiths claiming that the caliphate belongs to Quraysh. After that time however, just on the contrary they got flurried to search for arguments for the legitimation of the Ottoman caliphate. The same effort was reflected in the official documents. The statesmen tried to refute theses[294] spread particularly by England on the illegitimacy of the Ottoman caliphate and being composed only of a spiritual authority.[295]

Within this effort, Ottoman religious scholars defended the religious, historical and political legitimacy of the Ottoman caliphs and especially the caliphate of Abdülhamid II for the reasons of being in agreement with spiritual authority, acquiring caliphate and sultanate through line of succession, guarding Islam and Muslims and having the political and financial power to protect them against unbelief.[296]As it was necessary to obey him for this legitimacy[297], in case the caliph acted against the requirements and conditions of the caliphate, the things to do were not criticism, opposition, rebellion or demand for execution, but rather patience, inculcation, advice and praying for improvement. Members of another group of science however, wrote many articles on the illegitimacy of Abdülhamid II's caliphate. In those articles they emphasized Abdülhamid II's unjust, unfair, insufficient activities and oppressions, his unreliableness, incapability and deprivation of religious and moral qualities[298], and they advised opposition, rebellion and disobedience. (Kara, 2002: 5-6)

[294] For a quite detailed summary of these discussion see: Özcan, Azmi: İngiltere'de Hilâfet Tartışmaları, 1873-1909, İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1998, issue: 2, p. 49-71.

[295] The Caliphate epistles edited by İsmail Kara, provides researchers with rich documents that enable them to analyze the discussions and views on the issue of caliphate: İsmail Kara, Hilafet risaleleri: İslam siyasi düşüncesinde değişme ve süreklilik: II. Abdülhamid II devri, 2 volumes, İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2002.

[296] With the letter of Abdülhamid II that was sent to the Moroccan Sultan who had a claim on caliphate and the letter addressing the Sheyhulislam Moroccan religious scholars summarize this perception very well: "'Bir muktezâyı irade-i ilahiyye'ye ve meşiyet-i Rabbanîyye'ye ehl-i hall ü akd olan ulama-i âlâm ve vüzera ve umeray-i asker-i İslâm ve kaffe-i havas avamın ala vechil-kemmal vel-kabuli't-tâm hüsn-i biatleri ile beynel-enâm ila-i kelimetullaha makrun olarak futuhat-ı kesireye muvaffak olan âbâ vü ecdadım hulefa-i i'zamdan irsen calis-i kürsi-i hilafet-i kübra ve erike-piray-ı imamet- i uzma aldım." In the letter of Sheyhulislam it was said that "Emirül- mü'minin alel-ıtlak vais-i hilafet-i kübra bil-istihkak".

[297] For the hadiths about the fact that the obedience to the Sultan or the caliph is equal to the obedience to God see: Tahir, 1898: 112.

[298] For an epistle that judges Abdülhamid II in an imaginary court and sentences him, which could be regarded within this group see: Theodor Menzel, "Das höchste Gericht- Zwei jungtürkische Traumgeschichte" , Der Islam, v. 1914, p.1–40.

Among Young Turks thoughts in this direction predominated. The fatwas took place in the Ottoman newspaper published in London and Folkestone in England, were an example of this. The attitude of Abdülhamid II towards this was quite aggressive; he blamed Young Turks with serving the English policy on the caliphate and stated that *"It is deplored at this point that our would-be debauchees who are called Young Turks, in order to strengthen those purposes of the English, day and night they make an effort to uncover such an evil."* (Özcan, 2002: 87)

Indeed, in these last periods that the Ottoman State was losing strength, creating a rival for it and the hope of eliminating this possible serious danger that the Ottomans had with this rival were a topical issue particularly for the European powers. Such that, the issue of the caliphate's belonging to Quraysh and so the illegitimacy[299] of the Ottoman caliphate were brought into question[300] for the first time by the English missionary circles[301][302]in India, and later France, Germany[303] and Italy concerned themselves with the issue related to their dominance and influence zones.[304] (Kara, 2002: VI)

In these discussions, as it was a delicate issue, the supporters of caliphate in general claimed that the issue should be left as an internal matter of Muslims. The opponents of caliphate on the other hand had two major motivations: They got tired of the pressures put by their own subjects on supporting the Ottomans who were about to decline and they were

[299] For a detailed study on this issue see: Hoyladi, Adnan: Hilafetin Kureyşiliği Için Referans: Mevlevî Hafiz Abdülcemîl Efendi'nin Ezzaferü'l- Hamidiyye Risalesi Ve İslâm Kamu Hukukunda Hilâfetin Kureyşîliği Tartişmalari M.A. Thesis, İstanbul, 2010.

[300] The Future of Islam, London, 1882. In addition, for the report of Blunt that was given to the English govenment about the Arab caliphate see: Osmanlı Sultanları'nın İslam'a karşı konumuna dair bir rapor, 24 Temmuz 1880, Arabbet, in: Azmi Özcan, İngiltere, Arap Hilafeti ve Osmanlı Devleti(1876–1908), İngiltere'de Arap hilafeti tartışmaları ve Sultan II. Abdülhamid II, İstanbul, 1995.

[301] For some examples see: J.W.Redhouse, A Vindication of the Otoman Sultans's Title of Caliph, London, 1877. The Future of Islam, London, 1882. In addition, for the report of Blunt that was given to the English govenment about the Arab caliphate see: Osmanlı Sultanları'nın İslam'a karşı konumuna dair bir rapor, 24 Temmuz 1880, Arabbet, in: Azmi Özcan, İngiltere, Arap Hilafeti ve Osmanlı Devleti(1876–1908), İngiltere'de Arap hilafeti tartışmaları ve Sultan II. Abdülhamid II, İstanbul, 1995.

[302]According to Abdülhamid II, England desired to transfer even the grand caliphate from Istanbul and Arabia to Jeddah or to Egypt and to appropriate all Muslims by dominating the caliphate. (Buzpınar, 2002: 41)

[303] Farah mentions that the caliphate was used as a trump by states that prepared the First World War and states that it was not a coincidence that Kaiser Wilhelm II declared himself as a fellow of the protector of all Muslims in 1898 and we can see this as threat for England and France and a polarization. (Farah, 1989: 264) Together with this, according to him, German never had a planned intention for using the caliphate for its imperial aims. (Farah, 1989: 286)

[304] For more detailed information on the subject see: Farah(Minnesota), Caesar E., Great Britain, Germany and the Ottoman Caliphate, Der Islam, 66,1989, Berlin, p.279–288.

concerned that the Ottoman State could turn these people against them at will. (Buzpınar, 2002: 44)[305]

On the other hand, as the Ottoman hegemony lost strength, with the influence of the corrupt administration in Syria, Hedjaz, Yemen, Egypt and North Africa regions where Muslim and Christian Arabs inhabited and with the provocations of the western powers, movements of Arab nationalism[306] and Arab caliphate[307] occurred. (Kara, 2002: VI)

Indeed, the liberal constitutional regime continued to be the major demand that associated the Arab scholars with the ideals of Young Turks in the period after 1878.[308] Therefore, refuting the caliphate claims that was used by Abdülhamid II for legitimizing his absolute power became the focal point in the struggle carried on against the regime. Besides this, the question of who would be the person that had the necessary qualifications for the position of caliphate if Abdülhamid II was not suitable for this position could not be answered correctly. Some *selefi* modernists tried to develop the idea of an Arab caliph as an answer to this question. Yet, in order not to weaken the Ottoman State which was the only Islamic political entity that could take a stand against the western imperialism, they did not show disloyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. (Kayalı, 2003: 45)

In these conditions, naturally, the victorious in all these discussion in this arena was eventually Abdülhamid II. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the discussions on caliphate calmed down and it was mostly agreed that the religious and political authority of

[305] At this point, it should be noted that England supported the caliphate when needed, for instance for repressing the uprisings, after changing its policies towards Ottomans it took a stance against the caliphate, and the fact that under their subjecthood there were both supporters and opponents did not conflict with the flexible England politics.

[306] According to Hourani, these movements began to be supported untill an early date like 1877 by anti-Abdülhamid II Christians. (Farah, 1989: 269)

[307] The major ideological break between Arabs and Turks emerged after Abdülhamid II, with Young Turks' centralization of Turkishness and ignoring Arabs. Concurrently, Arabs restored themselves a significant place within Islam, and they developed theory that "if they weaken, Islam weakens".

[308] As an intresting evidence to this, the name of both Arabic newspapers that were published in Europe was el-Hilafe. One was published in London by Louis Sabunci who was a Catholic priest, and the other by İbrahim Muveylihi in Napoli. Sabunci was often emphasizing the idea of an Arab caliph in his newspaper. Among the supporters of Sabunci and his publication el-Hilafe, besides the English, there were also Hıdiv İsmail who had the desires of being the rival caliph and the Indian andother Muslim leaders who were under the rule of England.

the Ottoman Sultan and the caliph should have been respected and supported unless he expressed an open hostility.[309]

To sum up, Ottoman caliphate was not an institution which got strength from the stability of its Islamic basis; it was a nominal institution. Ottoman caliphate's legitimation and its widespread recognition developed only with when Muslims lost their independence and the caliphate politically rose in value. What extended the idea and solidarity of Islamic Unity was not the existence of the institution of the caliphate; on the contrary what strengthened and added value to this institution was the proliferation and development of the idea of the solidarity of Islam. (Türköne, 1991: 194) Even, within this context, it is an interesting paradox that as the Ottomans lost strength, they emphasized more strongly the claims on international caliphate. (Çetinsaya, 1988: 19)

7.1.2. Caliphate in Young Turk press

"1. In terms of the forms of sultanate and caliphate, our state is not going to undergo any changes.

2. Sultanate and caliphate have to remain under the presidency of the dynasty of Osman.

These two conditions are strict and unchangeable, both the ones who attempt to separate the state from caliphate and the ones desiring to deprive the Ottoman dynasty of the government are going to be regarded as greater enemies than the present oppressors and tyrants."[310]

These articles quoted from an article published in Mizan defined Young Turks very widely, and also as a result of the fact that we bring all the opponents of Abdülhamid II under the same roof, they prove that some of the Young Turks were not against the caliphate and on the contrary they supported it. Even if being against caliphate was directly regarded as being against Islam before the public, and even if most of the articles about caliphate addressed an opposition against the caliphate of Abdülhamid II, the fact that Young Turks supported the caliphate that much can be regarded as that they were indeed supporting the Islamic Unity as

[309] For a detailed analysis on the caliphate see: Ardıç, Nurullah: Islam and the politics of secularism, Routledge, 2012, New York. p.78-142.
[310] Unsigned, Mizan, February1896, Kahire, s.159, p.2359.

well. Unequivocally, caliphate is the most important component of the thought of Islamic unity.

The articles of Young Turks on caliphate and more generally their attitudes could be gathered under various subtitles:

1. Some of the articles written on caliphate were general, informative and descriptive; such as the definition of caliphate and duties of the caliph. Here, after making broad definitions and sorting the duties, the main point comes to the issue that Abdülhamid II did not fit these definitions and did not do his duty:

"Caliphate means substituting someone. Islamic caliphate is composed of doing provisional and judicial duties as the leader of an Islamic government. Being based on book or Sunnah and being on agreement with the public on the issues of non-Quranic issues are among the duties. The main purpose is to secure the justice for the peace of communities. Every honor and position depends on justice…

Even if only the title of sultan is bestowed to the one who serves completely for the Islamic law, in fact he is a caliph. (Like Sultan Selahattin and Melik Nurettin)

Now the rulers of Turkey, Iran and Morocco are mentioned and remembered as caliphs. There is no problem about the title. If they enforce the Islamic law, criticizing and attacking them are illicit.

In the articles that mention about the duties of the caliph, it is stated that the claim of being caliph made by the ones who did not do these duties is deception and dishonesty:

"The politics of Islam depends of the unity of hearts and thoughts of Muslims. Besides these, the caliph needs to inspect the borders of Sharia, work for the enforcement of law, for the works he cannot suffice he needs to employ reliable assistants, he needs to listen about the cases and complaints, need to have break, be imam in the prayer, deliver religious and political sermons in the pulpit by standing, lead the Friday prayer, appoint men to distant places, his life needs to be simple, he should not force anyone for unnecessary tributes, needs to love his subjects like his own children, day and night he needs to work for contentment and prosperity, he should avoid wasting the treasury, go around the country, if needed he should go to war and direct the Muslim soldiers by consulting the religious scholars, and needs to

execute many other orders of the book and Sunnah and to be able to make others execute them.

Besides these, divine truth of Sharia and being competent on politics are among the duties of the caliphate. Obeying someone who does not have these qualities is ignorance, stupidity and it is also against Islamic law. Claiming audaciously that "I am the caliph of Islam" without doing or nor being able to do what four great caliphs did because of cowardice, infidelity or another state of insolvency, is a great hatefulness and lie. It is obvious that an untruthful imposter cannot be the caliph of loyal people and cannot hold the same rank as four great caliphs of Muslims… It is contradictory to the doctrines of Islam calling a corrupted and offender the caliph of Islam."[311]

Within these duties and conditions, what was particularly emphasized was justice which they believed that the caliph of the time did not have:

"The major condition of caliphate, for which sermons are given, is justice, justice"[312]

1. Most of the articles of Young Turks on caliphate were about **how the attitudes of public should have been** towards the caliph and the caliphate. The major motivations of these articles were the effort made on proving that Abdülhamid II by no means could have the title of caliph and gaining followers against the Sultan who had the claim and desire to dominate the whole Islamic world by using his title of caliph. This was because if the caliph disobeyed Islam, it was the duty of the public to warn him and to enthrone him if needed:

"There is no doubt that corruption has entered from the door of caliphate. Yet, Muslims who do not look for a way to fight off that would take part in crime."[313]

"The responsibility of all the Muslim world and reason for the glory of all Muslims is the caliphate of the great prophet. Staying silent about the attacks and insults towards his reputation brings liability according to our religion. All of our religious fellows who are

[311] Nasıh, makalei şeriyye, emri hilafet, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no. 12, p. 2-3, 15 March 1897.
[312] Vav.zı, Makale-i şeriyye, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no.8, p.2, 8 February 1897.
[313] Unsigned, Mizan, "Vazife ve Mesûliyet, Ne Var, Ne Yok?", Issue: 171, 9 April 1896, p. 2451.

afraid of God and the prophet, should not hesitate regarding the mischiefs of Yıldız as the enemies of the religion of Mustafa and unmerciful."[314]

In these articles the fact that the four great caliphs asked from people to warn them when they made a mistake and how the companions of Prophet Mohammed were conscious and stable against them were mentioned about.

The improvement of Islam was associated with the observance of these rules. It is emphasized with the hadiths that Muslims were blamed for the fact that the palace, which was called with many serious accusations and insults such as *"The microbes of religion and nation that live in Yıldız"*, could not be reformed: *"Islam and sultanate are twins, when there is a mischief in sultanate, there would be no peace in Islam."*

The writers who wrote articles on this issue and who provoked people to rebel were praised, and in this respect more efforts were called for:

"Fortunately, with the efforts of some patriots, since a couple of years the nation has moved a little bit; gradually the meanings of caliphate, obeying the rules and consultation have begun to be learned; here and there statements against the administration and the tyrant are being heard. Finally, with the title of reformer, some zealous patriots have appeared. Yet, newspapers are necessary for publications of the thoughts of these men of honor and intelligence. Our government on the other hand, not only does not give permission for the publication of such liberal and rightful documents, but also it is known that he would even order execution of the ones who attempt that. Therefore, these zealous men left the country perforce and they took refuge in the civilized and humane centers like Switzerland, Paris and Cairo. There, by opening publishing houses, they began the publication of newspapers with the names Osmanlı, Meşveret, Kanun-i Esasi etc. At the same time, the newspapers that were published in Istanbul and other Ottoman provinces were never mentioning about the political atmosphere. They publish the unreasonable activities of the Sultan of the time and with many untruthful statements and praises they deceived people. Since the requirements of the time are known, when the blindness and ignorance of our nation are considered, even if it was not expected from the newspapers that the reformers

[314] Unsigned, Mizan, Medrese-Nişînlerden Fakir Bir Sühte,Bu Ne Hilâfettir Yarab! Kahire, Issue: 172, 16 April 1896, p. 2463.

were publishing to achieve positive results, the time for recovery from the disasters that people have been suffering from should have come as these newspapers have opened the eyes of people very well. They explained some people the duties of the government and the justice for people."[315]

In the articles that gave place to **the history of caliphate**, the ways Abdülhamid II inherited the caliphate[316] were told and it was stated that the sultanate was the reputation of the Ottomanness and the caliphate was the reputation of Islam:

"Caliphate is the presidency of public in terms of religious and worldly businesses. Moreover, as a second definition, "caliphate" is representation and substitution of the prophet for the all Muslims who are subjected to him."[317]

"The sultanate of glorious Ottomans was established with the decline of the Anatolian Seljuk State and by their dearest great khan Sultan Osman, for the glory and honor of the sons of Osman. How magnificent that its perpetuity is expected and desired. The caliphate of great Islam was brought by the one and only Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim Khan. There is no doubt that it is a sacred duty that forever it will stay at the center of unity and obedience of the Islamic world. Sultanate is the reputation of Ottomanness and the caliphate is the reputation of Islam.

Ottomans are the followers of Osman who had the honor and prosperity of Ottomanness and Islam and they are the sultan of Ottomans and the caliph of Islam.

Since the four great caliphs, the great caliphate of Islam continues on the order and succession of the dynasty of the Umayyad and Abbasids. Even if the sultanate was transmitted from father to son irregularly during the time the state was founded and also during interregnum, in the reign of Sultan Ahmed Khan the first, with an official law code

[315] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:ll Year:2 p.2-3, 29 March 1898, "Risale-i Hilafet ve İmamet ve Rehber-İ Necat-ı Ümmet".
[316] Vambery later criticized Young Turks for abandoning themselves to Abdülhamid II's Islamist policy after his enthronment and for their indifference to the call of help of the Tartarian Muslim's who were under Russian oppression. (Farah, 1989: 275)
[317] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:ll Year:2 p.2-3, 29 Mart 1898, "Risale-i Hilafet ve İmamet ve Rehber-i Necat-ı Ümmet".

which abolishes some customs, after Sultan Ahmed, the sultanate began to be preserved for the eldest and the wiser son of the Ottoman dynasty.''[318]

Caliphate, imamate, obeying the orders and ways of consultation are important businesses of Sharia. Since what is meant by these is creating a civilization and protecting the nation, in the past the solid basses of these texts were respected and paid attention. Accordingly, it took the title of Islamic government (a virtuous government and just court) and for this reason in a little while by shedding its light of justice all over the world; Islam has proved its virtue to everyone.

Yet, unfortunately the tyrant rulers who emerged later on abused this. They could not show self-denial and they felt the desire for vanity and leading a life of pleasure. In order to fulfill their self-concern which by no means applies to Sharia, they resorted to disgrace and dishonor and also attempted to destroy patriots and religion. Finally our globally envied sacred government and our legitimate path deviated. It almost became an uncivilized government. Our pure nation is in ignorance and they thought that caliphate and imamate are composed of arbitrary administration and submission to the above-mentioned. Therefore, mentally and physically they were deprived of every kind of blessing and civilization. Even, they were ridiculed by the foreigners. Particularly, ***in Hamid's reign, Muslims suffered from a serious depression that immediately they began to remain loyal to the hadith of (vedarebet-i aleyhimü'z-zillet).***[319]

4. In the articles that underlined the fact that caliphate was a spiritual force and it could gain importance only with a physical support, it was argued that as Islam existed, caliphate would exist[320] as well. According to Ottoman basic law also, it was claimed that caliphate belonged to the Ottomans and its abolishment was out of question:

"This succession method that has been applied for two hundred and ninety eight years *was reapproved when the Ottoman State adopted the constitutional administration with the Ottoman basic law.* ***According to the third article of the Ottoman basic law****, the great*

[318] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Saltanat ve Hilafet-i Osmaniye, No:102, 15 October 1906, p. 1.
[319] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:ll Year:2 s.2-3, 29 March 1898, "Risale-i Hilafet ve İmamet ve Rehber-i Necat-ı Ümmet".
[320] Nevertheless, right after the foundation of Turkish Republic, the institution of caliphate was abolished not by the western powers, but by the ruling men of Union and Progress.

Ottoman sultanate including the caliphate of Islam belongs to the dynasty of Osman and according to the old method; it belongs to the elder son."[321]

"The mental force becomes significant only with the physical force. The institution of caliphate is the pole of Islam." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 306-8)

"In the Ottoman sultanate there is one title for physical and one for spiritual government. Physical government is known, the title for spiritual government is the caliphate of Islam. The major significant title is the title of caliphate. Without caliphate and regardless of the strategic importance, the Sultan of Turkey would not have much difference from the Sultan of Morocco."[322]

5.In many articles in which the conditions that a caliph should qualify were mentioned however, the legitimacy of the Ottoman caliphate were discussed. According to many Young Turk, Abdülhamid II did not qualify those conditions and he was holding that position undeservingly[323]:

"Everyone knows that either the Sultans of Seljuk or the Sultans of Egypt did not make a claim on caliphate even though they governed for hundreds of years. Every Sultan in his own reign took it as a religious duty to obey, submit, respect and conform to a caliph from Abbasids. Yet, unfortunately, by not being satisfied with his sultanate, Sultan Selim attempted to wage a battle with the Sultan of Egypt and he deceived there hundreds of thousands of Muslim, in this respect he brought Egypt under his rule, and by usurping the relics there, supposedly he bestowed himself the title of caliph."[324]

"First condition- the person who is going to be the caliph should come from Quraysh. This was required by all Muslim communities and by some groups. This is because, Resul-i Ekrem commanded "el-Ia'imeti min Kureyş". The meaning is: the caliphs come from the Quraysh family, it cannot be from another family". Moreover, companions of Prophet Mohammed acted according to this hadith. And he continues to mention about the conditions of caliphate."[325]

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[321] Unsigned, *Şura-yı Ümmet,* Saltanat ve Hilafet-i Osmaniye, no.102, 15 October 1906, p. 1.
[322] Abdullah Cevdet, Teselsili saltanat meselesi, İctihad, May 1905, no.6, p. 86.
[323] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:12 Year:2, p.5 April 1898, Imamet ve Hilafet Risalesinden (Maba'd).
[324] İmamet ve hilafet risalesinden mabad, Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, p. 4, no. 16, 7 June 1898, year 2.
[325] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi,No: 13 Year:2 p.3-4, 11 April 1898, İmamet ve Hilafet Risalesinden (Maba'd).

"In short, the hadith of "el-e'immetü min Kureyş" which indicates that the caliphate is reserved for Quraysh is precise and true that objecting this is equal to objecting a verse of the Quran. Therefore, for the reason we have explained above, either the Sultans of Seljuk or the Sultans of Egypt could not there to make a claim for caliphate although they reigned and ruled for hundreds of years and every Sultan from them served during their reign in the name of a caliph from Abbasids.

Our aim with this statement is that together with other conditions, the necessity of belonging to Quraysh family is valid with the hadith. Even if he qualifies the other conditions, since bestowing someone the title of caliph who is not from Quraysh and claiming this mean objecting that hadith and this is in the same degree with objecting a verse of Quran, none of the above-mentioned Sultans did not attempt to make a claim on caliphate.

The fact that as Hazret-i İmam-ı Azam did not submit to Mansur, the second caliph of Abbasids, and did not take on his duty as judge, and so died as a martyr in the jail because of being beaten is sufficient to support our argument. Let us imagine, why did Hazret-i İmam not obey Mansur? And why did he avoid accepting his duty of judicature? And even died because of that by being beaten in jail? Since Mansur was not from Quraysh? No! Not for this, because Mansur was both from Quraysh and from a family of Quraysh, Beni Haşim. Was it because judicature was not a nice job? No! Not for that either! Because Hazret-i İmam very well knew that if he were the judge he would do his duty fairly and also he were rewarded by God. The reason why Hazret-i İmam did not obey Mansur was that even though Mansur came from Quraysh and the family of Beni Haşim, he did not qualify all the conditions for caliphate. While there was Cafer-i Sadık who qualified all the conditions for caliphate, the caliphate of Mansur was not valid and if he submitted him and took on the duty of judicature, he very well knew that he would have opposed to Sharia. Therefore Hazret-i İmam preferred dying as a martyr in the jail by being beaten to obey an illegitimate caliph like Mansur. If Hazret-i İmam does not obey Mansur who is the cousin of Resul-i Ekrem Hazretleri since he does not qualify all the conditions for the caliphate and he does not take on the duty of judicature, and also does not bestow him the title of caliphate, we would refer deciding how unfair it is to bestow the title of caliphate to the tyrant ruler who does not have

any relation and loyalty to that saintly position and to be designated judge by him and enforce law to the consciences of pious and patriotic men."[326]

The attachment of the letter of Sheikh Muhammed İmran Hazretleri, the deputy of el-Bahira with closest disciple and the successor of the Sultan of Cagbüb Esseyyidü'l-Muhammed es-Senusi Hazretleri who rejected the hypocritical favor and kaftan of Sultan Hamid and who did not abstain from telling that it is a great evil to Muslims that he holds the position of the caliphate of Islam, and also who has the duty of saving his age, mentions about the negotiation, it tells the fight occurred between them as follows."[327]

6.Another Young Turk group however, recognized the Ottoman caliphate for various reasons; yet they discussed the legitimacy of specifically Abdülhamid II's caliphate:

"The ones who created the Armenian excitement are criticizing the caliphate of Islam recently… according to the claims of the opponents the caliph should come from Quraysh. Arabs hate Turks and the Ottoman caliphate is not legitimate. After stating that "since the issue of caliphate belongs to us, in other words to Muslims, the attacks of foreigners are not acceptable, because they have malicious intentions" it continues as "… in Islamic law there is the principle of "period of limitation". Imagine that the Ottoman caliphate is not legitimate as they claim. The caliphate that was appropriated four hundred years ago with legitimate grant and that was accepted largely by the Islamic world is definitely legitimate. Besides this the duty of caliphate depends on strength. Today however, there is no other Muslim government more powerful that the Ottoman state. The wisdom of sacred relics of the prophet is a holy trust of the Ottoman dynasty today. As any attack that would take place against that wisdom would be equal to abolishing the strength of Islam, for its protection – even though other Muslims are indifferent- Ottoman Muslims will fight so much valiantly and hopelessly that it will be accepted that such a furious fight is not equal to any other fight in history. I do not imagine a conscious Muslim that would tolerate and be indifferent to the destruction of our caliphate and to the designation of a dishonest caliph who is under the domination of foreigners. A caliph under the domination of foreigners means the loss of sacred Hedjaz. What will happen when it is captured by foreigners? Will the western science and industry be founded there? Alas! It is such a condition that in every part of Hedjaz

[326] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 19 Year:2 p.4, 15 Safer 1316 / 23 June 1314 -İmamet ve Hilafet Risalesinden-(Mabad).
[327] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 21 Year: 1 s.4-S, 24 Mayıs 1897, La yatlemü'l-gaybe illa Allah.

including Mecca and Medina the missionaries, who attack the liberty of conscience of the weak communities in the name of civilization, will spread and around mosques and even around the tomb of the prophet wine-taverns and "other places" will be opened soon, and religion and Islamic morality will be shaken off its foundation. In this issue, I have mentioned about the caliphate. Whether the person who holds the position of holy caliphate today is legitimate or not is another issue."[328]

"It is also invalid the claim that the caliph must come from the lineage of the prophet. It is because the prophet did not have a son. According to the Islamic law, children of the daughter cannot be the leader of Muslims. In any case, the caliphate is not sultanate so it is not inherited to the lineage of the prophet. The caliphate is a position which protects the morals and beliefs of Muslims with against mischief. Yet, it is not a spiritual leadership like the papacy because Islam does not accept the belief of spirituality or cowardice."[329]

In these articles, people were blamed because of their passive stance and they were called to designate a new caliph who deserved caliphate:

"Oh Muslims! Pull yourself together! Unite and ally! Look for a person who qualifies the conditions that are designated by the imams of Islam! If you find him, assign him as caliph! If you cannot, then establish a national council in other words republic as Hazret-I Ömer did. Because you have learned in the first part, in the answer given to the opposition party that if a caliph that has the required qualities is not found, assigning a caliph is not our duty. So, stop bestowing the sacred titles of "caliphs" or "authorities" to the tyrants who does not qualify any conditions for caliphate, also repent and appeal to God since you have fallen into such error."[330]

"According to Sharia caliphate is not inheritable and the caliph cannot designate himself a successor. A caliph is appointed with election and assemblage of Muslims. Therefore, a sultan who is not elected with the free will of people cannot have the title of

[328] Halil Halid, Kanun-i Esasi, no.17, year 1, issue 5-6, 19 April 1897.
[329] Halil Halit, İstanbul'dan adiye muhabirimizden, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no: 17, 20 April 1897, p. 6.
[330] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 19 Year:2 p.4, 15 Safer 1316 / 23 Haziran 1314 -İmamet ve Hilafet Risalesinden-(Mabad).

caliphate. Muslims who regard such sultan as caliph are ignorant according to Sharia. It is dishonor."[331]

Another group on the other hand, supported caliphate through constitutional regime and stated that even if the caliph did not have the required qualifications, if the council had them that would be enough:

"...It was conditioned that the caliph should be Muslim. This is because a non-Muslim would not respect the businesses of Muslims. The caliph should also be wise so that he commands consciously. It is necessary that that person is not satisfactory in terms of knowledge and imamate; there should be religious scholars that he could consult about some businesses, to whom he should refer these businesses. For these scholars nothing is unknown, and God created people such that they could recognize that they are wise people."[332]

7. In the articles which the caliphate was tried to be justified and spread all over the Islamic world, and also to be legitimized in the eyes of public, the religious scholars were blamed for not opposing this:

"By paying a lot of money to some Christian journalists such as Çorbacı Mihran and Takla Pasha, the Sultan makes them mention about his caliphate and his holiness. Someone who does not regard condescension to this as a shame would attempt to take advantage of the scandal of the dishonest informer Nazif. Oh my God! To whom the mention of caliphate and imamate are left! Are there no Islamic religious scholars? What happened to these poor? Is their silence not because of the fear of torture?"[333]

"People of the government that is composed of fifteen million people, as by getting rid of the indescribable oppressions under the name of caliphate, they are honored with prosperity under the rule of a civilized government, in order to be pleased from the perspective of humanity, in reality, because an Islamic government has been abolished, Muslims are right to regret or curse that Muslims deprived Muslims of this prosperity.

While these conditions are sufficient to make every pious Muslim to cry, we could not explain the fact that Abdülhamid II who is the usurper of Islamic caliphate did not show any

[331] Abdullah Cevdet, Teselsül-i saltanat meselesi, İctihad, May 1905, no.6, p. 86.
[332] Unsigned, İradi, Küllüküm Rain Ve Küllüküm Anraiyetil Mes'ul (Hepiniz Çobansınız Hepiniz Güddüğünüz Koyunlardan Mesulsünüz) Makalesinden Mabad, Kanun-i Esasi, No.4, Year 2, p.2, 1 February 1898.
[333] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi,Makale-i Mahsusa, No:2 Year:2 p.1-2, 17 January 1899.

sign of sadness for the English invaded Sudan. According to the exclusive information we have received, they state that Abdülhamid II is more pleased than the English for the capture of Sudan.

The coward of the caliphate Abdülhamid II submits all the orders of Europeans just for the protection of his caliphate, only to keep his caliphate and his evil self, he accepts to leave the property and the nation to the foreigners.

Yes, he is so much crazy and stupid that in case someone asks him today "Would you prefer the English to leave Egypt or some journalists who publishes articles against you?" there is no question that he would answer as "Let the English stay and the journalists leave". God damn you crazy!"[334]

"Betrayer Abdülhamid II!... While you oppress your own subjects you call the Europeans brothers, whose help you rely on. You would give them anything as a reward to their help for your infidelity towards the Ottoman nation. When you begin being afraid of your brothers, you would not feel ashamed to say "Oh Muslims! I am your caliph, save me"[335]

In the articles in which the problem of new caliphs who were emerged with the incentive of western states or by themselves was discussed however, although being against the Sultan, it was emphasized that in such a case they would support the Ottoman caliph and would not transfer the caliphate to the others:

"Although it is our desire that as the leader of the sublime Turkish State the Sultan should have friendly relations with other Islamic governments and should help them, yet about the issue that we have been informed we would like to pain attention as follows. As some honorable men informed the Sultan in the particular document, the ruler of Marrakech "Morocco" who is known as the caliph of Islam formed a community in Egypt in order to take decisions and to negotiate about the submission of caliph of Turkey to himself. The members of the community are composed of Turks and Arabs. We gladly assure that nobody from Yeni Ahrar-ı Osmaniyan is involved such a community. Even if we do not assure the

[334] Unsigned, mesele-i feth-i memalik-i sudaniye, netice-i cehli hukumeti hamidiye, Kanun-i Esasi, no 25, year 2, p.2, 17 September 1898.
[335] Unsigned, cülus tebriki namıyla abdülhamid saniye takdim olunan hitabetten mabad, Kanun-i Esasi, no.26, year 2, p.1, 9 October 1898.

accuracy of this information in the document, we give place to its mention in regard to its importance.

This time it was mighty Sultan Abdülhamid II's failure rather than his lack of zeal that was observed. In terms of the force of the governments, even if Marrakech is weaker than Turkey, as the ruler of Quraysh is Arab and does not have any power or talent for policy making that would satisfy the Islamic agenda, it is a very strong possibility that the notables will approve that without being depended on the Turkish caliphate, recognizing the spiritual caliphate of Marrakech and submitting to its leadership on the religious businesses. Whether or not some states have ill will in this significant issue deserves attention. If Egyptian Muslims tend towards the caliphate of Marrakech, other Muslims in Africa would follow them. Both because the Muslims in Arab peninsula, Iraq and Syria are all Arab and they are not satisfied with the poor Turkish administration, it is quite reasonable that they might tend to Arab caliph. The Muslim subjects of India and Java also attempt to change their submission. Only the title of "the servant of Mecca and Medina" would be left and that should be left to the prevalent government in Hedjaz as it is required. Yet, the politics of some powerful states that are related to the businesses of Islam may not be insufficient to find a solution to this. God forbid, there is no question that if these states need to be propitiated, Hedjaz would be the first land to be given as remedy. The issue is quite important. Such devastations would redeem many offences of the Sultan."[336]

"Leaving the caliphate to the Moroccan rulers as the west wishes would be valid only within the Moroccan borders." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 309)

In these articles, as it is expected, Abdülhamid II was blamed for the emergence of these new caliphs:

"It is known and valid that Ebul Hüda Efendi set his eye on the caliphate. He has many newspapers in Islamic provinces such as in Syria, Egypt, India and Algeria, which write about his grace and worthiness. Thanks to the ignorance and corruption of the present caliph of Turkey, Ebul Huda cherishes hopes on succeeding in his attempts.

Until the unsuccessful caliph leaves this world, it seems certain that he will stay in his position. This is because money is much, allies are strong, ignorance is sustained, religious

[336] Vallahü'l-Müste'an,Numero:36, Year:2 p.2-3, 2 Zi'l-hicce 1316,Marakeş Hilafeti'ne Biat, Haber-i Müdhişi.

scholars are intimidated, good people are weak, evildoers are victorious… Particularly the English were brought into the trouble of conquering lands. Nobody would be afraid of Ebul Hüda now. As the destroyer of sultanate is caliph, so anyone could be the caliph…"[337]

9. Most of the articles on caliphate were mostly imputative, in which it was stated that even if the caliphate of Abdülhamid II was officially and juristically legitimate, it had no legitimacy de facto:

"The newspapers in the capital mention and imply that Abdülhamid II wishes to make Muslims approve his caliphate and he has the idea of creating the Islamic Unity in this way, and also show their appreciation to him. And today they continue this. The ones who know about the morals of Abdülhamid II and who like revealing the truth say that even if that is possible what connection does that have with Abdülhamid II. Implementing such idea is only possible with power. The Turkish government used to be quite powerful. Abdülhamid II deliberately ruined the state, oppressed people and lost half of the territory. People were kept in ignorance and thrown into disorder. They were robbed. He eliminated good people, increased the number of evildoers, in terms of the government force, the naval force which had more importance than public force was devastated. The armors of the soldiers became useless. He had all their equipment and tools rusted. Believing that a person who only worries about his personal welfare and who deems all these murders proper for the state that is the only hope of Muslims, would serve to Muslims is equal to believing that the devil is more virtuous than the angel.

Abdülhamid II and his followers deceived uncorrupt people with the cause of Islamic Unity and universal caliphate, and they inflicted great damage to them. So, they began to understand that it is an unfounded cause.

Muslims who have their own governments on the other hand never believed neither in the caliphate of Abdülhamid II nor in the Ottoman caliphate. The Muslims of Marrakech, Zanzibar and Bukhara believe in the caliphate of their own subjecthood. As Iran turned to Shi'ism, they neither like nor approve the Turkish caliphate. The eulogist newspapers of Abdülhamid II many times wrote that during the Greek War the Shah of Iran wished to send twenty thousand cavalry to help and the caliph of Marrakech offer to send some troops, with the above-mentioned the sultans of other Islamic states sincerely congratulated, and they

[337] Unsigned, Şark papalığı, Kanun-i Esasi, no.27, p.4-5, 6 January 1899.

tried to depict the imaginative grandness of Abdülhamid II as a reality to Turks and other Muslims. Yet, such congratulations among the sultans are ordinary things. As for the help: It is understood that it was not real. Marrakech does not have regular troops. They use old weapons. If there are a few thousand people unaware of order, they are incapable of maintaining order and safety in the country. In Iran on the other hand, there is nothing splendid other than elegy and encomia. The country is ruined. There is no prosperity. People are poor. If they have twenty thousand cavalry for war, they claim that it is two million. Iran is even more exaggerator than Turkey.

If Abdülhamid II worked for the fortification of the state as he worked to ruin it, even without the caliphate he would have been successful. Is there a powerful and wise Islamic government in this century that it shall take on this grand duty? Even when Abdülhamid II is on the throne, four or five caliphs are emerging. It was seven but one was eliminated by the English and the other by the French. It is not known if it was with the advice of Wilhelm II but Abdülhamid II who constantly mentions about the universal caliphate did not oppose the French. Maybe being pleased, even if by bestowing two Sudanese to the veteran Christians as an award, he desired to put both France and England under political indebtedness, none of them thanked. We conquered with our sword and they said "what is it to you?" Salisbury in the east Sudan rejected all the rights of Turkey. He did not even deem necessary to take Egypt seriously which was already done beforehand. France on the other hand, did not even condescend to reject such thing."[338]

Another approach of the Young Turks on this issue is on the harms of Abdülhamid II's policy of caliphate on the international realpolitik. The fear that Abdülhamid II's policy of Islamic Unity and particularly the tendency towards Germans rather than the English would provoke the English and cause a serious harm to Islam and the Ottoman State predominated in these articles. Moreover, it was mentioned that the English had a candidate for caliphate in India; the Arab nationalist rebellions were provoked by the English; England which had many Muslim subjects would not remain unresponsive to this:

"In times, the Ottoman State acts to the detriment of England by taking advice from Russia and Germany: The most significant one among these is based on Islam and caliphate. Even in the time of Abdülaziz, it was rumored that Ignatyef suggested the Ottoman

[338] Unsigned, Ehl-i islamla Almanya ve Türkiye, Kanun-i Esasi, no: 33, p. 5, year 2, 3 March 1899.

government "Pan-Islamism". While on the one hand with the intermingling of different religions within the country is against the libertarian politics of the Ottoman government, on the other hand troubled mostly England which has the largest number of Muslim subjects. Even Russia has ten-fifteen million Muslims; but back then it was so certain about its power and Muslims' ignorance and idleness that it could not imagine that this policy could turn against it at one point. Within last few years however, it seems like this policy has been adopted from the Tsars by the German Caesars: the fact that Wilhelm placed a wreath on Eyyubi, attempted to protect the Muslim Sultans and attaching so much importance on the Baghdad railway might be evidence for this, I believe.

It is apparent that how the attempt of the young German Emperor to enter into power politics and naval policy drove the wedge between Berlin and London. England which had a long-standing rival with France once and later with Russia, now has Germany against it. Even long time ago it was known that the master and emir of Islamic world was saying that it will play an important role in the duel of bear and whale. Even it is eagle instead of bear in the fight, the importance of moon and star would not change. The tendency of two Muslim Sultans towards Germany rather than England, and the attempt to disincline Muslim subjects from their state with the influence of Germany can make England deliver the intended blow on the Islamic word. Moreover at this time, Russia, which is able to prevent its blow, is missing.

It has been told that the English has a candidate for caliphate in India. It is not a secret that the rebellions taking place often in different parts of Arabia are partly caused by the poor administration of the Ottoman State and partly by the provocations of England.

It might be feared that the Arab rebellion that was staged in Yemen and now spread in the west and south of the Şibil island of Arabia might the beginning for the above-mentioned actions of the English, and also even if the actual effects are little, the outspread and dangerous policy of caliphate has now come to an end."[339]

"If the European States did not have controversy among them, we could not last even one day. It is not hard to abolish us within twenty-four hours. The Islamic world has made progress in this way thanks to justice and liberty. It is valid by history that later on as the caliphs left the path of correctness, consultation and liberty, Islam began to weaken. If the

[339] Unsigned , Şura-yı Ümmet, no.80, 16 August 1905, p. 3.

duty of four great caliphs had not been left, the Muslims would be happy and fortunate all over the world."[340]

11. Although their number was law, some of the Young Turks were totally against caliphate:

"Oh reader! Would you laugh or cry? No need to mention about the two-three thousand year-old Iranian Kihsiruddin, Macedonian Alexandre and so-and-so Sultans. This is a way of deception. Were the policies of first Umayyad, Abbasid caliphs or even of the four great caliphs and former Ottoman caliphs and Sultans different? Would they not conquer the whole world if they were able to do so or if they had time? What does the word of God require?

Now is it suitable for the all above-mentioned Muslims? Does it not mean humiliating the policy of Muslim caliphs? Were the old-new policies of Europeans different from this? Each of them has the idea of invading the whole world."[341]

In conclusion, the most important part of the issue of Islamic Unity was caliphate because it was the only power to unite Muslims politically and it was recognized by all of them who were spread all over the world. In period that is discussed in this study, this caliph that was needed by the Islamic world, which was somehow a colony of European powers or about to be separated, was Abdülhamid II, regardless of the discussions on his legitimacy. It is not difficult to presume that Young Turks would not recognize the caliphate of Abdülhamid II who was not also desired as Sultan.

Above, Young Turks' approach to caliphate and to the caliph of the time, Abdülhamid II, was discussed. While limited number of Young Turks believed in the needlessness of the caliphate, some of them argued the illegitimacy of the Ottoman caliphate. Yet, for the rest of the Young Turks, the caliphate held a significant spiritual power and the Ottoman State was the sole possessor of this power. Besides this, Abdülhamid II was a tyrant who occupied this position and made mischiefs to make the whole world recognize his occupation. In case the

[340] Unsigned, doktor Cemil Bey'in layihasından mabad, Kanun-i Esasi, sene 1, no: 20, p.3-5, 10 May 1897.
[341] Unsigned, siyaset-i hamidiyenin asar-ı ahiresi, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 20, p. 2, 16 June 1898.

religious scholars do not bring a true caliph to his position and people continue to remain silent, he is responsible for people and God.[342]

7.2. Islamic Civilization

In this part of our study, the concept of "civilization" which emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century and was among the most important concepts of power sharing in the period after Tanzimat will be discussed. Moreover, it was tried to be shown how this concept which because of the emphasis of the "awareness of supremacy" this concept is at the center of in-debt discussions even today and has a critical importance, was reflected in the Young Turk press within the period under study.

The concept of "Islamic Civilization" (Medeniyet-i İslamiye), was included in the literature after forty years that the word "civilization" began to be used often in the period after Tanzimat, and its use became more frequent beginning from the end of 1870s. Even if Namık Kemal used noun phrases such as "eastern civilization", "Arab civilization" the conceptualization of "Islamic civilization" was first seen in the works of Şemseddin Sami, and within the Ottoman literature, the first book with the title of Islamic Civilization was written by Şemseddin Sami.[343]

In this process, the definitions of "Islamic Civilization" were mostly approached in terms of sources, in this way newly emerging notion of civilization was tried to be strongly founded with true references: the definition of *"Islamic civilization that is based on the verses of the Quran and hadiths of the prophet..."* was made in this way. (Quoting from the book titled "Avrupa medeniyetinin Esasına bir Nazar" written by Akyiğitzade Musa, Güler, 2006: 190)

[342] It is important to examine the ideological and political changes in the attitudes for the historians who know well the periods that the Young Turks and so the Comittee of Union and Progress were in power and the time when Turkish Republic was founded and also who witnessed the abolishment of the caliphate as the first thing that was done after the establishment of a new secular state. How come the Young Turks who claimed that "the people who have the idea of separating caliphate from the state will be considered as greater enemies than today's tyrants and oppressors", began to see the caliphate as a burden within the fifteen years that they came in power? Certainly, the loss of the administration of Mecca and Medinah and also the Muslim territories on by one had a big influence on this, yet the transformation was more radical and the fact that the newly founded state became distanced to Islam with caliphate was sharper.

[343] While the role of the author was crucial in the proliferation of the concept of "Islamic civilization", Şemseddin Sami assumed a critical attitude against the concept of "Islamic civilization" five years later, and he developed a critical style for his earlier thoughts. (Güler, 2006: 147)

It draws attention that the Ottoman intellectuals[344] which stated opinion on "Islamic civilization" focused on two points: The first point was trying to prove the existence of an "Islamic civilization". The second point on the other hand was setting forth that terming "Islamic civilization" as "Arab civilization" was incorrect:

7.2.1. "Islamic civilization" versus "European civilization"

The concept of "civilization" existed through the history of civilization as a concept that had a strong legitimation power. From this point of view, it might be though that "Islamic civilization" was a product of modern times and tendencies[345] and even it had a facilitative effect for the modernization process. At least it is known that after Islam was began to be understood as "Islamic civilization", the arguments that many scientific discoveries passed from East to West, created a modernizing effect in the Ottoman society. (Güler, 2006: 185)

Besides this, although "Islamic civilization" is a concept with a modern connotation, it was mostly mentioned in the texts with its controversy with "European civilization".[346] It was possible to come across complaints such as *"If this existence, this civilization is the last*

[344] Akarlı's observations on the attitudes of intellectuals are crucial. According to him, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the categories of "West", "sophistication", "reality", "civilization" and "Islamic civilization" are began to be conceived as immiscible objects like water and oil. Many non-Muslim intellectuals lile Greeks, Armenians, Serbians, Croatians who were influenced by the dominant discourse, could say the Westerns that "We are Christians like you, we never amalgamated with these Muslim Turks, even though we lived among them it was because of their oppression; we have been bleeding for all these centuries, please come and save us from this subjecthood!". Muslims who were influenced by the same dominant discourse reacted in several ways; and tried to develop an anti-discourse. Some of them solaced themselves as "You learned civilization from us", some other tried to make themselves accepted as "We are only Muslims in form, you can accept us among you". Some others followed a path as "Do not worry, we would leave the disease of this Islam behind you, as long as you do not weigh upon us that much". Some Muslims on the other hand, pursued a path in a rage as "Rejection to your rejection, what you say white is black, what you say black is white; there is no greater and better than us; we would fight to the end in order to get rid of you". (Akarlı, 2000:29)

[345] İsmail Kara, "Sunuş", "Şemseddin Sami'nin 'Medeniyet'e Dair Dört Makalesi", (Ed.) Zeynep Süslü&İsmail Kara, Kutadgubilig Felsefe – Bilim Araştırmaları, Issue: 4, October 2003, p. 261.

[346] We may mention a few of them here as an example: "It is necessary to divide civilization into two: artificial civilization and authentic civilization. (Celal Nuri, 1912: 25) If a nation desires to progress, it would get artificial civilization, it would keep authentic civilization devotedly and look for the solutions for sublimation. (Like language) (Celal Nuri, 1912: 35) "If Europeans grant any privileges to the Easterners, this is only industry and mechanical tools. About everything other than these and especially in applied sciences and theories they are backward than the Easterners." (Tahir, 1898: 12) "One of the harms that civilization does on people is that tools caused many engineers to became unemployed. A job that was made by thousand people before and provided them a subsistence is now done only by a child and a steamy tool. (Tahir, 1989: 22)

civilization, people are quite unfortunate. If a more supreme and bright civilization will not be created, humankind will not see peace, pleasure and love" very often.[347]

In the works that the examples which position itself against European civilization were exalted, Russians or rather Russian nationalist wing that resisted the European civilization but who actually had only a denominational difference with Europe and the attitude of Pan-slavists were examined. Moreover, it was questioned how Muslims would trust "European civilization" while they were that abstaining.

In the works in which the fact that European civilization was not a universal and new civilization, and it was continuation of Greek and Roman civilization was argued with the statements like *"Europe is an old man, it is very experienced. We shall respect seniority. We shall learn a lesson from its experience and not repeat their mistakes"*. In these works, arguments turned mostly to challenge and it was asserted that "new civilization" will have an Islamic base in the future, and this civilization will be grounded on "justice" instead of "benefit". (Güler, 2006: 152)

In a broad sense, in the texts in which European civilization was criticized in this way or another and the hopes that Islamic civilization would replace it instead were grown, especially as a consequence of real conjuncture and double standardized structure of European civilization was criticized and its difference with the eastern civilization was emphasized. According to Ottoman intellectuals the period from the perspective of the "Easterners", the concept of "civilization" was an indivisible whole. Within this whole, together with the sentimental values such as "right, justice and conscience" and products of technology like "railway", "telegram" and "telephone" were included. The concept of "civilization" that was composed of two elements, could not be regarded separately. Even, Easterners thought that the sentimental values of "civilization" were more primary than the material parts: *"For the easterners, spirituality like "giving credit", "revelation of justice", "pureness of conscience" are more prominent than the technological products like railway, telegram and telephone. It is because the world cannot be lived without the prior ones. Yet, it could be lived in the absence of the second ones."*

[347] Avrupa Medeniyetine Bir Nazar-ı Muvâzene (1885)", Quoting from Kırımlı İsmail Gaspirinski, Güler, 2006: 147.

There were so many inconsistencies and double standards in Europeans' notion of "civilization" that besides regarding it as a whole, it was only valid within the borders of Europe. *"As long as Europeans stay in Europe, they firmly attach to "civilization". Yet, out of Europe the same understanding does not prevail. When Europeans go other places that are lower than Europe in terms of progress, there only the material part of "civilization" is valid."* For instance, the treatments towards locals in Egypt was not included in the definitions of "civilization" of Europe; because the civilization defined by Europeans was only valid for Europeans and in the countries out of Europe "civilization" was applied differently.[348]

In Muslim societies there was "brotherhood of humanity and country" among Muslims and non-Muslims, yet Muslims were seen as a danger for civilization by the Europeans. In the territories they were colonized, Europeans carried out political attacks getting almost to destroy the "social existence of Muslims", and it is interesting that by the westerners who regarded Muslims as a danger for civilization, these acts were not seen as a danger for civilization.[349]

Contrary to all these double standards and inconsistencies, with the acceleration of the material power it had, while the "European civilization" was spreading rapidly to the world and trying to export "civilization"[350] to the world (mission civilisatrice), the Ottoman intellectual of the time mentioned constantly about the relation of the East with civilization, negated European civilization and praised Islamic civilization:

A definition of the east as follows is a good example for all these: "*The source of Sharia and religions are the birth place of the light of prophecy, the region where the holy places are gathered and presented, the place where science and social ethics were emerged and the treasury of man's maturity and morals.*"[351]

[348] (A Jewish Ottoman Intellectual) Avram Galanti, "Manevi ve Maddi Medeniyet", **Yeni Mecmua,** V. IV, Issue: 69–3, 1 February 1339–1923, p. 43–44.
[349] Azmzâde Refik, İttihâd-ı İslâm ve Avrupa, Trans. İbrahim Halil, Kostantiniye: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1327 [1911], p. 23.
[350] What is mentioned in the Turkish national anthem as "single-fanged monster you call "civilization"", is this above-mentioned civilization.
[351] [Ahmed] Zeki, Âlem-i İslâmiyet ve Şark ve Garp, Kostantiniye: Tahir Bey Matbaası, 1316 [1898], p. 5.

7.2.2. Not Arab civilization, Islamic civilization

Even though Islam was sent through an Arab prophet and with an Arabic book, it is against all kinds of racism and the message of *"supremacy comes with devotion"*[352] constitutes a significant part of its teaching. Certainly, for the Ottomans who was the leader of this religion that was sent to all people for centuries, the conceptualization of "Arab civilization" cannot be accepted. A basin that that could involve all Muslims could only be called as an integrative "Islamic civilization":

"What is common among various regions where Islam spread and social institutions is an international middle age civilization."[353]

Islamic civilization cannot be limited to Arabs, because: *"Spread in most of the places of the world, nations composed of at least three million Muslims are an enormous community with different characters, countries, language and conditions."* (Quoting from Hasan Hüsnü Toyrani, Güler, 2006: 189)

In this context, the concept of "Islamic civilization" points out an significant change in interpretation in terms of nationalism. Such that, before the concept of "civilization" was first used in Ottoman Turkish, Ottomans named their histories within "Islam/Ottoman history"; and the society they lived in within "people of Islam", "people of Mohammed", "nation of Islam". Yet, after the concept of "Islamic civilization" emerged, whole "history" was approached as "history of Islamic civilization" and parallel some Ottoman intellectuals tried to point out the incorrectness of using the concept of "Arab civilization" instead of "Islamic civilization". (Güler, 2006: 198) Moreover, the discussions on whether "Islamic civilization" was "Arab civilization" also proposed the ethnic origins of some prominent philosophes and statesmen such as İbn Sina, Farabi, Selahaddin Eyyübi for the agenda, accordingly with the discussions of nationalism in the Islamic world. (Güler, 2006: 200)

7.3. Muslim brotherhood- Union & Help

"No alliance, no union, ignorance prevails
No familiarity, no friends, calamity prevails

[352] "Oh people, we have created you as a man and a woman, and for you to meet each other we have created you as peoples and communities. Certainly, who is the most superior among you in the presence of God, is the one with the deepest devotion. Certainly God knows, God is informed." The verse of Hucurat: 13
[353] Hilmi Ziya [Ülken], Türk Tefekkür Tarihi, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1933, p. 123.

Alas, it is such a process that ruins the heaven"[354]

Another political slogan concept that was closely related with union was brotherhood (uhuvvet) and it reminds the verse of "Muslims are brothers for certain" (Hucurat 49/50) that we come across in the texts very often. (Kara, 2001: 32)

In the texts, the circles of brotherhood were built as follows:

a. Brotherhood of blood (real brotherhood, brotherhood of family)

b. Brotherhood of religion (brotherhood of Islam)

c. Brotherhood of country (Ottoman brotherhood, citizenship, brotherhood of territory, country brotherhood)

d. Brotherhood of humanity (brotherhood of humans, universal brotherhood, brotherhood of public, brotherhood of the world) (Kara, 2001: 33)

The brotherhood of religion that will be mentioned in this part is a basic teaching of Islam it is full of instructions that Muslims are brothers and they cannot be true Muslims unless they love each other. Although a political union was not imposed as an obligation by Islam, with many hadiths and verses such as "who does not share his food with his poor neighbor cannot be a Muslim", Muslims are regarded responsible from each other. Even beyond that, in the Young Turk press, it is possible to come across some articles arguing that Muslims were not only responsible from each other, but also from the peace of the whole humanity:

"The source of the words Islam and Muslim are the words indication and peace. The true Muslim is someone who is concerned about the peace and prosperity of the whole population of Abdullah. Also, he would be distinguished with his services for the peace of Abdullah with the zeal of serving to God."[355]

In some of the articles putting forward that some popular movements of the time did not support a nationalism which points out a separation, the situation was corroborated and stated that it was already implicit in Islam from the beginning:

[354] Zahid, Tazallum, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no: 19, p. 6-7, 26 April 1897.
[355] Doktor Abdullah Cevdet, Emvat-ı la yemut, Şeyh Muhammed Abduh, İctihad, p. 164, April 1906, no:11, year 1.

"Today, besides contrasting each other the ideologies of socialism, capitalism and aristocracy unite on the denial of nationality. They say that labor, spending etc. Cannot have a nation. This unity that they have discovered today was included in the true path by the prophet Mohammed many years ago, and he declared all Muslims to be brother without any discrimination." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 12-20)

Within this context, it was not possible for a Muslim or an intellectual who tried to receive support from the people of a Muslim country to be against the Islamic Unity. Most possible thing for them to do was gathering in the same ground with the above-mentioned people, with reference to his Muslim identity, and if there was an objection, stating this by bringing forward that they are of the same opinion and the controversy could only be a political one. Many Young Turks did exactly this.

Naturally, while doing this, they had various arguments and objections.

1. According to the first one, the point that the word of union was attributed was misunderstood and the concept was misused:

"As meaningful words are attributed meaningless thoughts, they no longer make a sense. It seems that that sacred word of union was again accepted to be used in the meaning of the tower of Babel. Without having a true and intimate relation, and the aim and intention are not transferred to a center, would union not be a ridicule? Certainly yes. So, do we not have such a relation? We have but somehow ignoring this relation or rather to regard it harmful and against union became fashionable." (İttihad-ı İslam, no:5: 1)

In fact, if the concept of union functioned correctly, it would correspond to a great social power on its own, yet the weakness of Muslims in respect to other nations was the primary reason for their worthless and weak condition:

"The intention with union is not gathering in a place like a flock. It means helping morally and materially to the people of the same opinion and ideology; benefiting from the power, experience and ideas of brotherhood. Union should not only be about heart, it should not only be composed of love and praying. As belief is not acceptable without labor, believing in a political ideology does not ensure success in this ideology. One should not only participate not only by heart but also by working. Being Muslim cannot be understood by only saying that "praise to God I am a Muslim"; it could be proved with applying Sharia.

The primary reason why Muslims are weak and worthless everywhere today is misstating the benefits of Islam to people and its directions for the merits of public. An Armenian porter who comes from Van or Erzincan to İstanbul, put aside some of his little amount of money that he hardly earned for helping the Armenian church, Armenian school and hospital and even to Armenian revolution committee. Is there not a Muslim community who loves his country and who has the desire to serve for the idea of union and help as an Armenian porter?"[356]

2. Young Turks knew that religious bonds and Muslim brotherhood was crucial bonding elements and they even believed that when this faith and sharing the same Muslim law was applied correctly, they could defeat the colonialist politics and states of the period:

"Wherever they are and whomever they were dominated by, all Muslims marry according to same law, found a family and legate. No Christian state could dare interfering this faith." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 300)

"Muslim brotherhood is stronger and founded than every kind of national brotherhood. Because, Islam basically means brotherhood. Muslims have common morals and customs. Protestants or Catholics do not have such commonalities. Although Catholic sect worked for the brotherhood of Catholics, it could not be successful. Muslims however, do not regard themselves foreigners. We do not let our girls marry to a non-Muslim. On the contrary, we would not hesitate to let them marry to someone who came from Daghistan or India. A Muslim is always at his home in every part of Islamic world. Everywhere he is treated as a brother. A poor Muslim can never be a foreigner in a Muslim city." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 296)

3. While in this period, particularly in the Ottoman territories, the Islamic Unity works spread in the Islamic countries, in the Young Turk press the attempts in Europe intended on this issue were also mentioned. For instance, in the French version of İctihad journal, it was told that in London a committee was established under the name of "Pan-Islamic Society". This committee intended to accomplish the purposes of an foundation of a mosque in London and the activities to be undertaken in this mosque (gathering of Muslims here, becoming a haunt for Muslims coming to

[356] Unsigned, İttihat ve Teavün, 23 May 1902, no.4 , p.1.

London, tourists, traders, scholars, and guiding them, establishing an Islamic library in the mosque). Politically, this mosque which had a mission of introducing Muslims to the English, aimed at publishing within this scope.[357]

4. The primary motivation in respect to Muslim brotherhood was to get more Muslim under European population and subjecthood with every new war. Brotherhood became even more important for Muslims who struggled to remain as who they were under the enemy flag:

"First of all Muslims know that they are almost a-three-million enormous mass and that this great family will and they should have a brighter future than their past. Islam, is the most important of the existing powers. It is the grandest one. Now however, this power is asleep. Yet, it is not dead. Its amount has not been harmed. On the contrary it has increased. The fact that Islam is under the rule of Christians make it even more necessary to unite. All in all, subjecthood to the foreigners is the reason of Islamic Unity. (Celal Nuri, 1912: 299) Today, Muslims under the domination of foreigners protect the Islamic law. Europe is aware of Muslims' power and fears." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 300)

"In the last decades however, the fact that almost all Muslims fell under the population and subjecthood of Europe indeed revived brotherhood that already exists in Islam. A friend is more needed in bad times. As today all Muslims are hopeless and tired, their tendency towards unity and brotherhood have increased. They are needed more than ever among Muslims in this century. Islamic world has not been suffered from any civil strife or separation within this century. So, it was agreed to protect this and reject foreign plots maturely. What we should do today is emphasizing Muslim brotherhood and going towards bright and promising future. We should live our Muslim brotherhood all together hopefully. We should let our Muslim brotherhood to benefit from every opportunity." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 298)

5. When the issue was Muslim brotherhood, the fact that Muslims should help each other and the aids they collected for the Ottoman State were examined in detail.

[357] Although we have not examined the French İçtihad journal, we believe that a passage here that we attracted attention during our screening: For details see: French İctihad, Revue independante, polyglotte, de l'Orient et de l'Occident, no.2, Ocak 1905,First year, p.16.

"Our sadness and sorrow are gradually turning to weal as we began to show signs of life. Not only in Cairo but also in whole Egypt zealous people have boiled over. With their love of God, the rich show an effort to set an example for the poor and the poor for the rich, and they compete with each other in terms of zealousness. People from every strata sacrifice an appropriate amount of money for this cause. In order to be honored with the mercy in Hedjaz, as a zealous and poweful believer in the name of Mehmet Ezheri hearn about the collecting aid, he gave whatever he saved so far to the European aid comission. Even, one suspicious man from Cairo, did not confine himself to the money he gave and he sold his coat. The effort for help would be like this.

It was also seen that it is not only limited with money, but there are also people who are ready to sacrifice their lives. Sign of life would be like this."[358]

7.4. Evaluation

In this chapter, we have examined the concepts of caliphate, Muslim brotherhood and Islamic civilization that might be discussed parallel to the concept of Islamic Unity and that might set an example for it and lead it.

On the issue of caliphate, the main emphasis was that it was not the existence of caliphate that spread the idea of Islamic Unity and solidarity, on the contrary what added value and strengthened the institution of caliphate was the development and spread the idea of Islamic solidarity. Besides that, according to the conclusion drawn from the Young Turk journals that are studied in this thesis, while very few Young Turks believed in the unnecessity of caliphate, a few other argued that the Ottoman caliphate was illegitimate. Nevertheless, for most of the Young Turks besides these, caliphate was a significant spiritual power and Ottomans were the sole possessor of this power. Moreover, Abdülhamid II, was a tyrant who occupied this sacred position and pulled many tricks to make the whole world accept this occupation. Unless a true caliph came that would substitute religious scholars, and people continued to be silent, he would be responsible before history and God.[359]

[358] Unsigned, Bizde de eser-i hayat varmış, Kanun-i Esasi, year 1, no: 13,23 March 1897, p. 1.

[359] It is important to examine the ideological and political changes in the attitudes for the historians who know well the periods that the Young Turks and so the Comittee of Union and Progress were in power and the time when Turkish Republic was founded and also who witnessed the abolishment of the caliphate as the first thing that was done after the establishment of a new secular state. How come the Young Turks who claimed that "the people who have the idea of separating caliphate from the state will be considered as greater enemies than

On the issue of Islamic civilization, the relation between the East and civilization had a critical importance for the Ottoman intellectuals; because while a psychology about the fact that the East did not have any relation with civilization was tried to be extended, on the other side with the argument that the East was the basis of civilization, Ottoman intellectuals tried to prevent the spread of this destructive psychology both among intellectuals and the society.

The fundamental element on the issue of civilization that we should keep in mind, although the Ottomans attempted in times to position themselves against European civilization with conceptualizations of Islamic civilization and they continued to blame the European civilization for many weaknesses and double standard, it was the situation the Ottomans found themselves in before the dominant power of the period, the "European civilization".[360] From our point of view, the discussions on Islamic Unity should be seen as a part of the process of providing alternatives for this situation: Their own old civilizations and self-perception on the one hand, their partners and fellows in the whole world; the superiority of European civilization that was somehow imposed upon them on the other, their advantages and risks; and most importantly, the problematic of how these opposite poles would be brought together and form an healthy synthesis.

On the issue of Muslim brotherhood, the patriotism among Muslims was the bearer of the issue of Islamic Unity. Even though in that period Islamic Unity was mentioned as a state policy, the state owed the necessary power and energy to the public and their brotherhood.

Especially, the fact that most Muslim territories fell under the Christian subjecthood naturally strengthened the religious fellowship that Islam prescribed, and Muslims tried to form a platform by asking for help either from the Ottoman government or from each other.

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today's tyrants and oppressors", began to see the caliphate as a burden within the fifteen years that they came in power? Certainly, the loss of the administration of Mecca and Medinah and also the Muslim territories on by one had a big influence on this, yet the transformation was more radical and the fact that the newly founded state became distanced to Islam with caliphate was sharper.

[360] Such that, all in all for the Ottoman intellectuals there were two options: This was whether accepting "civilization" or not. The dramatic part of this, both accepting or rejecting "European civilization" meant "losing". Under these conditions, finding alternative formulations for the perceptions on civilization, for the western civilization that was presented as the representation of power and difference; for instance the desire for strengthening again or the expression of the necessity for change (which stems from strengthening of the other) became unavoidable.

In this process, although none of the Young Turk journals wrote against this brotherhood, the government and Muslims were criticized a lot, and it was often mentioned that as the necessary emphasis was not given, Muslims became inferior.

8. CHAPTER

ENEMY

In Young Turks' approach to the concept of Islamic Unity, there were more negative sides than the positive sides and the opposition force of Young Turks, as their greatest ability, came to the forefront skillfully. What we will do below is to not to examine the adverse concepts of Islamic Unity, but rather to examine the ones that Young Turks regarded enemy within this context. Certainly, the main enemy was Sultan Abdülhamid II.

8.1. Abdülhamid II

As fifty thousand soldiers were martyrized
Fate, both Crete and Thessaly were lost
In the great heaven and even suffering inner soul
Tell me for God's sake, is Abdulhamid your son?[361]

The period of Abdülhamid II is hard to be discussed both because of the ongoing polarizations on whether he was a "supreme sultan or bloody sultan" and the rough and elaborate nature of the period. The sources that his opponents relied on were as just as the sources he himself used to legitimize his tyranny. This argument of Kırmızı would be helpful for a proper perspective on Abdülhamid II's period:

"Each age has a soul and this soul shapes the statesmen of that age in a similar way. By hewing them as a sculpture, it makes them compatible with time (...) Abdülhamid II who insisted to make the statesmen around him accept his legitimacy in the beginning of his sultanate, moved to a more authoritarian administration not only due to the polemics in the parliament or his totalitarian attitudes claiming that the public is not ready for this, but also because of what was going on in other empires. During the time when Abdülhamid II was educated as Sultan's son, there was no constitutionalism anywhere other than England, in other words the authority of the sovereigns had not been limited with inscribed constitutions yet. Germany, Austria and Russia, three great empires of the time, were an autocracy; the monarchy of Lui Napoleon was unsteady; Italy had not united as a nation yet. Therefore, the

[361] Unsigned, Girit, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 17, Year 2, 17 June 1898, p. 1

period of Abdülhamid II was an age that autocrats as him were in rule. Even in England where democracy was established after the 1832 Reform Act, King Edward VII who came to the throne in 1901 was a monarch who did not leave the international affairs to the governments." (Kırmızı, 2011: 21-22)

While Abdülhamid II was experiencing such shifts inside him, Young Turks also had various moves and gradually had more contradictions.

What designated the attitude of Young Turks towards Abdülhamid II at the beginning was the place they gave for the Ottoman monarchy and dynasty. Most supported the Ottomans because in an empire that had many varieties and was under many threats, the dynasty was the key of the system; according to what Young Turks said, if the dynasty was destroyed, the empire would collapse. According to Ahmet Rıza who believed that the Turks were the wave breaker before the Ottoman Empire, if the Ottoman dynasty fell, the waves of Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks would cover the Turks. On the other hand, Young Turks were aware of the role that the religion played on social bonds and they attached importance on sacred nature of the monarchical institution and so, on the caliphate. In short, according to the opinion of Young Turks in the beginning the empire survived thanks to the dynasty. (Georgeon, 2012: 554)

Young Turks got along with the Sultan for a long time and believed that a sultan who represented a figure of a father that looked after his children could not be evil. According to this opinion, the Sultan was poisoned by the chamberlains and the ministers around him; it was necessary to exile them and save the Sultan in a way. Yet, after 1900, such favors cannot be seen. The respects shown during the infancy of the movement left its place to more critical attitudes. Abdülhamid II was subjected to heavy ironies and cruel caricatures in the Young Turk publications. Nevertheless, in the notice that was published in 1907 Congress, strong statements made towards the Sultan demonstrated to what extent the attitude of Young Turks towards the Sultan had changed.

In all these processes, Abdülhamid II himself and his idea of Islamic unity were subjected to harsh and extensive criticisms by Young Turks. While some, like Sabahaddin Bey, opposed the fanaticism without denying Islamic Unity and its potential power, while some others like Ahmed Rıza, with the intention of appeasing Europe, emphasized that this idea if it really existed, emerged against Europe's oppression and expansionism and it was

less dangerous than Pan-Slavism or Pan-Germanism. (Landau, 1990: 28-9) Below, all these criticisms were categorized:

8.1.1. Lost Territories, Rights etc.

The most serious accusation and objection against Abdülhamid II were on his most obvious and concrete failure: lost territories. In fact, if we do not count the vast territories that were lost in 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian war which broke out right after the enthronement of Abdülhamid II and in which the Ottomans laid into with the votes of constitutional government, the period of Abdülhamid II was an era that remaining territories were somehow protected with various games and ingenious politics. Nevertheless, in the Young Turk press, on all occasions it was mentioned that Abdülhamid II did not care about the lost territories and he only cared about his own interests and benefits:

"Actually, the issues of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Crete are the wretched legacies of the tyranny." (İttihad-ı İslam, no: 3:1)

"The caliph majesty would never get sad that Romania and Bulgaria have been lost. He would regard it a praiseworthy politics if he would be able to disturb a few Muslims there. Certainly, as he granted Tunisia to France in order to devastate the deceased Mithad Pasha, he is ready to sell Egypt and Sudan in return for disturbing a few Muslims in Egypt and he would be pleased with this exchange. Yet, as the English State took the above-mentioned two countries as it desired, it does not need the caliphate anymore, there is no reason for his royal tone and concurrence."[362]

"In case a shepherd who was charged with the protection of sheep from the wolf and herding them in the flatland says when the wolf hunted them or they fell sick "I assigned my dogs on the flock, call them to account", his answer cannot be accepted. So, even the Sultan says "I had assigned my deputies on the affairs of the public; they are responsible for the good and fault", this does not justifies him. This is because the responsibility is directly attributed to him. When he came to the throne, he came with his deputies. When it is desired to look for reliable and virtuous deputies no one opposes it.

[362] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No:30 Year:2 p.3-4, 18 Ramazanu'! Mua'zzam 1316, Yeni Bir Muvaffakiyet-i Hilafetpenahi

... In this age, there is no other government than the Ottoman State that could assemble and lead the Muslims in terms of its domain and position. Yet, there are many Sultans. If the board of the Ottoman sultanate is ruined, all these millions of Muslims disperse. Moreover, All the Muslim parties in the world come to harm due to the deprivation of protection. All these millions of innocents of children, patients, babies and women would have to leave their countries where they used to have peace and comfort, and they would become destitute and miserable in the foreign countries. In addition, the forces of Christian states, their ideologies and politics would not allow an establishment of such a central Islamic state again. Therefore, the Muslim population who are left unprotected would be stateless refugees like Jews, the Cherkes and Copts. And the reason of this is the collapse of the state!... and the reason for the dissolution of Sharia would be the idleness and negligence of the religious scholars."[363]

"As the character of Sultan is known and his thoughts are accepted, he would consent the destruction of the state one by one. He would never succeed in improvements of them. Besides not being convinced that the power and the honor of the state have diminished with the loss of Crete, if (God forbid) Yemen, Tripoli and Macedonia would be lost as well, since the Ottoman soldiers there would be evacuated and designated as officers in a few province to suck people's blood and kill anyone who cries, the caliph would be both glad and relieved. According to the imperial idea, the more the territories of the state become smaller the easier it gets to protect it."[364]

The author who says that *"Today, because of Sultan Hamid the Muslims suffer so much that its expansion regressed for almost a century."* later mentions about the lost places as Abdülhamid II came into power, yet he states that the murder in Crete did not resemble any of them and it was the most terrible murder.[365]

After saying "*While the responsibility of the shepherd is to protect the sheep, he unites with the wolf and kills the sheep. Alas is this the government? It is a pity for Muslims!*" he mentions about the sins of resisting the tyrant ruler, the state gradually deteriorated and he could not understand the fact that the public remained silent for that and the people did not think or were not able to think. His statement that "*At this rate, this year we will certainly be*

[363] From the article İradi, Küllüküm Rain Ve Küllüküm Anraiyetil Mes'ul (Hepiniz Çobansınız Hepiniz Güddüğünüz Koyunlardan Mesulsünüz), Mabad, Kanun-i Esasi, No.4, Year 2, p.1-2,1 February 1898.
[364] Unsigned, cem'i kavi fikr-i hilafet penahisi, Kanun-i Esasi, 6 February 1899, No: 31, p. 2, Year: 2
[365] Unsigned, mizan, Abdülhamid II'in büyük cinayeti, No:28, p.2, 12 July 1897

successor for the Muslims of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Dobruja, Cyprus, Yenişehir and Tırhala" is another example of anger criticism and threat.[366]

We shall be ashamed, act with justice. We have spent our eighteen-year life only with sighing and crying like innocent and powerless children. How come we wish and pray for the avoidance of this trouble. With what did we discover that we are not expert of this job; and say that "God shall make people his experts"? Abdülhamid II flopped down on people like the "angel of death". By condescending and urgently the first greatest trouble and disaster he demonstrated was misery and defeat. Even though he does not neither the map nor the geography of the country he rules, the fact that he commands from his palace and sets commanders against each other, brought about the defeat of our armies in Anatolia and Rumelia and defamation of our glorious army that was proverbial for six hundred years. The regiment of Moscow almost entered into Istanbul. Later he left and granted the vast provinces that were conquered by our ancestors' blood and governed for centuries, the most stabilized fortresses, the busiest harbors to our ineffective enemy with hundreds of citizens while they were crying and screaming, just like he was granting a hundred decare of land from his own property. People on the other hand confined themselves only to sighing (God shall make people experts). They did not raise cries of patriotism. When the deputies, who are responsible for the prosperity and safety of our nation and property and who were elected by us, began to investigate in the parliament for this fault, as did not favored by the tyrant Sultan, that parliament was prorogued and adjourned. Council members were suspended. By gathering brigands, ignorant, dishonored and opportunist men around him, he closed himself to Yıldız where is far away from İstanbul. By extinguishing people's star, he brightened his own star. He assigned them as viziers, governors, pashas and chiefdom. He exiled or had strangled excruciatingly the zealous Muslim notables who devoted themselves to the prosperity of the state; that is to say to our progress and happiness. He ordered some of them to be thrown to the sea and some of them to be poisoned with virulent poisons. The ones, who were not intoxicated with elixir, were left in dungeons enchained to languish there. By disregarding Sharia, he declared his arbitrary administration as law.[367]

[366] Hasbi, Mizan, Ağlayalım mı ölelim mi?, no.29, p.2, 19 June 1897, Geneva.
[367] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1 No: 2, 28 December 1896, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arızadan Maba'd

Even while Abdülhamid II was a young prince, he followed the press attentively, and with his large informer network, was of course informed about accusations and certainly rejected the criticisms.

For instance, he was accused because of his attitude in the issue of East Rumelia in 1885 and of revealing weakness and not sending an army there to suppress the coup d'état. Yet, he had valid arguments in his opinion: He had to act like that because the reorganization of the army had not completed yet and the treasury was empty. Unfortunately, it was needed to make concessions at that point in order to provide defense in other parts of the empire.

In another place, Abdülhamid II stated that it was right to use force in Tunisia and particularly in Egypt and said that "The wars ending with victory tires the nation as those ending with defeat". (Georgeon, 2012: 599)

8.1.2. Personal insults to him

As it was stated in the previous chapter, the insults of Young Turks towards Abdülhamid II had a past. At the beginning they were hopeful about him. Later, despite losing this hope, in their private correspondences they advised each other not to insult the Sultan directly as insulting his personality would have damaged their prestige before the public. Yet later, somehow they did not see harm in insulting the Sultan in a way that was not proper for any person.[368]

Specific to our subject however, the fact that Abdülhamid II never had a policy of Islamic Unity in real terms was associated to the fact that he did not have the power and courage to undertake such a big cause. Although it is not a very wrong determination, the fears of Abdülhamid II were not by himself or ungrounded. His time was the period of assassinations.[369]

[368] While Young Turks were expressing their hate to the Sultan on the one hand, they were trying to assasinate him within their means. Young Turks were so much dissapointed that it is possible to encounter such statements in their publications: "Even the Sultan does not live longer and dies within a few years, we should not hope that the new Sultan will respect people and work for the prosperity of the state by consulting people. Even the oath that the new Sultan will take on his honor and religion should not be trusted because we have seen through Abdülhamid II who gave promise and took oath delusively. Our observations can give us ideas about the future". (quoting Aydoğan, 2004: 74)

[369] The fact that Alexandre II who abolished serfdom in 1861 and almost established a new Russia and is therefore known as "Tsar Liberator" and who also institutionalised county councils was killed in 1881 (after the fourth assasinations that he survived), probably influenced Abdülhamid II's ideas on reforms. Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1902, King of Belgium Leopold in 1902, the Spanish King and his wife in 1906 all survived assasination

The Sultan's fear of assassination was used by the ones around him who made him believe in conspiracies. For instance, Ahmed Celaleddin, who was a trusted man of the Sultan and who was the head of the secret service that carried on a struggle against Young Turks successfully, fell a victim to a report in 1904 and accused by Fehim Pasha for hiring an Albanian for a consideration to get the Sultan killed. Ahmed Celaleddin who was afraid that something bad could happen to him, took shelter in the French Embassy, and by transferring to Egypt where he had all his assets, he helped the Young Turks there in the rest of his life. Fehim Pasha however, who reported him, headed the secret service. On the other hand, although he always denied those accusations, he was blamed as an assassin of the murder of Mithat Pasha from the beginning. (Georgeon, 2012: 599)

Moreover, Abdülhamid II's fear of assassination which was very much criticized was practiced in 21 July 1905, on Friday, but all the witnesses accepted that he was very calm. While Abdülhamid II, who was going to the courtyard of Hamidiye Mosque to perform prayer in the ceremony of Friday prayer, was walking through the car that was going to take him back to the palace, a huge bomb was exploded next to the mosque. As a result of a last-minute and unexpected change in the procession the Sultan was saved without injury, yet his calmness[370] created him an opportunity to demonstrate his personal courage.[371] (Georgeon, 2012: 537)

Nevertheless, Young Turks did not abstain from attacking Abdülhamid II's personality, besides his politics, and calling him sinister, crazy, murderer etc.: *"Curse on you*

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attempts. In Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, in England the assasination plan of Irish terrorists had been revealed. In 1896 the Shah of Iran was killed, and in 1898 the wife of Kaiser Joseph, Empress Elizabeth was killed in Austria. In 1900 the king of Italy Umberto, on February 1908 King of Portugal were killed. Only royal families were not affected from these murders; the president of the republic France Carnot (1894) and the president of Spain Canovas (1897) were also killed. In history of USA four presidents were killed; the three except for well known Kennedy were assasinated when Abdülhamid II was alive: Lincoln in 1865, Garfield in 1881 and McKinley was killed in 1901." (Kırmızı, 2011: 30-31)

[370] "Acommon panic was created when dust and blood spread around. The Sultan raised his hands and shouted with his obtuse voice: "Do not rush!" After that he got into his car, took the bridles and passed by the foreign guests who were shouting as "hurray!" all together." (quoting Deringil, 2007: 40)

[371] After that unsuccessful assasination, during Abdülhamid II's visit to holy cardigan of the prophet, Young Turks who planned a new successful assasination from sea and land, decided to leave this plan when Armenians, who would be their partners in this job, demanded two thousand francs and that they were not able to find even two hundred francs. (Aydoğan, 2004: 328)

oh bloody Hamid! Oh this disaster! Oh evil sinister that sets afire to ground and caused fire, come to grief oh dishonor! Oh the ruler that oppresses people's weal!"[372]

In the accusations towards Sultan's personality, the private issues were also brought forward; the Cherkes girls in the palace were mentioned about, and at the end by always going around the same point, it was claimed that the Sultan only cared about himself. According to this, it was stated that Abdülhamid II acted against Islam and the issues like Islamic education of Sharia were directed to the scholars of Islamic law.[373]

"Expecting improvements or hoping for a favor from Sultan Hamid is like expecting remedy from poison. The incidents also prove our pray"[374]

"I assure you that Armenians are more Ottoman that Sultan Hamid and his deputies and their loyalty to the state are in accordance with their interests."[375]

"In the last issue of your newspaper, an article titled as Abdülhamid II's sheikh Ebul huda caught my eye and although the his evils were gathered his most important disloyalty and disgrace were either forgotten or I believed that it was more related with afterlife, as it is helpful here to present the excitement that the wicked created on the thoughts of the public, I had to write this letter."[376]

"In our last issue, under the prolog of Islam in Japan, addressing the Muslims, we wrote something in the meaning that "Do not trust the Ottoman dynasty, they are selfish, they do not bestow any favor, their aim is not to ensure the interests of Islam, but rather to ensure their sultanate". This article drew reaction from many patriots who are in Egypt. They tell us that: It is not appropriate to interfere with the Ottoman dynasty. They are our union that protects us. They are our sovereignty capital. After all, were all the people in this dynasty selfish? Were there not any patriots among them?

Our answer is that the only unity and power holder of a nation is someone from a family, a dynasty. The ruler and unity of that community can only be a ruler of a sheep flock

[372] Ömer Feyzi, '11 Nisan Top Seleri', Şurâ-yı Ümmet, no:218, p.6-7
[373] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mukniâ Cevaplar, No. 11, Date 15 Cemâzi-yel-âhir 1320 Thursday, 4 September 1902, p. 4.
[374] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 20, Year: 1, *10* May 1897, "Te'emmül".
[375] Arşak..yan İstanbul'dan aldığımız bir mektuptan, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No: 15, 5 April 1897, p. 3.
[376] Zabıtan-ı askeriden bir zat, Halep'ten mektup, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No: 21, p. 5, 24 May 1897.

in the hands of a butcher. The nations under the dominance of a dynasty have always been ephemeral and exposed to danger."[377]

"If we look at the Ottoman history, there had been thirty Sultans and when four or five of them are taken as exceptional at the end, all of them were oppressor, drunk, lustful, ignorant, conservative, disloyal men and they are the Ottoman dynasty that have destroyed Turkey. The one who caused a fit between the citizens of Turkey and who got a few hundreds of Armenians killed ten years ago to his ignorant conservative citizens is among Ottoman Sultans."[378]

"Our unique ghazi suffers from the rumors that Japan will follow Islam. We have a scholar acquaintance of this issue. If he sends a man to the congress in Tokyo, the duty of that deputy will not be defending Islam and explain its divineness; on the contrary it will be intimidate them about Muslims and Islam. When the parliament opened in Russia, our unique ghazi lied sick because of his anger. In order to restrict the reformist movement in Iran, by aggravating the border dispute, he desired setting against the brothers who wished to be released from captivity through captive Turks. Regardless of how dreadful the truth is, it should be revealed. To the request of help of the Kazan government of Islamic Andalusia, the caliph of this glorious dynasty gave the senseless answer of "only one Islamic government can exist in the world", and they got satisfaction for the devastation of this Islamic government. This should be expressed so as Muslims to abandon their hopes on the Ottoman Sultan, see through them and try to obtain their peace and prosperity through science, art and commerce within the order and laws of the government they are subjected to. Our friend who once said that "once Abdülhamid II says 'jihad oh Muslims', great trouble arises and the whole world would fall into confusion' is now deceived. That is to say he is a deceiver who was deceived."[379]

8.1.3. Not helping Islam, his harms on the contrary

Although this thesis basically discusses Abdülhamid II's policy on Islamic Unity[380] and the position of Young Turks against this, the fact that the above-mentioned Sultan did not

[377] Abdullah Cevdet, Hanedan-i Osmani, İctihad, teşrini evvel 1906, No: 2, Year: 2, p. 1.
[378] Bir türk-kürt mekatip, Türkiye'nin belay-ı mücessimi, İctihad, teşrini sani 1906, Year: 2, No: 3, p. 256.
[379] Abdullah Cevdet, Japonya da Müslümanlık, İctihad, June 1906 no: 1, Year: 2, p. 3.
[380] For Morocco, Tunisia, Turkestan and especially Bukhara and Kashgar concerning the activities of Islamic Unity during the beginning of Abdülhamid II's reign see: Çetinsaya, 1988, p. 52-62, for Crimea and Caucasia p.

have such a policy as Islamic Unity in reality and in practice as it was explained above in detail, is known by everyone who studies on this subject. Instead of forming an activist staff and carrying out dangerous actions by comparing the features of Islamic societies and forces of imperialism, he played a game of being the secret power a possible action. He was able to use the fears of Europeans on Pan-Islamism. Abdülhamid II even recognized that his moderate policy caused dissatisfaction in Islamic circles. The concern he showed towards the religious orders of Şazeli, Rufai and Medeni and the help he provided for them created discontent among other orders, Senûsîs being in the first place. For all these reasons, what all Abdülhamid II tried to do was to protect his throne and state against the campaigns of Arab caliphate that began with the provocations of Europe.

The most advantageous way to attack Abdülhamid II for Young Turks was to tell that his connection to Islam was not real and through his actions he harmed Muslim societies rather than helping them. In this cause, they wrote many invented or true articles and so the element that made Abdülhamid II dignified before people was tried to be ruined:

"If Abdülhamid II acted reasonably, the attempt of Islamic Unity would be prevailed. It is easy to prove that the Sultan has never acted reasonably. While he never fails to ruin his own state, insult people and put the state in jeopardy, he tried to show himself in other Muslim countries as pure and fair. Yet, he could not succeed in anything; on the contrary he lost. He led Muslims to many failures."[381]

The statements of Osman Nuri Ergin, who was a contemporary of that period and a distinguished historian, set another clear example to this:

"He would have not abstained from getting the religious books burned, yet he would not have failed to benefit from the prestige of the caliphate. There were seventeen-eighteen million Muslims in Turkey. Yet, in India, China, Java, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Sudan there were three hundred million Muslims. Abdülhamid II used to send officers there to win

75-84, for Afghanistan p. 84-96, for India p. 96-102, for Mecca p. 102-105, for North Africa p. 105-108, for Indian Ocean p. 108-109.

[381] Unsigned, İttihad-ı İslam yazısının devamı, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 9, Year: 2, p. 3, 15 March 1898.

over all the Muslims, for the places that were not aware of the tyranny he imposed; he desired to take advantage of the prestige of the caliphate."[382]

Or with another example:

"Muslims of Bosnia, Rumelia and Romania have shined like Cyprians from the divine light of the caliph. If they have any debt, that is helping the caliphate. Such a caliph that: The imam gets the books full of the verses of Quran and the hadiths of prophet burned. This is the thought that harms the evilness of Sultan's prayers."[383]

In the articles in which the answer of the question of "How did Abdülhamid II serve to Islam during his reign?" was sought, the ideas that as a result of the misguided policies, people moved away from Islam were suggested: "The arbitrariness of caliphate, serving Mecca and Medina, and representation are the major things that were created during the reign of this Sultan more than ever". Their purpose was to explain everyone how the people were detracted from Islam despite the arguments and to prove that *"he abandoned his aims on Islamic Unity and even in his own state he was hardly connected to Islam"*. With examples, the contradictory situations to Islam in Izmir where was quite close to the capital were told, and the gradually increasing influence and the population of a community in a small town of Izmir, which seemed like being Muslim but was actually non-Islamic was mentioned about. Some other pervert examples were given from Konya, Diyarbakır, Bitlis etc. and it was emphasized that during the reign of Abdülhamid II Islam was very much insulted. After telling that people do not even know perform ablution right, the superstitions that were spread by a few qualified men could not be prevented, the enemies of the region were taking advantage of the weakness of Abdülhamid II's period, Orthodoxy was spreading quite fast in Syria and Damascus, that weakness was regarded as a crucial weapon against Catholicism and the condition of Baktashi order in Balkans it was asked that *"We lost all these lands, population and property, although not possible we shall blame Abdülhamid II's ignorance in administration and politics for these. Yet, what shall we say for the chaotic religion and faith under the ruins he still dominates? Shall we believe that this strange Sultan who tries to*

[382] Osman Nuri, Abdülhamid II-İ Sanİ ve Devr-i Saltanatı, Hayat-ı Hususiye ve Siyasiyesi, İstanbul: Kütübhane-i İslam ve Askeri İbrahim Hilmi, 1327, p. 718-719.
[383] Unsigned, gayret-i garbiye, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 12, Year: 2, p. 2, 7 June 1898.

learn[384] *the degree of the relation between a soldier and his noncom in the sixth army in Baghdad is not aware of these corruptions?"*[385]

In another article in which it was argued that Islam was lost during the reign of Abdülhamid II, the responsibility of people was explained as: *"God, who does not like oppressors, does not like the ones who obey the oppressors either. The mosque is being ruined in the hands of betrayers, the Quran is being lost".*[386]

8.1.4. Obedience to the Authorities (Ulul'emr)

Ulul'emr is a term that addresses the senior headmen in the Islamic society and the authority holders. In the dictionary, it is defined as "those commanding". As the word of "command" had the meanings of "action, labor" and also "commanding", *ulul'emr* represents both authorities and those in charge. Within the context of the religious literature it is an extensive term that involves the high administrators of the society, particularly the president, and the holders of social responsibility and authority. (Türcan: 2012: İstanbul)

One of the major objections of Young Turks was that Abdülhamid II dictated that the obedience to the religious scholars and the sheikhs, who were supporting him and his enforcements, was among the major conditions of the religion. According to them neither those people answered to the description of *ulul'emr*, nor were there such obedience in the essence of the religion:

"It is known by everyone that the verse of the Quran that commands the necessity of the obedience to ulul'emr, as if it is an essence of the laws of Quran and politics of Islam, has been dictated to the Muslims carefully. The people who neither read the profession correctly, nor know to which religious community they belong; feel the necessity of the obedience to ulul'emr as worship. Even, they regard mentioning the Sultan without ritual ablution as a sin.

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[384] In order to eliminate that danger Abdülhamid II implemented a strict intelligence program, thanks to this program he condemned Young Turks to lodges and he became to be known as "informer Sultan". Indeed, this issue of spying harmed himself more than everyone when it reached a certain degree.

The Sultan who indulged those sending intelligence notes called "jurnal", destroyed his reputation and health in time. This Sultan who got addicted to groundless suspicions was harmed by this spying. Later the Sultan who cumulated all those spy notes in sacks without reading them, employed a kadi to investigate them in the palace. Therefore, maybe the real function of the spies was decreasing the possibility of bureaucrats to attempt to betray within fractions. As he used European States against each other in diplomacy, he dealth with the pashas in this way. (Kırmızı, 2011: 31)

[385] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Abdülhamid II Devrinde İslamiyet, No. 15, Date 1 Şaban 1320 Sunday, 2 November 1902, p. 1.

[386] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Iyd-ı Adhâ, No.48, Date 15 Zi'l-hâce 1321 Thursday 3 March 1904, p. 1.

Even though there is no doubt about the condition of obedience to ulu'l-emr, it is not known who has the duty of being ulu'l-emr"[387] *In this and other similar articles, it was explained in detail why Abdülamid was an ulu'l-emr…*

It was said that "*While obedience to ulu'l-emr is a command of God, even if it was, it is obviously a necessary respect for the rank. Yet, obedience for the position that causes considerable harms such as destructing the state and the caliphate, destroying the national delegation, violating the peace and safety of the Muslims was not commanded*."[388]

"Under the protection of the Sultan there are more Muslims than Christians who are hungry and shabby. Could there be a rudeness like slandering the prophet and interpreting arbitrarily the hadiths in order the deceive Muslims? The necessary that whatever title was given, such as Amir, sultan and caliph, Muslim should obey the Islamic government. Yet, this is conditioned with the fact that first of all the government itself should obey the holy book, Sunnah and the prophet. The glossators who interpreted the verses on obedience commanded thus. Even the qualifications that the ruler of the Islamic government should hold are designated in Quran. The present Sultan who does not have any of the required qualifications…"[389]

A case that was seen in the newspapers quite often was that people and the religious scholars were blamed frequently and were pressured as "how come you do not raise your voice, how will you take this responsibility?"[390]

"The desire of life of the whole Islamic world is the caliphate that is Muslims' source of pride. Staying silent against any attack on his glory means fazing our religion, and therefore people would be responsible for that." [391]

8.1.5. Legitimacy of the caliphate

A significant issue that was discusses about obedience to *ulu'l-emr* was the legitimacy of Abdülhamid II's caliphate. According to some Young Turks, Abdülhamid II by no means deserved the position of caliphate and that position was not legitimate. According to some

[387] Nasıh, Kanun-i Esasi, Makale-i şeriye: Ulul emr kim olabilir? 22 February 1897, No.10, Year 1, p. 1-3.
[388] Unsigned, Mizan, İkiden biri, 12 March 1896, no. 167, p. 2417.
[389] Unsigned, makalei mahsusa, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 2, No: 2, p. 1, 17 January 1898.
[390] For an example see: Unsigned, Mizan, Ulamayı dini İslam hazeratının gayreti diniyelerine karşı bir feryadı himmettir, p. 2473-6, No: 174, 30 April 1896.
[391] Medrese neşinlerden fakir bir suhte, Mizan, Bu ne hilafettir ya Rab!, No. 172, 2463, 16 April 1896.

other Young Turks however, even though the Ottoman caliphate was legitimate, Abdülhamid II, who did not abstain from using this position only for his own interests and oppressing Muslim in various ways, was from qualifying this position.

Within this context, in the newspapers what Abdülhamid II was doing was told recurrently[392] and whether his caliphate was legitimate was discussed.[393]

"Being the servant of Mecca and Medina is the highest blessing that a Muslim can have. The gratitude for this blessing cannot be expressed by making people servant of you. Those two sacred positions are shared among Muslims. They belong to the public. The servant of Mecca and Medina is obliged to inform all Muslims about the conditions of the world and help them spiritually if not materially. Occupying those sacred positions necessitates that. It is essential to show Muslims the true path, indoctrinate them and consolidate the idea of Muslim brotherhood among Muslim subjects. Hence, even among the Muslim communities, it is needed to establish a common direction."[394]

"Muslim brotherhood is a requisite of the religion. For the common direction, time and place are the requisites. Ridiculous ideas like "Since I am the servant of Mecca and Medina, Muslims will be servants for my pleasures, regard serving to me as an honor, and will sacrifice their lives for me" are against Islam."[395]

"There is no faithful and wise mufti who would approve an extravagant, wasteful and unlawful caliph like glorious Abdülhamid II. Even though the cardigan of the prophet is indeed kept in Istanbul, in the Topkapı Palace and it is proved that that cardigan and all other relics really used to belong to our prophet, visiting them cannot be accepted as a requisite of the religion. Abdülhamid II visits once a year the place of the holy relics where is only one hour away from the Sultan's hiding-place, which is the barrel house for people's property. In fact, those properties of people that are being wasted are enough to allow that caliph to visit Kaaba for forty or fifty times."[396]

[392] Unsigned, Mizan, Görecek göz olsa, görülecek şeyler çoktur, No. 182, p. 2537-9, 25 June 1896.
[393] Unsigned, Mizan, Ulamayı dini İslam hazeratına vazifei şinasane himmetlerine maruzattır, No. 171, p. 2449, 9 April 1896.
[394] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 14 Year:2 p.2-3, Makale-i Mahsusa,19 April 1898, EI-İttihad.
[395] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 14 Year:2 p.2-3, Makale-i Mahsusa,19 April 1898, EI-İttihad
[396] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 29 Year: 2 p. 23 January 1899, Hirka-i Sa'idet'i Ziyaret Ca'iz mi?

"Another evidence for Sultan Abdülhamid II's failure in every act: It is known that Sultan Hamid is proud of his caliphate most. In order to acquire a position he always puts it forward. On the other hand, it is not necessary to say that his foolish pride does not answer the purpose. This is because caliphate and Abdülhamid II are very far from each other. Everyone knows that while there was nothing left that he did not do for the caliphate, seven or eight years ago he raised the issue of Japan. In other words, in order to prove that Abdülhamid II worked for the union and spreading Islam, he attempted to establish a peace settlement with Japan which is found in the East but has not yet adopted the European civilization. The actions he took in this cause and the sacrifices were widely acclaimed."[397]

"The Sultan sends preachers among Albanians in order not lose their love and loyalty. The Sultan does not have any other concern than make the poor Muslims recognize his caliphate. The Sultan has not thought about the idea of serving to Islam and he will not think about it."[398]

"The researchers know about the reasons of the idleness and the bad luck that has occurred to the Islamic state for the third time under this title. If this is not dealt with, the devastation of the state and the caliphate is quite possible. Our prophet commanded that "Islam and the Sultan is equal, if the sultan is corrupted, there would be no peace in Islam." If corruption entered the world of Islam, it is not from the gate of religion. Certainly it entered from the gate of caliphate. Yet, the Muslims who realize that corruption and do not deal with it, they would share the responsibility."[399]

In the article of "An issue that requires explanation" it was asked "What is the reason for our Sultan's animosity and hostility against Muslims?" and told that it was irrefutable, and while non-Muslims always benefited from the reforms, Muslims could not benefit in neither way etc. Moreover, the fact that something equal to this had not occurred in the Ottoman state was also added.[400]

"Why shall we excuse the tyrannical acts of someone who has made his spies collect the sacred law book which commands that in case the caliph is an oppressor, his dethronement is allowed by the religion, in one night in Istanbul and got all of them burned,

[397] İmzasız, Kanun-i Esasi, No:37 Year:2 p.2, 19 April 1315, Sultan Hamid'in Bir Muvaffakiyetsizliği Daha
[398] Unsigned, fezayih-i cedide, Kanun-i Esasi, 15 March 1898, No: 9 Year: 2, p. 1.
[399] Unsigned, Mizan, Vazife ve mesuliyet, ne var ne yok, 3, 2450-1, 171, 9 April 1896.
[400] Unsigned, Mizan, izaha muhtaç bir mesele, ,No. 7, p.2, 15 February 1897.

and someone who dares disclaiming the holy verses that are the orders of Constitutionalism, and what kind of a relation can such a man have with Islam?" (Quoting from vatan beyannamesi, Aydoğan, 2004: 135)

Somewhere else, the fact that he did not deserve the position of caliphate was criticized as: *"... as the sacred laws of the party being the Islamic orders, and the holy statement of 'all Muslims are brothers' has a unifying power among Muslims, if the unacceptable activities of the person who has been trying to destroy glorious Islam are examined well, it is impossible not cry. Therefore, since the ignorant desire of introducing a Muslim refugee who had left Dagestan twenty five years ago and entered the service of religion and nation as a foreigner in the newspapers is equal to a daring for sowing discord among Muslims, could that person be regarded as a caliph?*"[401]

"Oh Muslim! Oh Ottoman! Look once at the Ottoman caliphate that claims being the caliph of all Muslims! Look at carefully for not to be mistaken! While he was able to get material and spiritual power by practicing Sharia in his acts and treatments and considering the conditions of his subjects –due to maladministration- imagine the prosperity that he lacks! Imagine for a while the prosperity and progress of America as it is described! Then answer the shameless, impudent and nonbeliever men who mentions about the virtues of Abdülhamid II; his caliphate; the necessity of obedience; the justice of his government and the necessity of sacrificing our lives! Decide which of the two governments that are described is more similar to the governments of the four great caliphs!"[402]

8.1.6. Address to the Sultan

Young Turks' attitudes towards Abdülhamid II and the policies on Islamic Unity are full data that might take us to interesting points. The Sultan, who cherished hopes by declaring the First Constitutionalism and accepting the Basic Law, dampened the enthusiasms in time. Therefore, their reactions to him varied from praising and begging him towards insults and threats in time.

Before beginning opposition and publications in Europe in line with the tradition established by the New Ottomans, they applied to the Sultan for the last time with the offers.

[401] Eddağı, Talibu Selamet bir mümin, Mizan, Mekkei Mükerreme 2 şevval, No. 170, p. 2446, 2 April 1896.
[402] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 3 Year: 2, 25 January 1898, Makale-i Mahsusa (Maba'd)

In the letters written by Mizancı Murat addressing the Sultan, which were published from Cairo in 1896 in the 159th issue, he praised the Sultan and called him "my compassionate Sultan" and "magnificent person", and he hoped convincing Abdülhamid II. Even though, it was not expressed in the newspaper that it was a Union and Progress publication, in the newspaper it was said that *"We cannot imagine an Ottoman state that would not support the ideas and activities of Committee of Union and Progress. When we do not express this, we do not distinguish even the spies who have yielded in art."*[403]

In a subsequent issue on the other hand, they stated that they were presenting their petition to the Sultan for the last time (yet they continued to submit petition in the following issues) and they asserted that their immense service was not lower than the services of Ebul Hüda, Lütfü Agha, Ragıp or others. According to the statement, the harms that the Sultan caused because of the bad friends around him are indescribable. In that statement, after that situation was explained, they presented two options: first putting consultancy to the Sultan into place again or leaving the throne and the caliphate with his own will. These two option are also seen in the subsequent issues as *"One from two; either acceptance of consultancy or leaving the government"*. In case the Sultan did not accept any options and follow his own path, it was dared to utter the threat that he would soon regret and something bad was going to happen. Later on in the statement, in case the Sultan chose the first option, it was decided who would be the grand vizier, *serasker* etc.[404].It is quite surprising that the newspaper believed that could go that far in leading the Sultan.

Many articles that began as "My Sultan!" were full of such advices:

"If the desire of setting up the assembly is rejected by the majesty again, since it is certain that the Muslim government will be ruined with the corruptions of the present administration, making effort in this cause is seems necessary…"

"You shall apply the present methods according to the methods that are guaranteed by the Basic Law, and we shall all be your cortege! We shall recognize you again as the leader of religion and nation…"

[403] Unsigned, Mizan, Fırkamızın hattı hareketi, Issue: 159, Cairo, February 1896, p. 2359.
[404] Murad, Mizan, Açık Muhabere, Issue 162, Cairo, 6 February 1896, p. 2377.

"The recovery of this religion in every hundred years with a restorer is promised. Be quick to bear this title of restorer! The restorer of this century will be the one who sets up the assembly and who gives the Muslims freedom." "In order not to reveal the secret to the foreigners, we submit this petition to your magnificent office. We wish a favor in fifteen days, regarding the material and spiritual divineness of your office. Failing this, we will make greatest effort for the liberation of the state, our Sultan". (Kanun-i Esasi, no: 2, p. 3-6)

The following years however, were the period of insults, the hate for the Sultan and searching for ways to get rid of the Sultan. Yet, the insults and harsh opposition which suddenly stopped after the 1908 Revolution that the intention had emerged, gave its place to short-lived and interesting dialogues in which the Sultan could be called as *"Our glorious Sultan who is the religious leader of three hundred million Muslims and the Sultan of thirty million Ottomans"* (İttihad-ı İslam, no:4: 1):

"Ottomans, especially Turks are known for loving their Sultan. Whom we did not love was not that magnificent person. It was the evil methods of despotism that was governed by the harmful people that surrounded the empire." (İttihad-ı İslam, no: 3: 3)

In another example: *"The loyalty that is felt by the Ottomans towards the Ottoman sultanate, which was garnished and promoted by the caliphate of Islam, is higher and more sincere than anything similar."*[405]

Certainly, this situation did not last long and after the 31 March Incident, the Sultan was seen more dangerous than ever and he was subjected to the threats for banishment and imprisonment. What is important here however, the hostility towards Abdülhamid II and the discourse that was developed through this hostility. Practically, a policy of Islamic Unity was necessary in the conditions of that time in order to keep the territories of the state, and Young Turks were not against this. Nevertheless, the fact it was Abdülhamid II and not them or the constitutional system implementing this was unacceptable for them. Therefore, the objections towards him went on incessantly.

8.2. Ignorant public

"-What is homeland (vatan)?

[405] Unsigned, Cülüs-i Hümâyûn Cenâb-ı Hilâfet-Penâhî, İstanbul, p. 34, 1 September 1908, p. 151.

-It is a play.

-What is independence?

-It is a name of a newspaper.

-What is brotherhood?

-I have not seen it yet, how shall I know?

-Justice?

-It is the name of my aunt's daughter.

-Consultancy?

-I do not understand what it is."

Boşboğaz Journal[406]

"Oh the holder of immutable law, why is this change in every minute? What is this untenable burden on the shoulders of the whole nation? I wish you had punished this "me", who is amazed for all these wonders you granted the world, in a harshest way possible and had allowed these proud people to take part in the progression of civilization that appears in a different form in every age!"

(Quoting from the letter of a Young Turk who fled to Europe, written to a friend in the ferry, Aydoğan, 2004: 70)

Although Young Turks started off with the dreams of justice, freedom, consultancy for people etc., it is quite clear in the sources that we have covered that the people did not take sides with them; instead of trusting these inexperienced young men, they trusted in the Sultan and prayed for his safety and the perpetuity of the state. This situation aggravated the Young Turks, they called those ignorant people for the path they accepted the right one, sometimes wrathfully and sometimes with the persuasion methods. Even, they sometimes uttered with quite Jacobin discourses that those people could never understand the reality back then but they could only see the truths in time:

"On the one hand, for the warnings of European States' about setting up the assembly you tell them that the religious scholars do not accept it! And sometimes, with proclaiming the foreign states that our people do not have the capability and competency for the national assembly and even they attacked in the previous assembly, you are attacking the religion and

[406] Quoting from Issue 18,p:3, Date: 8 October 1908, Palmira Brummett, İkinci Meşrutiyet Basınında İmge ve Emperyalizm, 1908-1911, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003.p.104

the nation. Look at the great notables and the caliphate of Islam that they used to hear about them in the Friday sermons…If this continues, they will leave the respect that they feel to you. Also, the respect has been left partially and the signs of rebellion have appeared."[407]

Oh Muslims! Do you not ask for the littlest amount of money that you lent? Do you not go to law if they do not give it back? Why do you not complain about your officers who disregarded the law? God shall change your end for the good.[408]

Sultan Abdülhamid II assumes that all Muslims would trust him if he depicts himself wise and the politics and state powerful. They would not hesitate to be on his side. They would also wish to rebel against their own state if the majesty himself asks for it. So in this way, he keeps himself safe from the interventions of the Europeans. He would enjoy himself.[409]

"The Basic Law addresses the oppressed people and says that: Oh Turks, Pomaces, and Albanians in Rumelia under the Turkish rule; the poor Turks, Kurds, the Laz, Georgians, the Arab Peninsula, Iraq, Tripoli and Yemen! And Hedjaz Arabs and all other inhabitants, all of you listen! Tell Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Ulahs, Jews, Marunis, Yezidis and all other ones around you and they shall listen too, even a coal dealer in Istranca forest, a muleteer in Bishi mountain, cameleer in Edirne, a hunter in Prizren mountains, stableman around Tikvesh, donkey guard in Radop Balkan and all others, there shall be no one left, tell whatever you will hear to your children and women at home. Listen to the address that the Basic Law will deliver at all of you, maybe you would laugh a little and then it is your choice again to cry as usual. The ignorant despot who does not like the great work of our honorable deceased father Midhat Pasha and abrogated it as it is not in accordance with Islam of Ahmediye and the common Ottoman working, and who took up the cause of caliphate, does not even know the essence of the religion of which he asserts himself a subject, in Turkish of Islam."[410]

"Now, the Malumat newspaper is the leading corrupted newspaper. In appearance, it gives the idea of Islamic Unity. The main intention however, is to ensure that Abdülhamid II

[407] Şeyh alizade fatih mezunlarından hoca Muhiddin, Mısır kadılığı meselesi, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No. 2, 28 December 1896, p. 6.
[408] Unsigned, Birinci Hatıra, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 5, p. 3, birinci hatıra, Year: 2 8 February 1898.
[409] Unsigned, Ahval-i siyasiye, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 14, p. 2, 19 April 1898.
[410] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15 Year: 2 p.1-3, 24 April 1898, Herze'-i Cahiline mi? Küfr-i Anudane mi? Tekfir-i Kafirine mi?.

would stay at his throne until his death. Not only ensuring Abdülhamid II's throne, but even leaving him there for a while is a murder for Islam. But it cannot be helped. Since the Muslims abroad cannot understand well every day these ugly truths, they cannot find a solution than its continuation. All Ottoman subjects are more talented than Europeans.[411]

Ignorance and immorality of the public are increasing every day. The population of Muslims is decreasing like the influence of the state. During the reign of the present Sultan, half of the territories were lost. Instead of working for the improvement of the other half, they made an effort for its destruction. In Syria where people were fed in profusion in the past, now less than two million people, than fertile and vast lands are destroyed. Those talented people are now running away from the oppression of the government to the foreign countries. The value of the land and property has decreased for seventy percent. The general situation of the other provinces is measured in terms of this norm. There is no commerce and agriculture anymore. Under the dominance of the majesty, good people are ruined and evildoers are glad. Is there a reason for suspecting in these truths? Is the above-mentioned situation not enough to prove the fact that our government is useful neither to the world nor to the religion? The basis for such desperate situations is the oppression and tyranny of the government.[412]

"Among the Muslims in Turkey and particularly the villagers of Anatolia there some Muslims who cannot tell not only the five pillars of Islam, but also whose subject or community they are. Even the Muslims who fell into the hands of foreigners as a result of the maladministration, in which people were deceived with their own money and public storytellers, respect him like God and they do not think from where and how this betrayal come.

The people of Turkey are complaining about the oppression of the government and some honest people from the Islamic communities such as Turks, Kurds and Albanians are desperately leaving their places and crying."[413]

"The news coming from Anatolia state that people are in misery and trust in God (tevekkül). Oh the wrong meaning attributed to the word of tevekkül has ruined us. And it is

[411] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 14 Year: 2 p. 2-3, Makale-i Mahsusa,19 April 1898, EI-İttihad.
[412] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 3 Year: 2, 25 January 1898, Makale-i Mahsusa (Maba'd)
[413] Unsigned, Hulusi kim oluyor?, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 17, 17 June 1898, p. 3.

still ruining. After breaking the jaws of betrayers and oppressors, should wait for its result, should plow, cultivate, irrigate and then awaiting for the product that relies on the nature is tevekkül. So, tevekkül is not idleness or laziness. As you see the greatest enemy of our country and nation Abdülhamid II…"[414]

"Alas Muslims have been caught a miserable national disease of discernment. Muslims see those who sell their country for their personal interests as friends, and those who buy it as enemies.

It is thought that every Muslim owes the Sultan suffering from the deprivation of every kind of means of prosperity and felicity; living under the perpetual fear of his life's insecurity; fighting in the continuous wars that are waged as a result of the Sultan's despotism, with the belief that he will be a martyr when he is killed by a non-Muslim. As a result of these wars waged for the Sultans desire for golden and cruel oppressions, when the Muslim territories are lost piece by piece and fell into the hands of others, Muslims attribute this to the unfounded reasons such as the divine power and the fact that Christians are united to weaken the force of Islam."[415]

As in the European states that they took as a model, Young Turks whose main purpose was to receive the support of the public, tried to understand why people were that much naïve, and they also made an effort to refute the answers they found. According to this, within the Islamic world, at least Turkish, Iranian, Marrakech and Afghan governments were independent and they had the opportunity to rule as they wished. Nevertheless, while the freedoms they had were quite convenient for developing in terms of science and education, as if improvement was going to result in immorality, they either made no progress or made concessions about the level of morality with education.

According to them, people had the blindness of assuming that other Muslim brothers were in prosperity, and the tendency to accept their governments as legitimate and right all the time. The message of Young Turks to that ignorant public, who believed that the mischief stemmed from the time, was clear: *"The mischief is not in time. The mischief is in people. It spreads over people from the government."*

[414] Unsigned, Rusya ahvaline bir nazar, İctihad, No. 3, Year: 1, February 1905, p. 7.
[415] Unsigned, Türkiye'nin belay-ı mücessimi, İctihad, p. 251-254, teşrii sani 1906, Year: 2, No: 3.

"According to the information of the people, whose wisdom and report are trusted, and the investigation of others, we are a little bit informed about the situation of Islam. In the Islamic states, firstly an efficient administration is needed. Turkish, Iranian, Marrakech and Afghan governments hold the power of doing whatever they desire. Immediately making an effort to take advantage of this power is the requirement of reason and wisdom. While the Muslims should be enlightened with freedom in science and education and also should be protected from mischiefs with acting in accordance with the requirements of the time, these aspects are not completely taken into consideration. When progress is made on education, they experience demoralization. On the other side, if morality is preserved to a certain extent, education is not in demand. In some places neither of them exists. In many places, it is assumed that with new sciences the morality will be sustained. Since there not many means of friendship like trade and also transportation is not facilitated, Muslim communities hardly know about each other. If there was not the occasion of haj, they would not see the other's appearance and value. Maybe they would not be aware of their existence. The Muslims in every country believes that the others are more fortunate and their governments are more legitimate than their own government. For those they do not see, they do not have negative presumptions. This arises from the good presumption that is peculiar to Muslims. A Turk who has not seen Egypt believes that all Egyptians are developed, bright and prosperous. Moreover, Egyptians presume that every Turk is happy, free and powerful, and most of them admire the conditions of Turks.

An Iranian supposes the Turkish government as just, since he lives here freely under the protection of the ambassador. He only remembers the oppression of his own government. What is weird is that Muslims of every country excuses whatever their government does and they think that it cannot act wrongly. The most convenient situation for the Ottoman State's deterioration is created as people somehow make such a failure and the government appreciates this failure as if it serves the purpose. Such desperate situations arise from some old superstitious believes. First of all, such presumptions and superstitions which are harmful for public works, irrational and do not rely on anybody should be abolished. Supposedly, time brings every mischief. It is believed that the Sharia of Ahmediye will exist until the doomsday and with its practice prosperity will be created. There cannot be such a mistake of believing that while it is proved that their government does not place importance to the laws of Sharia, all the mischiefs come from the time.

The mischief is not in time. The mischief is in people. It spreads over people from the government. As in here, if people do not object any command of the government, the government should be the responsible for all the mischiefs, because it can lead people whatever direction it desires. It is obvious that if people do not restrain the government from mischief, they would not restrain it from the good."[416]

Generally in the articles that was mentioning about the desperate situation that the Muslims got into, the sadness felt for this situation of Muslims' was expressed: *"Which community in the world is lonely, ignorant, in destitute and worthy of every kind of mercy and attention like the Muslims?"*[417]

Certainly, the most important reason for that desperate situation was *"Abdülhamid II who was the richest Sultan ever and the trouble of Turkey and who exploited the state ruthlessly"* and at the same time it was the public who resigned itself to his despotism:

"When the reader examined that book in his hands until here has understood with his hearth that the troubles in the politics of Turkey, that is to say the wars, occupation of the state, decrease of its influence shortly and precisely the gradual destruction of the Turkish Empire, stem from the submission of Muslims to the tyranny and their indifference to their national interests…"[418]

"For holding celebrations of religious festivals while Ottomanness and Islam is in this desperate situation, one should either be crazy or should have no relation to Ottomanness, Islam, or more importantly to humanity."[419]

Indeed, Young Turks did not miss any opportunity to try to convince people in various ways and to criticize Abdülhamid II who left people ignorant, while they were addressing people either by praising, resenting or threatening them:

"Oh miserable people, consider for a while! Face with that betrayer, with that despotism which tears your consciences, your minds with its poisonous finger nails! If this oppression, this despotism is going to shoot you, let shoot you in your hearth! But being shot

[416] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 13 Year:2 p.2-3, 11 April 1898, İttihad-ı İslam Makalesinden-(Maba' d ve Hitam).
[417] Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, "Müslümanlar Uyanın", Matbaa-i İçtihat, 1912 (second edition), first edition, Paris, 1903 p.56.
[418] Abdullah Cevdet, Müslümanlar Uyanın (İkaz-ı Müslim),Matbaa-i İçtihat,1907, Egypt, p. 86.
[419] Iyd-i fıtr(ramazan bayramı), No. 10,p.1, 8 March 1897.

in the back while escaping?... Do you deserve this position the poor Turkish nation? How were your determination and steadiness ruined in this way?

Will you fill your hearth, which once had only the fear of God and love of country, with the fear of a cruel government?

Citizens! If you think wisely and fairly for a while, you would understand that the hostility either towards Armenians or Ottoman subjects of Abdülhamid II's rule derives first of all from his desire to keep his despotism. He gains time with getting us kill each other." (Quoting from İTC Vatan Beyannamesi, Aydoğan, 2004: 135)

It is believed that sooner or later people will come to their senses, but then it will be too late. This is stated in the latter of Ali Zühtü Bey from 17 July 1895 as follows: *"Yet one day people will understand that government does not mean Sultan, on the contrary it only consists of them, and they will take back their rights, honors and lives from the bandit gangs who have usurped all these. Yet, this significant point should not be forgotten that achieving our independence in this way will take a long time. During this time, maybe from the whole Ottoman State only the Konya province will be left and other parts will be shared out. And this is possibility is quite strong. As you see today Armenia has been lost. Albania is about to be lost. If this situation prevails, England will take all the islands, the French Syria, Austrians Rumelia and Russians will take Anatolia. In Arabia on the other hand, it has already been agreed on to establish an Arab state."* (Aydoğan, 2004: 74-75)

8.3. European States

Well, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria have been lost!
Now they are sharing out Iran.
It is natural, the square belongs to those run;
God bestowed the right to live to the strong one.
A Muslim community that has troubled with separation,
Would not be eaten by the civilized Europe in three pieces?
Mehmet Akif Ersoy

"If everyone today opens their eyes and looks around, they would be shocked. Today our home, the East is exposed to the attacks of Europeans. Robbers have attacked our homes. They are stealing our property. We are unaware of that. For hundreds of years, they have

been procuring all their lives and debauchery in our lands. They have brought all the rotten, useless and unnecessary things of the world from their countries, by taking advantage of our ignorance, negligence and weakness they have loaded them on us. Then they would take and leave all our property and product from our country. If you say this is not enough, they would come with soldiers, forces and weapons, they destroy, burn and kill hundreds of thousands of citizens, and they ask for war indemnity by saying that "we have beaten you". They plunder our country. They take whatever we have. They do not even let us work and earn in our own land. They have been oppressing all the nations in Asia for hundreds of years. Then they leave us no chance but servitude until the doomsday. Today in what situation is India and Turkestan? If we think about the future of the whole East by considering these, we should know and come to the conclusion that, one day all the Easterners will be oppressed with the servitude of Westerners. Our lives will only serve for their comfort and debauchery. Today Russians took Turkestan. They will take Mongolia. Chinese Turkestan is the only purpose of Russians. The English would occupy Tibet. Tonkin becomes the property of the French. All these were shared out on map. Near East and Iran are all shared out. The thoughts on these have been agreed on, and they wait for an opportunity for their application. (Ahmet Rıza, 1993: 56)

8.3.1. History

It could be said that the whole Ottoman history bears the traces of a struggle against the Christian Europe; yet since the Ottoman "decline" that began in the eighteenth century, the nature of that struggle changed. On the one hand, European economic and commercial intervention was provided through the capitulations that were granted during the powerful period, on the other hand the Ottoman territories were begun to be occupied in the nineteenth century: Algeria in 1830, and later Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Russia and Balkans on the other side were trying to destroy the Empire. Europe's aims to share out the Ottoman State were still alive then. They desired an Armenian state in the East Anatolia, and Jewish state in Palestine. Europeans united on this common aim against Turkey and they created an artificial "Eastern question". With hundreds of books written in that respect, they set all the subjects of the Ottoman State against each other. (Quoting from İhsan Süreyya Sırma, Turgut, 1995: 120)

Particularly, while Napoleon's occupation of Egypt proved the inability of the Ottomans to protect the distant lands, the Ottoman-Russian war enabled Russians to support the independence of the Balkan states. The rebellion of Wahhabis in the Arab region and the Greeks' riot in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the fact that they could only be suppressed quite hardly by Mehmet Ali Pasha revealed the military weakness of the Ottoman center. Later, the problems with Mehmet Ali Pasha proved that the state needed the support of the other states and England supported the Ottomans at that point against Russian expansion. Certainly, such situations allowed the European states to intervene in the Ottoman internal affairs, economical dependency and capitulations, the people's and state's defense for their feeling of insecurity, and the intellectuals' and statesmen's positioning themselves through the question of how the state would be saved. (Bilal, 2009:9-10)

Under these conditions, after the treaty of commerce that was signed with England in 1838, European productions began to flow into the Ottoman Empire. This struggle against Europe, forced the Ottoman State to modernize in accordance with the European model and especially to protect itself against Russia and granting privileges to the other states. (Georgeon, 2006: 8)

During the Tanzimat period, the oppression of the Europeans increased and at the end of the nineteenth century, the process called "half colonization" of the Ottoman State began. This process relied both on financial institutions (Public Debt, Tobacco monopoly), and on the development of European industrial and commercial companies (public works, railways, construction of harbors etc.) within the Empire. Christian protection and the development of missionary and foreign schools of which the numbers increased from the end of the nineteenth century onwards were the other bases of that process. At the end, the European existence extended particularly in the big cities like İstanbul and İzmir, in the coastal cities so as to cover every part of the Ottoman economy and the social and cultural life. (Georgeon, 2006: 9)

When we look further back, 1873s were already the expansion period of the European hegemony. The economic crises of 1873, the first effects of the great depression, turning back to state protection led the Great Powers to fierce competition; search for raw materials, and to a politics of reputation, power and hegemony. Imperialism was proceeding. Together with the French occupation of Tunisia and the English invasion of Egypt, the Ottoman State was the

first victim of that expansionism. Although after 1882, the expansion of the Great Powers within the Ottoman Empire temporarily stopped, except for the occupation of a few harbors in Red sea, their influence, on the contrary, in the Ottoman State extended gradually. While the Great Powers' economic, financial, political, religious, religious or cultural interests within the ottoman borders advanced rapidly; for a while they rather preferred more peaceful influence ways such as diplomatic existence, investments, schools and religious missions. (Georgeon, 2012: 325)

The Great Powers' financial and economic interests depended on two bases: The Ottoman Bank, which was a French and English association and functioned as a central bank for the Ottoman government, and the Public Debt (*Düyun-u Umumiye*) that handled and governed a part of the income of the Empire on behalf of the European demanders. In 1886, the Public Debt, which employed more than three thousand people, formed a network composed of hundreds of branches for collecting duty in provinces. (Georgeon: 2012: 325)

At the same period, the Great Powers extended their political and cultural existences within the Empire; all of them established many consulates. At the end of 1888s, even United States of America, which had limited trade relations and a few subjects in the Empire, had a network of thirty consulates. The number of foreign post offices in the big cities also increased. The increase in the number of foreign schools that were mostly established by religious organizations and orders was enormous. (Georgeon, 2012: 326)

The first entrance of the Orient Express train into the Sirkeci railway station in 1888 had a metaphorical meaning, because till that date while from Marseille to Istanbul it took a week with the steam train, the Ottoman capital became only three days away from Paris. The Orient expressed carried Ottomans to west faster and that railway meant "İstanbul's accession to the western world". (Georgeon 2012: 331)

Abdülhamid II, who was aware of all these and worried especially about the missionary schools, believed that since the Great Powers had sophisticated interests on the Empire, this would let them abstain from killing the "sick man". Therefore, the financial, economic, cultural and charitable investments of the foreigners were welcomed, yet a balance between different states was tried to be established. In diplomatic level, this balance game between the great states helped the Empire's survival. (Georgeon, 2012:372)

8.3.2. Colonization of the Muslim World

While this was the situation in the Ottoman State, Muslim territories were being colonized by the European States one by one. European States were competing with each other about colonization.[420] The territories and the population occupied by the European States with the progress in European colonization between 1890 and 1913 are as follows[421]:

Country	The occupied territory	The population annexed
England	4.250.000 sq. mile	66.000.000
France	500.000 sq. mile	26.000.000
Russia (Asia)	500.000 sq. mile	6.500.000
Germany	1.000.000 sq. mile	13.000.000
Belgium (Congo)	900.000 sq. mile	8.500.000
Italy	185.000 sq. mile	750.000

Europeans attained that power through some ways that we are also familiar today. In case a government failed to secure the interests of the Europeans or the property rights of the local merchants who bring in profits to the Europeans while maintaining "law and order" or in case it did not obey the rules that were imposed by the Europeans for regulating the relations among the states, that government was to be punished. In such a case, the intervention of one or more European States to that government, which was inevitable going to lose its sovereignty rights, so as to protect the rights of their citizens or other European citizens was accepted legal. In that way, as the danger of envy of other European States and a possible local resistance enabled them, every kind of precaution such as intervention, changing the military officers, occupation or taking over the ruling could be taken. (Turgut, 1995: 95-96)

If we examine this through a few examples, by adopted a policy aimed at exploiting raw materials and labor force it strengthened its Empire in East India; after suppressing the rebellion of Sheikh Şamil, in 1859-1860 Russia completed its settlement in Caucasia. A few years later, the Russian expansion towards Central East ended up with the invasion of whole Turkestan in 1876. In India, which was dominated by England, on the other hand, the oppression of colonialists increased.

[420] For the detailed history of european colonisation see: Appendix-3

[421] Fahir Armaoğlu, 20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi, Ankara 1983, p. 80 For the booklets which complain about 365 million Muslims' living under the Christian hegemony see also: Deringil, 2007: 172.

Not surprisingly, these oppressions and occupations led to resistances and rebellions. Major rebellions against Netherland in Ache which is situated in the northeast of Sumatra Island and against England in India in 1857 are some examples for this. Istanbul received call for helps from these regions of Muslim world. Ottoman Empire was regarded by Muslims as the only great Muslim state and only place that would help them. Committees and embassies from Ache, Bukhara, Kashgar and Hive were coming to Istanbul so as to ask for aid from the caliph against the attempts of Europe. (Georgeon, 2012:265)

This situation certainly made Great Powers of west think. It is easy to make connection between the background of these rebellions and resistances and the political nature of Islam, because Europeans never encountered with such resistances their non-Muslim colonies. The major question both about occupation and practices afterwards is "Whether Islam posed a threat to West?" Since the Westerners mostly afraid of full-scale rebellions and resistances that would constrain the colonial administration[422], they researches centered around jihad, caliphate and Islamic solidarity. [423] (Türköne, 1993: 7-8)

Indeed, although these religious-rooted acts were broadly seen as a reaction led by the anger for the occupations of Europe, it was a reaction not exactly against European civilization but rather against the contempt of European governments towards Islam and violation of Islamic customs. (Karpat, 2005:80) In this context, Islam and Christianity considerably diverge. While Christianity was used as the ideological weapon of colonial expansion, Islam, to the contrary, was used as defense weapons against colonialism. (Karpat, 2005: 408)

In this mutual understanding and revenge process, despite the fact that Western governments were dominants in Islamic lands, the West was quite ignorant about the East and they had doubts concerning the strategy they needed to develop. Ahmet Rıza Bey's statement is noteworthy here: *"The East is a perpetual secret for the West. All said is composed of the mysterious atmosphere left by Thousand and one nights and the harem. Naturally, man is interested in what is unknown. For the Westerners, Sultan has the ultimate*

[422] "In the period between 1850 and 1880 the most serious conflict which directly affected Islam was that of Russia and England in the Near East and Central Asia . . . It is not surprising, therefore, that the most willing and eager supporters of the Ottoman caliphate in the earlier period were Central Asiatic and Indian Moslems, who, at the mercy of both British and Russian expansionists, frequently discussed the idea of a Moslem league and occasionally appealed to the Turkish sultan for aid." D.E.Lee

[423] The orientalist works that we have examined in the chapter of conceptual framework are products of this problem.

power like the Roman dictator who exercises a supreme authority, and who has an absolute voice on the property and life of his subjects. The only one who has an interest from these unrealistic perceptions is the present Sultan." (Özcan, 2002:87)

By saying that "It is sad for the peace of humanity that Turks hold a position which is impossible to ignore or impossible at the same degree to tolerate. While they are the most Asian in terms of their roots, habits and religion, with a twist of fate (…) is has a position in which its existence will become a deep misery for millions of Christians." (Owen Davis), Westerners defined the problems in the Ottoman lands and they called this problem **"Eastern question"**. This "Eastern question" is of crucial importance for our subject matter. This is because, this problem acquired an ideological dimension by incorporating caliphate and Pan-Islamism as the Muslim population increased in the occupied territories in 1860-1878. Russia and France (England after 1880s), began to see the caliphate and Pan-Islamism as a great threat to their hegemony when it was not possible any more to subordinate Muslims by using the caliphate. So, they believed that resolving the "Eastern question" by destroying the Ottoman State would stop the danger of Pan-Islamism. On the other hand, many dissident and powerful European statesmen argued that Pan-Islamism was a submissive "crocodile" and Abdülhamid II was not the trainer of that crocodile but the tamer of it. Whatever the intellectual process was, with the "Eastern question" that emerged in the nineteenth century, the territories of the Ottoman State, the "sick man" of Europe, were always subjected to sharing. While the wars were continuing, whether or not the Ottomans won in the battlefield, it fell a victim to the bureaucratic games and revenges of the European states on the table, and the fact that they could not reach an agreement among them and could not share out the country enabled the Ottoman State to survive little longer. (Karpat, 2005:225)

8.3.3. Young Turks' approach to the issue

In the Young Turk press, the oppressions of the Western states were told either directly or indirectly[424]. Moreover, the acts of the European states to split the Ottoman State with various pretexts, and particularly the murders they committed in the Muslim territories occupied by them were mentioned in detail.[425] They interpreted and gave advices on the

[424] For detailed information on Young Turks' contacts and negotiations with the Western Powers in this period see: Ünal, Hasan: Young Turk Assessments of International Politics, 1906-9, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Apr., 1996), p. 30-44.
[425] Sin, Şura-yı Ümmet, Bir Tavsiye, No.15, Date 1 Şaban 1320 Sunday (Teşrîn-i sânî) 2 November 1902, p. 1.

incidences in the east of the country[426], in Arabia, which were provoked by the foreign forces, and stated that the European States set Ottomans against Muslims by provoking the tribes in Iran, and how people fell out of each other basically due to Sultan's tyranny was also told.[427]

The unjust attitudes of Europe and the double standard between their demands for the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman State and their policy towards the Muslims in the lands they occupied drew Young Turks' reaction:

Allegedly, Europeans take working for the prosperity of humanity without treating unequally to any sect as their duty. Nevertheless, they are unfair even to exempt Muslims from humanity. The lies that are reflected in the European newspapers during the foreign revolution are enough to prove our claim. Even one per thousand of the Christian atrocity that constitutes a great trouble within fifty-sixty year history of Crete was not reflected in the European newspapers. Yet, if a Christian's nose bleeds, it is reflected as a war.

They are all Christian villains who shot Mahmut Celaleddin Pasha, who provided the security of Crete, and killed more than one hundred Muslims and Turkish soldiers. The Muslims who could escape from the attacks of the Christian bandits are now leaving their places and taking sanctuary in the centers. Nevertheless, according to Europeans it is the Turks who are uncivilized and conservative! (Quoting Aydoğan, 2004: 112)

In another example:

"We hope that as the European States helped yesterday Bulgaria and Greek to separate from Ottoman State for the sake of humanity, today they will understand and support the independence demands of Muslims who suffer under the foreign hegemony."(Azimzade, 1327: 55) *Yet, "It is strange that while Europe justifies itself for continuing to make a great effort to end the lives of Muslims by occupying the Eastern region, it does not consider the right of Muslims to secure their future through protecting their social committee, solidarity and union legitimate. How come those who cry out that within Muslim community there is a danger for Europe (or known policies on Africa and Asia), do not recognize Muslims to say "Because of the Christian community of Europe*

[426] Lam, Şura-yı Ümmet, Mesele-i Şarkıye'ye Dair (1), No.17, Date 1 Ramazan 1320 Monday 1 December 1902, p. 1.
[427] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Acem-Türk İhtilafı, 1 August 1906, p. 2.

Muslims states are exposed to danger". Moreover, the danger is obvious and exists." (Azimzade, 1327: 16)

In an article that mentions about Russia for instance, it is stated that Muslims were oppressed with the purpose of destroying them, families were disrupted and even national and moral needs were not fulfilled.[428] On the other hand, the importance of the recruitment of Christians was emphasized, by stating that for hundreds of years Ottomans had not been recruiting madrasa scholars and non-Muslims; Muslims were being killed in the wars as a result of this and there was no other similar case like this one.[429]

"Our non-Muslim citizens do not wish staying in the Ottoman Empire although they are exempt from the miseries caused by military service that is done by Muslims, and they enjoy some valuable privileges. Until now, Slavs, Greeks, Bulgarians, the Wallach all separated, and Armenians are separating as well, and they begin to create prosperity in their own countries. Where shall Muslims do, where shall they go?... As it is seen, the condition of our citizens in Bulgaria is a warning for us. God shall not harm, we cannot say that you are unaware of the fact that a great Muslim government exists in Istanbul, even when Bulgarian administration was subjected to that Muslim government, what happened to the Muslim subjects in Lovech, and how most of our female and male religious fellows were treated. This is because, according to our prophet who had the curiosity to know about the situations in the most hidden places of the houses of his honorable subjects, learning such things is nothing. Oh our Sultan! Did you not have mercy upon these poor Muslims who regarded you and your descendants as honorable and magnificent until now and who are the loyal subjects of your dynasty, despite you observed the situation and the administration and also the great misery that will be suffered in the future, which we are unable to describe with writing."[430]

"Every state has an official religion. Neither the English nor the Germans or Russians refrains from confessing and applying this. Although we have granted freedom to the religions in every part of our history, there is no doubt that every sect will remain free in this period as well. Accordingly, it is hard to say that that fear is too much for the hesitation. If it is offered not confusing religious and political affairs, we agree, yet we suggest the abolishment of the privileges of the Greek Church and all the privileges on communities. No

[428] Unsigned, Rusya Türkleri, Şura-yı Ümmet, No.104, 30 November 1906, p. 1.
[429] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, Hristiyanlardan Asker Almaya Dâir, No. 96-97, 1 August 1906, p. 3.
[430] Unsigned, Huzur-u hazret-i padişahiye bir arzıhal-i ziraat maildir, Issue: 163, p. 2389, 13 February 1896.

one accepts this. In that case, will only the Muslims be deprived of this right? We should not forget that Ottoman Sultanate also has the asceticism of Islam. If we forget this we would sacrifice our real force for a pipe dream." (İttihad-ı İslam, no: 5:3)

Besides these, another issue that enraged Young Turks was the indifference of Europe, *which was indeed intervening in everything, towards the activities of Abdülhamid II:*

"Why does that Europe not force the Sultan to make the Sublime Port leave the government affairs, establishment of a kind of liable cabinet, and to obey the Tanzimat and existing laws?

Reform is needed everywhere, but as Europe continues the existing policy and not intervene in the tyranny of the Sultan, it will not be possible to implement this reform. Europe allowed 1877-78 war, despite the Paris Treaty. Yet, it could succeed in establishing peace by obliging Sultan to accept its mutual desire as it have done in various other circumstances. Europe, which ensured the integrity of the Turkish State, did not abstain from the attacks under some opposing reasons; it seemed like caring only the Christians; violated the laws of the country many times; tolerated Abdülhamid II's despotism and insulted the national honor.

This politics increased the disorder, it poisoned religious and racial desires, weakened the government and finally it served neither to Greeks nor Armenians, Protestants or Catholics. Today nothing is seen other than blood and ruins.

...

Today, it is needed to be afraid of the conditions that the Turkish State, which have fallen apart, become poor, corrupted materially and morally, and exposed to inner and outer attacks, will create. That is why Turkey asks for mercy from the foreign nations. Turks have the right to live like all other nations. Turkey is proud of remembering the services it provided for the religious toleration since the time it existed as an unknown country by the whole world. It is also proud for being a reliable refuge, since 1830, for the political refugees fleeing from all countries, despite the terrible threats of some great states." Paris 14 July 1896 (Quoting from the address that The Committee of Union and Progress published in French, with the sign of Ahmet Rıza Bey, and distributed to all European cabinets and press, (Aydoğan, 2004: 67-68)

In another example:

The cruel Englishmen who dismissed me from the back door when I took refuge in their embassy as I am not Armenian, here also took submitting the documents and letters, which entrusted to the honor of their nation, to the government of Baghdad as their duty. Certainly, it happened in this way. Now, the English post office delivers all the documents either in Turkish or French, to the government. Apply to Bonnerman cabinet in London, to the attorney and Prime Minister Clemenceau who helped us in the past and who defended Ahmed Rıza Bey in the action taken against Ahmed Rıza Bey by Abdülhamid II, and to the reputation of the English and French nations. All these states follow a unique policy of despotism in the East. Just like the oppression of Abdülhamid II was not enough, when these capped so to say libertarian European supporters of Hamid also act in this way, one supposes himself in the period of inquisition. When we see this dishonor in the Europeans, the murders of Abdülhamid II lose their frightfulness. (Quoting from the letters of Doctor Hikmet Süreyya Bey to Paris, Aydoğan, 2004: 76)

"People, open your eyes, the greatest enemy of you is firstly you and later Abdülhamid II. After these, comes your implacable enemy Germany, the German government. People, open your eyes, there is not much time, rise, rise…"[431]

To sum up and to outline, Young Turks blamed the European States mostly for the double standard applied and for not trying to understand Islam;

"The Christian government has by no means understood the Islamic world. A Muslim nation could be beaten, condemned, destroyed or ruined but it can never accept the reforms introduced by a Christian government, because for Muslims it is essential to base every kind of improvement or activity upon their religion. Moreover, whether or not that reform is reasonable has no importance. After all there is an order that cannot be altered."[432]

So, naturally Muslims will make contact with each other through Islam;

"The means of contact for the Muslims is religion. The policy that will be developed with the use of this connection cannot be regarded as an attack to anyone's law. The official religion of our state is Islam." (İttihad-ı İslam, no:5: 3)

[431] Doktor Abdullah Cevdet, Düşmanımızın dostu düşmanımızdır, İctihad, No: 7, May 1908, p. 254, Year: 2
[432] Unsigned, İntiha, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No. 11, p. 4, 1 March 1897.

Also for the injustice in the stance of the West towards the Islamic Unity:

"Europe which is determined not to leave the Ottoman State that is greatest Muslim state of the world (Azimzade, 1327: 30) in peace has not put off creating trouble (Azimzade, 1327: 39)". "Yet, not being ashamed neither of rights and law, nor the people who witness their slanders, the European politicians still mention about the possible harms of the Islamic Unity. While Muslims from all over the world are oppressed by the European States and despite the fact that they do not have any power or defense tools except for the love for their religion, still they cannot be freed of the written attacks of these merciless men." (Azimzade, 1327: 52-53)

Nevertheless, as Young Turks also admitted, all those interventions of the Western powers had also positive results; at least they heightened the feeling of brotherhood among Muslims:

"I believe that the insistence of the European politicians on blaming Muslims for Islamic Unity helped more to the Muslim than to their covetous politics. Maybe in this way, some Muslims comprehended what the Islamic Unity is and that their religion commands brotherhood." (Azimzade, 1327: 63)

"The servitude of Islam today, the oppression it suffers from, and the present subject hood are maybe not bad things, on the contrary, a collective conscience was created in this way. Today Muslims are more united than the time of Ömer bin Hattab." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 337)

"As the European government strengthened its tyranny and power, it increased the inner power of Islam, its pure soul and creed. As everyone familiar with history proves, it is psychological powers which govern people. The national aims and beliefs in the order are never beaten by guns. Since they are material, their objects should be material as well. On the other hand, it is first and foremost the spiritual powers what lead the fate of people. They are bulletproof." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 23)

In the rest of this part, we will mention about a few enemies in more detail. Yet in short, as from the beginning of the century, England was the most important trade partner of the Ottoman Empire. It was importing almost one fourth of all the Ottoman export articles (basically agricultural products) and it was providing the 30-40% of the Ottoman imported

products. Nevertheless, the English companies which were not supported as the companies of other products, lost to France and especially to Germany in terms of investments. England's total share of investments decreased from 50% to less than 20% in this period, yet German investments somehow increased from around 1% to more than 25%. Nevertheless, the biggest investor was France which increased its share from almost 30% to 50%. (Zürcher, 2000: 129)

8.3.4. France

Although the great enemy is defined as Europe or Western imperialist powers, indeed the policy implemented in the colonies and the oppression, in the Young Turks jargon, depended on the country and the colony. For instance, France formed secular but Muslim notables in its colonies, and madrasas or French-Arab schools were used for this purpose. French and French culture was taught together with Arabic and Islamic culture, and Muslim notables who were loyal to the regime and who were equipped with the talents that enabled them to serve were being created. Besides, rest of the Muslim people was harshly oppressed:

"Let us state that the French rule is crueler compared to the English and even the Russian rule." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 91) *"The French who seem like quite libertarian and equalitarian, and who developed the basis of independence and constitutionalism with the 1789 revolution, are unfortunately almost slave traders out of Europe."* (Celal Nuri, 1912: 92)

8.3.5. England

In 1880s, the most serious external threat towards the entire Empire was the ubiquitous nightmare of the Ottoman politics, the "English finger". This element, which was imaginary sometimes and sometimes quite real, was a trouble for Abdülhamid II throughout his reign. The object of the greatest fear of Abdülhamid II, being the ghost of "Arab caliphate" the most recurrent theme among his fears, was Hedjaz which was remote and vulnerable.[433]

[433] Indeed, the Ottoman press had already broadcasted a preliminary propaganda against every kind of projects that the English might have had in the region. At the beginning of 1880s, in newspapers such as el-Cevaib which were in Arabic and semi-offical, attributions about acception of the Sultan's position as the Muslim caliph in Zangibar and Oman were quite frequent. (Deringil, 2007: 86)

Although the politics against the threats on India and policies towards the security of roads to India were the main issues in England's politics on the East[434], England, which took protecting the "sick man" as his mission for a long time, was in close relationship with the Ottoman Empire. During the Berlin Congress that took place after the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian war, with the pretext of protecting Anatolia against a possible Russian attack England demanded Cyprus[435] from the Ottomans[436] , and it occupied Egypt on 11 July 1882.[437]

In fact in general, after 1880 England started to see the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as inevitable and desirable, and it began to worry about the increasing power of Germany instead of Russia. Therefore, it began to invade the strategic regions of the Empire, and encouraged France to act in the same way in Africa so as to consolidate against Germany and Italy. When Abdülhamid II put forward Pan-Islamism, it increased its policies against the Ottomans, and it carried on a bitter struggle for destroying the reputation of the Ottoman caliph, questioning its legitimacy and bringing an Arab caliph to his place. (Karpat, 2005: 384)

"If there is one thing that the English are afraid of, it is Islam. Yes Islam. Certainly such a statement seems weird for the readers. And even many men want to laugh and they may find it simple. Yet, if you consider for a while, it is like this. If there is one thing that the English are afraid of, it is Islam." (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 358)

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[434] The work "England and Islamic World) written by Indian Abdülmecit Efendi, was sent from the second Embassy of London to presented to the Sultan in 1328, and it was published by being translated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy General Directorate. In this work, there is detailed information on England's policies on the East.

[435] When the state got into very difficult conditions, Abdülhamid II consented to give the Island temporarily, yet he stipulated that" I approve the aggreement on the condition that there would be no harm on my great laws". His other conditions are as follows:
There will be an Islamic court in the Island just as now. This court of peace will be responsible from the peace of the Muslim residences of the Island.
Mosques, Muslim cemetery, schools and the property and land that belongs to the other religious institutions, will be governed by an officer that will be appointed by the English government, togerther with a Muslim resident of the Island who will be appointed by the Ministry of Imperial Waqf. (Turgut, 1995: 142)

[436] Dr.Zia Nasim, Kıbrıs'ın İngiltere'ye Geçişi ve Adada Kurulan İngiliz idaresi, Ankara 1975.

[437] After describing the relations between England and Egypt in detail, Indian Abdülmedit, who was among the professors of Islamic Law in Egypt, tells about the last twenty-five years of this relationship as follows:
"Although the good and the benefits that the English rule has granted to people are many, this should not be distorted from the purpose of justice specific to it. The appointment as judges of those like Lord (Gromer) who does not care about people's feelings, writes books against Islam and the Quran despite not knowing Arabic at all creates disastrous consequences. Besides this, the modification of the Basic Law causes people to löse their trusts. In short, England should take the precautions to remove the obstacles against constitutionalism that is the only appropriate regime to the aims of England in Egypt and Muslims." (Turgut, 1995: 112)

"If there is one thing that totally threatens the English, it is Islam and the issue of Islamic Unity. In other words, if Muslims become believers with a real faith, if they submit to the institution of caliphate and stand out with a genuine faith, the first state in the world that is condemned to collapsing would be the English State. That is because the English state survives only thanks to its protectorates, and it is a state that all of its incomes come from its colonies. It could be said that the half of the people in those colonies are Muslims. If Muslims become true believers and boycott the English products with the aim of seeking refuge in God (and it is possible with a cautious leader) this would be enough for the ruin of the English." (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 360)

Even though it was examined in more detail in the part on caliphate, the quotation below summarizes the above-mentioned process:

"...Abdülhamid II who gathers a range of hodja, sheikh, and others alike that he brought from Arabia, India, Afghanistan, Egypt, Vaday, Borno and Sokolo around him, and gives them a lot of money and use them as messengers to spread the Pan-Islamist movement in these countries, acts more like a seventh century caliph rather than a nineteenth century ruler.

Either directly or indirectly, England is the civil ruler in most of these countries. Since state and religion are intermingled in terms of Islamic principles, England once again contended itself to being a silent and passive opponent of the personal Pan-Islamist project of the Sultan." (Quoting from Fitzmaurice, Karpat, 2004: 404)

In general, in the other Young Turk articles that were written on England out of this context, told that despite everything England was more tolerant compared to other colonialist states:

"The English is the greatest nation of the world. We do not desire greatness in terms of population as in China. We consider it in terms of magnificence and real national power."[438]

[438] Unsigned, Hamlet, İçtihad, No: 8, p. 314, Year: 2, June 1908.

"England is the richest among the colonialist states. There are more than eighty million Muslims in the colonies of England. We need to admit that they treat more tolerant towards Muslims than the other governments." (İttihad-ı İslam, no:1: 4)

8.3.6. Germany

During the period of Abdülhamid II, Germany was another European state that was significant as the other European states for the Ottomans and even in terms of the result it became even more important than them. Germany, which followed a policy between 1871 and 1890 towards protecting the peace, upon the Ottoman States rejection of the Ayestefanos Treaty which was including some conditions in favor of Russia, interfered in case of a war (1878) it organized the Berlin Congress and presided at the congress. Nevertheless, as Bismark left the prime ministry, the foreign policy of Germany changed considerably, and a new term (1890-1914) began with the ruler Wilhelm II. In determining this new foreign policy of Germany; reasons such as the gradually increasing German influence, the desire for searching for new protectorates as a result of the increasing population, the need for raw materials and market that emerged as a natural consequence of the industrial and commercial development played important roles.

About the Eastern issue, Wilhelm II attached importance to the relations with the Ottoman State; because in case one of the great states took Anatolia, Germany would not be influential here. Therefore, exploiting the large terrains of Anatolia and almost abandoned pastures economically was more appropriate for the German policy. Hence, all German industrialists and tradesmen flooded into Anatolia and went into operation.

Wilhelm II paid attention to points about their relations with the Ottoman Empire: getting on with the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire Abdülhamid II and being seemed to be Islamist to the natives who were quite faithful. For this respect, in the visits he made to Istanbul in 1898 and to Palestine and Syria afterwards, he was very careful for these two issues. During that travel, he visited the tomb of Selahaddin Eyyübi and placed a wreath. He said to the journalists who were following him that "he would even wear a fez so as to grow the reputation of Germany in the Islamic countries"[439]. Besides this, he did not stop protecting Christian Catholics and Protestants. That visit was extremely influential in the

[439] Osman Nuri; Ibid. p. 1046.

German industrial and economic activities. In 1880, as Deutsche Bank obtained the concession, Germany expanded its exports to the Ottoman Empire.

Germany's feelings towards the Ottoman State were not one sided. The greatest success of the Abdulhamid II's sultanate was the close relationship with the German Kaiser Wilhelm II. In the relations with Germany, one of the leading European powers, Pan-Islamism also made its presence felt, besides political, economic and military interests. In Kaiser's second travel to Turkey, after visiting Haifa, Jerusalem, Damascus and Beirut, he clearly defined himself as "the Sultan's friend who was respected by three hundred Muslims". This statement was accepted as an indicator of the fact that the policies around the efforts of maintaining Islamic Unity were perceived as "actualized politics" in the international platform and would be supported. (Landau, 2002: 134)

Certainly, the feelings of the Ottoman State were not by itself or sudden. In the beginning of 1880s, the diplomatic situation of the Empire, which could be defined as dramatic, was discussed by in the Ottoman administrator circles and the depression of those administrators were in a degree that they even considered foreign protectorate. Another group on the other hand, suggested making a defense agreement with a Great Power so as to get rid of the isolation they were suffering from. Abdülhamid II desired political assurance in Asia and North Africa against England and military assurance against Russia in the Balkans. Germany had aims of capturing territories neither in the Ottoman Empire, nor in Balkans, Near East or Africa. Moreover, Germany had become one of the leading military powers. It also initiated developments in heavy industry. Maybe the most important was Germany was going to be able to create pressure on Austria Hungary and Russia, which were the two powers threatening the Ottoman Empire in many ways. Therefore, Germany could be an ideal partner for valuing Anatolia and Arab provinces of the Near East without destroying the Ottoman territorial integrity; in addition such a situation would help the diversification of the European investments in that region. (Georgeon, 2012:313)

Hence, Germany became an ideal partner of a new diplomacy, since the Ottomans believed that they could trust Germany for stopping Russia and preventing the aims of Australians towards Balkans. (Georgeon, 2012:314)

Here we should note the point that despite Abdülhamid II's increasing sympathy for Germany, he adopted impartiality as the main principle of the foreign policy; because he was

aware that European powers were heading towards a fierce battle and he believed that remaining impartial in those conditions was the best for the Ottoman Empire.

Young Turks wrote many articles on the relations with Germany, yet generally they did not support this relationship[440]:

"When German Emperor magnificent Wilhelm II was in Damascus, he said to the present Sultan of Turkey (his brother) caliph Abdulhamid that that he would forever love the three hundred Muslims who are subjected to the caliphate."[441]

"The statement of Emperor Wilhelm and his untruthful assertion that he will love and support Abdülhamid II, certainly worry particularly England but also all other foreign states who have Muslim subjects. Since Germany does not have Muslim subjects, there is no reason for Wilhelm to abstain from making such statements. Yet, his statements that only serve to the interests of Germany depict that in case other great states compete with Germany and by feeling the necessity to reflect the caliph Abdülhamid II begin to deprive their Muslim subjects of their rights and oppress these poor, neither his new beloved Wilhelm objects nor Abdülhamid II protects them."

Although there are many articles in the Young Turk press which discuss all other enemies one by one and which were written on their oppression with every kind of hate speech, even if they varied[442], here we will not go into more detail.

If there was one thing that the Russians were afraid of, it was the yellow race. Praise to God it happened [same to Europe]. All Europeans are dying from the fear of Islamic Unity. With God's permission, whatever they will go through soon is inevitable. "There shall not be a change in God's law" [Ahzab suresi]. And there are many examples. It is apparent if people experience it. Many people die from the illnesses they are avoiding. They are troubled with the problems they think about. (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1978b: 357)

[440] Besides this, the Committee of Union and Progress's absance of perception than Abdülhamid II who realized the absurdness of going into the World war with Germany right after the Comittee of Union and Progress came into power, and even fighting with two ground based states against two naval Powers is worth noting.
[441] Unsigned, Ehli islam'la Türkiye ve Almanya, Kanun-i Esasi, p.1-2, No.30, Year: 2, 30 January 1899.
[442] Netherlands had not shed that much blood in any other war in its history than the blood it shed to be able to dominate Acheh, that colony costed more than hundred thousand people's lives. It was also changed in terms of administration; it imposed strict restrictions to making pilgrimage and prevented Indonesian Muslims from contacting with other Muslims. (Turgut, 1995: 146)

8.4. Evaluation

In this chapter, we have mentioned about the actors that were regarded as enemies by Young Turks in terms of perceiving Islamic Unity and we have also elaborated with what kind of hostility and accusations these actors took place in the press.

The greatest enemy was the despotic Sultan Abdülhamid II who deceived the poor people with Islamic Unity policies. The criticisms on Abdülhamid II received the most extensive press coverage, pages were overflowing with these. Above, in order to categorize the accusations, titles such as the lost territories and rights, personal insults to him, not helping Islam, his harms on the contrary, the fact that what was meant with obedience to the authorities (*ulu'l-emr*) in Islam was not submitting to his as an oppressive Sultan, and even his caliphate was illegal were used. Indeed, at the beginning some Young Turks like Mizancı Murad praised the Sultan and tried to find a common ground, those articles soon began to be filled with insults, the impassible gap gradually opened up.

The second enemy was the ignorance of people or the ignorant public who did not stop their unconditional love to Abdülhamid II. Although Young Turks took the road for justice, freedom and consultancy for people, it is apparent in all of the documents we have covered that most of the people did not take sides with them in this period and rather than trusting these inexperienced young generation, they trusted in the Sultan and prayed for him and the perpetuity of the state. This situation aggravated Young Turks, sometimes wrathfully and sometimes with convincing methods they call people for the right path. Even from time to time, they stated with quite Jacobin discourses that those ignorant people would never understand the reality then, yet in the future they would see the truths.

The third and the last enemy were the greedy European States, which were determined to colonize the whole world including the Muslim territories. The fact that Muslim lands were falling under the European colonies one by one and that Christians were implementing arbitrary policies on Muslims and adopting reforms was given an extensive coverage full of regrets and complaints in the Young Turk press. Broadly, in many articles which mention about the bad situation that Muslims were in, the oppressions of the Western powers were told directly or indirectly, they activities done by various pretext to destroy the Ottoman State, and particularly the murders they committed in the Muslim territories they occupied or annexed were elaborated. The sadness for the Muslims' situation was stated, maledicting to

the European States on the one hand, they were attempting at counter boycotts and aid campaigns on the other.

9. CHAPTER

IMAGE & PROPAGANDA

"That struggle [of Imperialism] is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings."

Edward W. Said

As the world around them became smaller, the Ottomans noticed that a vital aspect of survival was creation of a positive image on the eyes of the world. The desperate struggle of Ottoman politicians to prove the right of their of existence as a magnificent state, which was recognized and legitimized with the Treaty of Paris of 1856, concentrated on two main areas. This effort, first, was dedicated to whitewashing the reputation of the Ottoman Empire known at worst as "corrupt nest of the bloodthirsty tyrants", and the best as "stinking pleasure nest of the Orient" in the international media, which was repetitively damaged in forums such as theater and contemptuous publications. Secondly, it intended to present a positive image, for which every opportunity that appeared in the general course of world events was seized. Such opportunities ranged from offering financial assistance for medical purpose to both the Russian and the Japanese sides during the Russo-Japanese War to sending money to the victims of the forest fires in US. In doing so, the aim was to support the claims of the Ottoman Empire to be a part of both the civilized world and the Great Powers. The following response of Abdulhamid II to Sir Henry Layard, who was then-British Ambassador of the Sublime Porte, in which he reacts to the "Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria" headlines in 1876 newspapers, clearly manifests how sinister the situation was:

"(...) We are accused of being wild and fanatical in Europe ... [But] Unlike the tsar, I have been holding back from launching a religious war and benefiting from religious fanaticism until now, yet the day might come, when I can no longer placate the rights and anger of my people who see their co-religionists being cut down in Bulgaria and Armenia..." (Deringil, 2007: 68).

Nevertheless, during this period the Ottoman Empire initiated a counteroffensive without taking up arms –for the superiority of Europe in this area was unquestionable– with the available media, that is, by leaning against the weight of the dominant religion, namely, Islam, emphasizing caliphate, and making use of words, images and symbols as weapons for this purpose (Georgeon, 2012: 263).

The Ottoman Empire had to carry out such a policy for between 1878 and 1882, over a period of four years, it lost its lands such as Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Tunisia and Egypt. Having lost all possibility of de facto control over these lands, the sultan attached special importance to maintain his spiritual authority and to manifest that authority in these territories. For example, he retained his rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was under the Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration, to deliver Jummah Khutbah (Friday Sermon) on his behalf and to appoint a *qadi* for the Sharia court. The Empire was losing its Muslim–populated lands to Christian powers; nevertheless, the caliphate managed– albeit to a small degree– to maintain a certain moral and spiritual authority in these areas. What the sultanate actually lost was preserved by the caliphate on paper. The public more easily accepted such loss at the time, for it was still possible to make a presentation of the lost provinces on the map of the "well-protected domains" (*memleket-i mahruse*). In an era in which the representation through maps spread and oversized wall maps of the whole empire began to be hanged in classrooms, such mapping was a factor that must not to be ignored. Henceforth, there were two empires: the actual empire governed by the Ottoman rule, and the fictional empire insistently represented on geographical maps with lands allegedly under Istanbul's imperial control. The caliphate was, in this regard, also an ideological response to land loss of the empire. Addressing the whole idea of the Islamic Union within this context would, moreover, provide a better understanding of this issue (Georgeon, 2012: 271).

At this point, it would be appropriate to assume that Abdulhamid II tried to exercise sovereignty over both already lost lands and Ottoman lands under the risk of loss. In general terms, it is possible to classify the symbols of power under Abdulhamid's rule into four categories.

First of all, there are symbols associated with holiness of the personality of the caliph-sultan, similar to those directly reflecting the glory and might of the Ottoman Empire such as badges in public buildings, the official music, ceremonies and public works. What the

Ottoman state tried to perform here was a symbolic expression of its right to exist in a world that constantly tries to push it into the darkness of history[443] (Deringil, 2007: 210).

Even though, the use of titles such as Sultan and Padishah was still common during this period, religious titles began to gain the upper hand. The most frequently recurring expressions were *hilafetpenah* (Shelter of the Caliphate), *amir al-muminin* (Commander of the Faithful), *zillullah-i fil arz* (God's shadow on Earth). In addition to the Ottoman red flag with crescent embroidery used in the official ceremony, the green banner of the caliphs began to take the stage (Georgeon, 2012: 272).

Not only in terms of his titles, but also in his lifestyle and sanction, Abdulhamid II is manifestly distinguishable from the previous sultans. Unlike his predecessors, Abdulhamid II imposed on himself to live a secluded life in the palace primarily for security reasons; however, he used this recluse also to build himself a new image. This reclusive life in the palace was an important way to announce that Abdulhamid II, unlike infidel rulers, was living a simple, humble, frugal, ascetic and exemplary life as it was required from a Islamic caliph, instead of going to hunting parties or to countryside and dealing things with levity. This ascetic life really evoked the expected response in the public opinion. Even his enemies would agree with the Sultan's great moral character. For example, Murad Mizanci, one of the pioneers of oppositional Young Turk movement, admitted that for centuries no "sultan, who is such morally impeccable and so restrained in pleasure" had ruled the Ottoman throne.

Abdulhamid II used to leave the palace and participate in the public life only in order to fulfill his religious obligations. Once a year on the fifteenth day of Ramadan, Abdulhamid II would go to Topkapi Palace to see the holy relics and twice a year, for the occasion of the

[443] In fact, it is often forgotten that at the beginning of the century the majority of countries in the world were still ruled by monarchy. Even though institution of monarchy suffered a fatal blow because of the French Revolution, its total overthrow lasted until the First World War. Meanwhile, monarchies as in case of Japan did not only survive, but they actually revived. The Ottoman sultan, the Meiji emperor, the Tsar, the Habsburg emperor, all entered the twentieth century at different paces, but generally followed similar ways. They all tried to create a state mythology equipped with new predicates, which they tried to inculcate through mass education. All of them used in varying degrees technical equipment of modernity; railways, telegraphs, factories, population counts, passports, steamships, world fairs, clock towers and art deco palaces. They all observed each other to see how their equals played the role of "civilized monarch". The emulation process between the crowned heads of the world was certainly competitive, but imported model of the modernity concept was inevitably the one seen in the central cultures of Western Europe, perhaps more specifically in the Second Empire of France. The history of the Ottoman Empire, as described in this book, was largely a history of involvement of the Muslim world's only independent power in this adaptation process. The attempts of the Ottoman sultan to consolidate his internal ideological position would overlap with the increasing resistance effort against the repression by rival empires (Deringil, 2007: 216).

Eid al Fitr (Ramadan Eid) and Eid al-Adha (Sacrifice Feast), to Dolmabahce Palace to receive the greetings of state officials. For every Friday prayer, he would also go to Hamidiye Mosque near Yildiz Palace to be present at the *selamlik* ceremony – for it was especially the only one that truly represented a "public" nature of the Sultan's egresses. Consequently, the emergence of an image of a sovereign who is devoted to religion, morality and strictly follows social customs and traditions was insured (Georgeon, 2012: 273).

Abdulhamid II carefully strived to highlight two dimensions of his activities: the builder and the benevolent sultan. In the new perception, philanthropy was no longer based on the charity foundations as it used to be; rather, it directly depended on the private treasury of the Sultan and on the revenues of the imperial land. In other words, philanthropy became Abdulhamid's personal work (Georgeon, 2012: 485).

Abdulhamid, however, built neither a majestic building nor a monumental mosque. Instead, he had built and restored many small mosques and open-air prayer places in neighborhoods, towns and villages on his own behalf. For instance, in Istanbul, in the remote districts of the Asian side, he commissioned the construction of small mosques. Of 1,300 charity activities recorded in an official document dated 1900, 442 were related to the construction or repair of a mosque. The goal here was not to impress the people with a magnificent monument, but to propagate the generosity of the sultan with a large number of charitable works as much as possible (Georgeon, 2012: 484).

In this context, Abdulhamid II built edifices in a large variety of types: schools, administration buildings, barracks, hospitals, fountains, bridges, roads, sewerage, inns, soup kitchens, clock towers, a fountain and a mansion in Yalova, sewerage in Ankara or a bacteriology laboratory of the Hamidiye Hospital in Damascus. He also repaired cemeteries and tombs of saints.

On the other hand, two major projects that marked the reign of Abdulhamid II were the opening of *Darülfünûn* (university) and the construction of the Hejaz Railway, the details of which will be discussed in the following chapters. As for the latter, he was so thoughtful and delicate that he already set the founding stones of the fountain's and the open-air prayer places in Damascus, which were to be built at the starting point of the railway line that would extend till the Holy Lands. Moreover, for the same occasion, he also commissioned the

erection of first pole of the telegraph line connecting Damascus to Mecca (Georgeon, 2012: 483).

The second category of power symbols from Abdulhamid's reign consisted of medals, specially bestowed copies of the Koran, the imperial flag and other ceremonial trappings, which were more specific and personal manifestations of imperial generosity.

During his reign, salary allocations with medal or without medal were of the most effective ways of patronage (imperial grace) to ensure loyalty to the state and to increase his influence as sultan-caliph. Abdulhamid II further wrote letters with imperial signature and invited the people that he wanted to reward for their services to the state (Karpat, 2005: 419).

Third category consisted of religiously symbolic things such as calligraphic works or other materials of similar importance in the palace that allegedly belonged to the leading Islamic figures.

The fourth and final category is related to the language of symbolism in the Ottoman official documentation. Through this language, Ottoman elites and the inhabitants of the palace were brought to conscious observance of normative orders from passive obedience. In fact, the presentation of medals, copies of the Koran or of the imperial flag, as a whole, forms a part of this emblematic dialogue between the ruler and the ruled.

All kinds of icons in these categories were reinterpreted in this period and gained new values. Because even though the Islamism as Abdulhamid II conceptualized may seem to be fueled with religious motifs, it included secular and modern motivations (Deringil, 1993: 12).

In this way, the Ottoman elite and the palace, attempting by any means to avoid looking "exotic", emphasized the legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire by integrating all symbols that are in sync with the general course of world trends and that are beginning to point to modernity. A very effective proof of this effort is the Sultan's photo albums that were prepared in 1894 to be presented as a gift to the British Museum and the Library of Congress. These albums cover three main themes:

Part I consisted of "Sights, Buildings, Monuments and Antiquities"; these were landscape photographs showing views of Bosporus and Golden Horn, of imperial mosques and various places.

Part II shows “The military academy, the navy recovery, and additional services, military and industrial organizations”.

Part III displays “educational institutions”.[444]

Since the beginning of 1880, Abdulhamid II sent photographers to visit every corner of the empire and accumulated an enormous collection of 30,000 clichés the number of which exceeds 30,000. The photographs also enabled the Sultan, who said, “Every photograph is an idea,” to monitor the worrisome events as well as the progress of the Western presence in the Ottoman lands. For example, governor of Beirut could submit a collection of clichés showing recent construction projects, schools, hospitals, and chapels constructed by the French in Lebanon. The examination of these photos for the Sultan was equal to in situ inspection; similar to some predecessors who once incognito wandered around the imperial lands without being recognized. Those photographs were a way of disguising and walking around in the streets of the empire without being recognized at all. Even though the Sultan would not travel across the empire, the empire came to him in thousands of images (Georgeon, 2012: 221).

By means of these efforts, the Sultan was trying to build his dream capital city that was in its whole a structure worthy of the caliphate, but at the same time modern. At this point, the current tombs in Istanbul, the existence of Hagia Sophia and the presence of the Prophet’s Holy Relics organically contributed to the city's symbolism. Additionally, the Sultan had European architects carry out modern projects and build squares. In other respects, in this city, at least among Muslims, a complete moral order had to prevail. Many instructions originating from the palace and the local authority call Muslims to attitudes and behaviors “in compliance with the center of the caliphate”. Abdulhamid II attached importance to the fact to be known that he carried out a policy that fully conforms to the caliphate institution and Sharia and he reminded this fact especially during Ramadan. With a view to ensuring compliance with morality or Islamic decency, various measures, particularly concerning women's clothes and alcohol consumption were taken (Georgeon, 2012: 456).

[444] Here, it reveals the fact that the Hamidian regime did not only accept the elite educational institutions, but also schools of relatively modest value to show that these were parts of its claim in respect of modernity. While especially the representation of the girls of “Üsküdar Trade and Crafts School” or “Emirgan Girls’ Primary School” with uncovered heads and with their flashy diplomas in their hand was interesting, the “tribal school” opened for children of the tribes and nomadic people occupies a lot of space (Deringil, 2007: 195).

To summarize, images and symbols have a distinct and very special place in the modern times of which Unity of Islam is a product to a significant degree. This fact is also relevant for today, as it was for the late 19th century. Not surprisingly, Abdulhamid II did not refrain from giving these images and symbols their rightful place, while Young Turks utterly criticized the use of symbols which they claim to be meaningless and portrayed Abdulhamid II as a trickster who fooled people with cheap games. The following chapters will elaborate on the principal examples of such images and symbols that serve for both Islamization and modernization.

9.1. Immigrants

"National Brotherhood: It is the brotherhood of people, which are subject to a state and a law independent of their religion and order. All Ottomans are siblings. The fathers as well as the mothers of Ottomans are one. Their mother is the blessed homeland, their father is the customary law acquired from the most illuminating glorious Sharia law." (Here the basic law is meant)

(İzmirli Ismail Hakkı, cited by Kara, 2001: 33)

"All Ottomans belong to the obvious and truth telling religion of Islam, some indeed as Muslims, others under the Muslim force. For all of them are subject to Islamic canon, they are Muslim by default. Armenians, Christians and Jews are essentially not Muslims, but, as they accept the provisions of Sharia, and they agree to share any losses and benefits, let us also shake hands [with them]."

(Ismail Hakki of Bitola cited by Kara, 2001: 34)

During the 1877-1878 war, nearly one million Muslims were displaced and forced to migrate. Most of them migrated to a safe area in central Anatolia, which meant that a mass that would represent a great percentage of the population and bring about a radical change in the ethnic balances would came to the country because the number of people living in the territories that would later make up the Republic of Turkey was already 10-12 million. In addition, migrating populations came from more economically developed regions with greater market and technology experience and were more educated than Muslims in Anatolia. The newcomers did not create closed ethnic groups. Marriages were very common among the groups coming from very different regions as well as between these groups and the local, especially urban population. As a result of this synthesis gained during that period, today's

Turkey has still a very complex ethnic mix; today, people who came from former Muslim regions in Russia, in the Caucasian republics, and in the Balkans, as well as migrants from Turkish-speaking parts of Russia and the population in Anatolia of different origins are intermixed and have undergone the process of "Turkization" (Keyder, 2005: 33-4).

This migration was welcomed by Abdulhamid, for statistical information regarding population suggests that demographic development of the already existing Muslims in the Ottoman lands, especially in Istanbul and Western Anatolia, has not been as lively as that of other nations. The results of the report prepared by a German doctor who was commissioned by the Sultan to conduct investigations on the Muslim population in Ankara and Kastamonu provinces is so frightening –it stated that the number of Muslims melted down and Muslims were close to disappearance in the region– that report was not printed. In fact, this phenomenon was previously identified; for instance, William Ramsay observed a similar incident in the Aegean region with such decrease in the Muslim population.

There are several reasons for such incidents: advances in medicine diffused among Muslims more slowly. As revealed in the British consular reports, rates of child mortality were higher among the Muslim population. It should be added that military service only affected Muslims; the war in Yemen especially took many lives. Also, the more common practice of abortion among Muslim women, especially amongst poor peasant women in provinces of Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa towards 1900 took alarming proportions. The Sultan himself criticized the "recent rise in the unhealthy abortion practice" explaining that these would cause "a reduction in the Muslim population" and asked his consultants for appropriate measures. He decided to send Muslim scholars to mosques to preach against the practice of Muslim women (Georgeon, 2012: 437-8).

In this context, Muslim refugees were a chance for the Ottoman Empire. Since the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire accepted Muslim communities fleeing from the Russian expansion towards the Black Sea, Caucasus and Central Asia. In a state that regarded the population decline as an economic and military problem and that had plenty of empty land, this migration from outside was considered to be a positive contribution. Muslim flock to Turkey, which particularly increased during the Crimean War and the Russian occupation of the Caucasus, was intensified anew with the Balkan crisis and the Russian War of 1875-1876. Immigrants from virtually anywhere in the Balkans, Romania, Montenegro, Serbia,

Bulgaria, Thessaly flooded to Anatolia. Although wave of immigration increased especially between 1877 and 1879 and decreased afterwards, it never completely stopped. The number of Muslims who migrated from the Balkans to Anatolia and to the Near East after 1878 is estimated to be approximately 1.5 million. Thousands of Muslims fleeing from Ardahan and Kars annexed by the Russians, and people who continue coming from Caucasus, Muslim Georgians as well as about 500,000 Circassians who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire between the and especially 1881-1914, should further be added to this figure. Towards the end of the 19th century, small groups of Crimean Tatars, Kazan Tatars and Azeri who want to break away from the policy of Russianize conducted by Alexander III also found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, in 1897, tens of thousands of Muslims left Crete after the island's administration became autonomous and migrated to the Anatolian coast and Aegean islands.

Solely during the reign of Abdulhamid, the total of more than two million Muslim migrants coming from the Balkans and Russia –that is nearly ten percent of the Ottoman population– were settled in the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan understood the refugees as a personal case. Although it was ordinary for an Ottoman prince, having a Circassian mother probably made him more sensitive to the issue, leading him to do his best to help refugees. He met the foundation costs of many large villages from his own pocket and built mosques and schools in these villages; many villages were named "Hamidiye" as a token of his commitment to this case and also to honor his name. Facing humanitarian, economical and financial problems occurring in the administration and provoked by the size of these migrations, Abdulhamid II set up several commissions and personally presided over the commission for general refugee administration at the Yildiz Palace, which was founded in 1878. This commission was responsible for the organization, transportation and settlement of refugees for fifteen years. The acceptance of refugees and their settlement was a "life and death issue" for the Sultan. By bringing "Muslim flood" from the Balkans "empire increased not only its national power, but also its economic strength". Abdulhamid II did never intend to benefit from these refugees to re-conquer the lands he lost; it was not an issue of conscious irredentism to place these refugees in camps until the day they returned (Georgeon, 2012: 439).

On the contrary, the Ottoman Sultan was seeking to integrate refugees to society. In this way, he would both compensate for population losses suffered in Berlin and solve the

problems of taxes and soldiers he needed more than anything else. Thus, he followed politics of integration. Within this Ottoman-style politics, he resettled them, distributed land, but did not try to assimilate, namely, to "Turkify" them. Each group has therefore maintained its own language and customs. Accordingly, they constituted a large ethnic and linguistic diversity in the region they inhabited. The resettlement of refugees met not only demographic and economic, but also religious requirements, for the sultan placed refugees in regions of low Muslim population density as much as he did so in strategic areas such as the Dardanelles. Just as he distributed available free land to the refugees for agricultural use, he also settled them along new railway lines. Besides, although Abdulhamid II considered settling Circassians along the newly drawn border with Russia in order to increase the weight of the Muslims in this sensitive area, he was deterred as a result of the pressures by the Tsarist government.

In sum, this immigrant influx led to many results. First, in only demographic terms, the immigration surpassed emigration movements causing a population increase; the empire took a much larger number of people than it sent. Migration greatly compensated for the losses of people recorded after Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 and the Treaty of Berlin. In addition, already increased proportion of Muslims strengthened to a great extent as a result of the territorial arrangements of the Treaty of Berlin because in exchange for the arrival of more than two million Muslims of Balkan or Russian origins in the country, approximately 300,000 migrants, the majority of which was Christian (Armenians, Greeks, and Arabs), sought refuge in Russia or left the empire to try their luck in the US between 1878 and 1914.

Accordingly, migration strengthened the Islamic nature of the Ottoman Empire. The cultural diversity and richness brought by refugees, their loyalty and devotion provided in many ways a very qualified and functional material for Abdulhamid's Islamic Union policy.

9.2. Ceremonies

When they are evaluated as a whole, ceremonies provide many hidden clues about the character of the power, for they are tools of self-definition used by the government. In addition to functions such as the display of the power, which every government usually needs, governments wish to communicate their theoretical configuration, world view, and objectives to their target audience by means of symbols. Therefore, by reading between the

lines of ceremonies, clues about how governments define itself can be found (Karateke, 2004: 210).

The purpose of any government wanting to use ceremonies as a symbol is to ensure by means of repeated ceremonies that individuals of the society internalize the icon with which it identifies itself, thus, the government itself. The fact that ceremonies are repetitions of each other allows for strengthening given messages; through the excitement it often – perhaps every time– creates, it helps with the inurement of the ideals of the authority. The repetition of a similar pattern is able make the ones exposed to repetition get accustomed to the things denoted in the similar; that is to say, authorities in their present state as authority want to form a habit. This is nothing else than a step towards providing legitimacy for oneself (Karateke, 2004: 211).

For these purposes, ceremonies began to be modernized as well as be used more commonly and effectively during the period under examination. Abdulhamid II expanded spectrum and the scope of ritual which he deemed politically appropriate and by turning some dull rituals into spectacular ceremonies, he solidified both his influence and the influence of the Sunni Hanafi order, of which majority Turks were members, on the society.

The most important ceremonial for our subject is probably the *Surra* Procession [Procession of the Purse] performed while sending *Surra t*o *Haremeyn* [the holy cities of Mecca and Medina]. The dispatch of the Prophet's beard and nail in silver boxes with private servants to Hejaz each year as well as of a wide variety of gifts through the *Surra* Procession is a precious ceremony containing messages in many ways.

Every year, the covering of Kaaba in Mecca with the sacred cloth (*setre-i sharif*) embroidered with sultan's name was carried out through a brilliant public ceremony. Camels decorated with richly embroideries cloths and carrying ceremonial people proceeded slowly in the streets of Istanbul despite the fact that the ceremony band was playing the Hamidian anthem. The new cover would be taken to Mecca and a huge convoy of pilgrims (*Surra* Procession) used to bring the former back to Istanbul. *Surra* Procession usually consisted of up to 60 thousand people coming from all parts of the world and walked from Damascus to Mecca in approximately fifty-five days under the leadership of *Surra Emini*, an officer appointed by the government. Every night they stayed at a place and resumed walking the next day. The Ottoman government paid a large part of the money spent for the protection of

pilgrims and the fulfillment of other services. The gifts sent to the Holy Cities were a symbolic expression of Caliph's patronage for Islam's most sacred bastion (Deringil, 2007: 51).

The **Sword-girding** is a separate ritual of symbolic significance. Since in its most common meaning swords stand for "power", the presentation of sword as gift or the sword-girding ceremony symbolizes the new ruler's take-over of the whole authority. More broadly, sword is valued as a means of establishing justice and peace through authority. Therefore, sword-girding ceremony can be found in regimes in which the ruler holds a sacred position as a protector of the religion and religious believers or as someone who brings them justice (Karateke, 2004: 46).

The day after the sword-girding ceremony of Sultan Abdulhamid, Ottoman newspapers predicted that more than three hundred thousand people had attended the ceremony (Karateke, 2004: 64).

Albanian, Kurdish, Arabic, Bosnian, Greek, Armenian and Jewish, representatives of nearly all subjects, participated in Abdulhamid's procession in their traditional dresses. At the procession, almost a small Ottoman Empire had been represented with all its regiment, its palace, its council and its subjects. The officially declared ceremony outfit of the Sultan was a full dress uniform. Despite the splendor around him, Abdulhamid II came to the ceremony very modestly dressed, as he would do in almost all later ceremonies. As an ornament, he only had orders of the Medjidie and Osmani on his chest (Karateke, 2004: 72).

During Abdulhamid's reign, **enthronement days** were made into events about which the place was sensitive and that the palace wanted to pompously celebrate throughout the country in a festive air. From time to time, Istanbul sent regulations on how the enthronement day should be celebrated in the provinces and tried to catch the public's attention in provincial cities through the new celebration procedures such as balls in addition to the traditional festivities. On the occasion of the enthronement days, palace bestowed plenty of orders, ranks, medals, and gifts and would forgive penalties such as exile, imprisonment, or tax debts. "The most magnificently celebrated enthronement day of Abdulhamid II became the one in 1900, which coincided with his 25th anniversary. The plenitude of the Ottoman archive writings on the course of such celebrations demonstrates that Istanbul also gave credence to such acts of submission. The number of provincial officials who, knowing the

fact that the palace showed sensitivity and anxiety for participation in the enthronement celebrations, informed Istanbul about the people who did not participate in the ceremonies was not a few," (Karateke, 2004: 45).

Abdulhamid's 25th anniversary celebration showed that sultan's effort to be involved in Europe/royal protocol succeeded to some extent:

"Festivities are held and Red Sultan, as he has been called a few years ago, has brought the entire Europe now receives greetings... All states have sent their special envoys; Russia and the United Kingdom sent their most valuable admirals; a cavalry general from French Republic, another admiral from Italy, a famous personality from Germany participated in the celebrations ... as for the old vassals, they are about to return to their former loyalty. (...) Bulgaria sent its entire cabinet..." (Deringil, 2007: 187).

Religious holidays, particularly celebrations at the palace, can also be considered important in the context of the rituals. The exchange of greetings on the occasion of both Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr was in its essence a religious social activity. As the greetings were organized under a serious protocol and were used as a "visual" propaganda tool for the foreign audience especially in the 19th century, Ottoman holiday greetings inevitably appear as ceremonies with predominant political aspects, rather than being held in a religious "purity".

In fact, it would probably be incorrect to expect a religious purity as in the people's holiday greetings in such an environment because the political aspects of ceremonies, whether they are religious or not, began to emerge as of the moment they are subjected to a state regulation. Their political aspect gain weight in accordance with the political position of the communities taking part in the ceremony, namely, causes of tension such as degree of the power they share in the government or how much of it they aspire to get. The greeting ceremonies were the only religious ceremony that foreign visitors were allowed to see. No audience from outside was allowed in ceremonies of *Bay'ah* [oath of allegiance], Mawlid, visits to *Hırka-i Şerif,* or in sword-girding ceremony. So, greetings were intended to fulfill a more politically function than other ceremonial events did.

In the holiday ceremony, everyone including the low ranking government officials and almost all servant-slaves living in the palace used to offer the Sultan Eid greetings. This

ceremony originally passed in the form of a small *Bay'ah* ceremony. As in the actual *Bay'ah* and Cülus as ceremonies, provincial managers, scholars and sheiks sent greeting telegrams to the palace and the names of those who sent telegrams, particularly such critical persons as khedive or the Sharif of Mecca, were published in newspaper columns. The names of those who were involved in the ceremony within the palace at the beginning of this report were listed at length. Thus, through Eid greeting ceremonies twice a year, the hierarchy between both the state and palace employees and the status of anyone who participated in the ceremony vis-à-vis the Sultan would have been approved. Its repetition was important because repetition of ceremonies enabled the settlement of the hierarchy. Some individuals, might have respected the Sultan only under obligation because of their world views or interests, and therefore, it is possible that the greeting ceremonies might not have arose an extra sense of respect towards the Sultan, on the contrary, it could have strengthened their hatred towards him. But this was, after all, not the benefit expected from the ceremony. The symbolic language encoded in the physical configuration of the ceremony, the positions of standing, the dresses of the participants, the decorations given, the privileges they had during the ceremony and similar details taught the status of a clerk, who was a high school graduate [*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*], in relation to others whether he had direct connections or not. This situation would reduce the tension between the levels of government or on the contrary, tension could arise as the degree of power held was reflected on the ceremony.

Ismail Mayako, one of the clerks from the clerical office of the Yıldız Palace, expressed his feelings on the greeting ceremonies during the reign of Abdulhamid II as follows:

"As the new clerk, I stood at the end of the order. *An Arab* [!] *stood at the very* first and foremost place. *He was dressed* in solid silver threads *from his neck to his belly.* His chest was filled with medals. The first secretary, *chamberlain and chamberlain clerks* followed him. This Arab was the chief harem eunuch. [...] After all, *seeing* this African nigger standing before twenty to twenty-five intellectual men got on my nerves" *(Karateke, 2004: 91).*

In the palace, totally twenty-one sheep –three on behalf of the Prophet Mohammed, one for each rightly guided caliphs, one for the four great Imams of the madhabs [religious orders], two for Hatice, two for Ayse, two for Fatima, two for each Hassan and Hussein, and

including two for Naqshband Shah Bahâeddin– were slaughtered at every feast of the sacrifice. Meanwhile, people who were expected to participate in the greeting ceremony waited in different rooms in accordance with their profession. There were attorneys in one room, soldiers in another, and scholars in another one. After resting for a while the Sultan would give the signal for the start of the ceremony (Karateke, 2004: 86).

The ceremony of kissing the hem of sultan's garment[445] in Ramadan each year, as an important ritual, gave some signs in the context of the modernization. In this adaptation of a very old tradition, there was a significant deviation from apparel clothing prescribed by tradition. The sultan no longer wore a caftan, instead, he wore a uniform or suit for this ceremony; therefore, embroidered handkerchiefs replaced the hem. As a gesture of humility and respect towards the passing-by clergy, it was further important for the caliph to stand up. Most of these public ceremonies included an important mixture of the new and the old as well as Muslim and Western traditions.

It can be stated that *selamlık,* another form of ceremony, became an effective showdown and an impressive parade during the reign of Abdulhamid II. During this period, *Selamlık* processions were turned into ceremonies in which the most spectacular units of the troops gathered together and the regularity of these units were used as effective visual aids. Ceremonies that display the military power by their nature show the power of the state. What matters here is the intimidation and impact created by a force moving before the eyes of the audience and setting a precedent through its serious image. In the memoirs of many local and foreign observers, who were so impressed to devote a separate chapter to the ceremony, it is possible to see that the *selamlık*s of Abdulhamid II were able to generate more than this effect (Karateka, 2004: 106).

When considered in this context, *selamlık* was an event in which Islamic tradition and Western-style protocol were intertwined and both prominent foreigners and local court women took place in the same ceremony. A military band playing Western marches accompanied the *Selamlik* procession and the changing clothing style was seen the allegiance ceremony (Deringil, 2007: 42- 43).

[445] "While the servants of the sultan were standing on both sides next to him, they were holding their gold embroidered handkerchiefs. Instead of actually kissing the hem in this ceremony, each leading group went on by kissing one of the handkerchiefs and put on their forehead as a sign of allegation. The Sultan only stood up to take the salute of the ulama," (Deringil, 2007: 46).

Apart from the increasing political character of ostentatious side of the Friday Salutation ceremony, taking into account the fact that the ceremony was in fact the Sultan's going to the mosque for Friday prayer, we can evaluate the increasing importance of the Friday Prayer Processions and its becoming a not-to-be-missed European ritual of the Sultan's showing himself to the public once a week as a natural consequence of the last period in which the Sultan's identity as the caliph came to the fore (Karateke, 2004: 107).

Visits to *Hırka-i Saadet* [The Blessed Mantle], also known as *Hırka-i Şerif* [the Holy Mantle] is another religious ceremony. According to the traditional story, the Prophet Muhammad gave this mantle to the poet Kâab bin Zübeyr as a gift because of a poem he told. Again, according to tentative information Kaab or his family sold the mantle to later Caliph Muawiyah (d. 680). There are hints indicating that many Muslim rulers owned this mantle passing from hand to hand and wore it in such ceremonies such as the *Cülus* [enthronement]. Moreover, opening the Holy Mantle to the public visit at certain times is a very old tradition existing since time immemorial. After 1517, the Mantle along with other relics was brought to Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, and began to be kept in the room that will later names after the mantle. It is known that Ottoman sultans wore the mantle of Muhammad on several occasions –for example while starting a military campaign– as a continuation of the tradition. Besides the fact that sultans believed the mantel to be a talisman and wore it for certain occasions, another ceremony is the sultan's visit to the room in which the mantle is preserved on a day in the middle of the Ramadan in (Karateke, 2004: 195).

Another ceremony is the Mawlid recital. In the widespread use of "Mawlid" is the twelfth day of the month of Rabi' al-awwal, which is acknowledged as the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. Furthermore, religious works about the virtues and live of the Prophet Muhammad recited in connection with this day are also called mawlid. Organization of a public ceremony and processions on this occasion dates back to the Fatimid period in Egypt. Decoration of the city with oil lamps and the shooting of cannons until the afternoon prayers of the next day can be given as examples for the celebrations held outside the palace (Karateke, 2004: 199).

Mawlid and *Hırka*-i *Saadet* services were extremely popular ceremonies demanded by ulama, sheikhs, members of Sufi orders, in short, by people who were regulating religious life and the creators of public opinion fundamentally based on religious ideas. The state, by

paying particular attention to monitoring ceremony programs that brought these groups to the fore, did not leave the demands of these groups unanswered, which were able to reach the masses easily. Moreover, the sanctity of both mawlid and *Hırka*-i *Saadet visit* was not desecrated by letting in foreign guests, and also orchestra did not attend these ceremonies. But on the other processions open to everyone, the ranked foreigners were welcomed in a room at Dolmabahce Palace so that they were able to watch the parade comfortable (Karateke, 2004: 206).

Apart from the ceremonies above, there are also several religious, (partly) public ceremonies on a smaller scale that were sometimes accompanied by parades. One of them was **Qadr Night** [laylat al-qadr] parade organized on twenty-seventh night of Ramadan. Hagia Sophia, Tophane and Nusretiye were mosques where the sultan used to go for Tarawih prayers. At these nights, an armada was organized and firework displays were made.

Another procession held in Ramadan was the Sultan's passage from the Topkapı to Yıldız Palace. Sultan Abdulhamid, during the first years of his reign, stayed at Topkapı until iftar[446] [evening meal] and after dinner, he returned to Yıldız Palace in a torchlight procession through roads equipped with lamps. At the Iftar time, soldiers lining up on both sides of roads were provided, in addition to iftar meals, with gifts such as iftar bagels (*iftar simidi*) and cigarettes; and upon the arrival to the Yıldız Palace, animals were sacrificed and their meats were distributed to the dervish lodges.

Also, in the Hijri New Year, attorneys, ulama and other state officials came to the palace for greeting. On these days half and quarter gold coins called Muharremiyye were distributed.

Apart from all these ceremonies, Abdulhamid II also tried to "sanctify" the founders of the Ottoman dynasty and show them as “fathers of the nation”. For instance, he accelerated the repair of the tomb of Osman's father, Ertuğrul Gazi, in Söğüt, which was initiated by Abdulmecid, and turned this shrine into a national-religious sanctuary. Thus, the history was in great manner gracefully nationalized, idealized and Turkified. It can be understood that these activities, which even until that day had almost not been noticed or at least had not been correctly interpreted, were undertaken in order to ensure the loyalty of believers and to strengthen the religious aspect of the Sultan who was Amīr al-Mu'minīn [Commander of the

[446] In later years, the Sultan started to return to the Yıldız Palace right after the ceremony at mid-afternoon.

Faithful]. In fact, such media created a new image of the state and the identification of Muslim Turkish community with their Ottoman past was facilitated. All these activities were part of the identity change process and the beginning of ethnic Turkism, and finally of nationalism (Karpat, 2005: 422).

In conclusion, considering the employment of ceremonies as an image and symbol in this period, it can be argued that ceremonies carried out successfully. Abdulhamid II usually managed to reflect his dominant political position and personality on all his audience ceremonies. Foreign guests coming to the palace were already under the influence of common views on the Abdulhamid's absoluteness. Their first impressions on the uncompromising order and absolute silence on the court, after entering the Yıldız Palace, as well as such gestures as bowing down before the Sultan, which was required of them as a matter of etiquette**,** the guests were mentally prepared for the difference of positions between themselves and the Sultan and of "majesty" of the Sultan's personality. Above all, the small rooms at Yıldız Palace that did not allow attention to be distracted from the Sultan were among the factors that affected such moods (Karateke, 2004: 174).

Geertz says that ceremonies bring a ruler to occur. Indeed, Abdulhamid II owes his quite strong positive or negative image largely to the ceremonies in addition to many other factors (Karateke, 2004: 215).

9.3. Hajj

"Let us hope that labbayk does not just stay in the literary language, may everyone respond to the offer of unity with a labbayk answer in every language."

(Celal Nuri, 1912: 313)

Islam is a holistic religion regulating social life as much as it does personal life. There are five main conditions which one must fulfill to become a Muslim. These include testifying from the heart that there is no god but Allah, and that prophet Muhammad is His servant and messenger, performing of prayers, fasting, helping the needy by giving one fortieth of one's property to him, and, if he is able to afford it, fulfilling the service by going to pilgrimage to Kaaba at least once in a life.

In fact, all of these five conditions, but particularly the last two, namely zakat and hajj, are extremely social issues. Although performing the congregational prayer is praised,

and fasting teaches oneself self-discipline and to understand state of the poor, the first three conditions are mostly between Allah and His servants. Solely, Zakat has the mission to provide charity and brotherhood in the community. If necessary sensitivity in matters of zakat, there will certainly be no miserable Muslim anywhere in the world and this has been expressed from time to time also by the Young Turks:

"One of the important social concerns that occupied social scientists for centuries and *not obtained* a successful result is the *matter of charity. In Islam, charity was instituted on the obligation of zakat [giving alms]. There is no doubt that if a rich Muslim capable by virtue of the ruling class pays alms, and all alms were spent regularly in accordance with the laws of economy Islam will be relieved of misery" (İttihad-ı İslam [Unity of Islam], no. 4: 2).*

The most vital requirement of Islam for our topic is, however, the Hajj pilgrimage to gather all Muslims together, and, in the meantime, to hold even the closest non-Muslims outside Islam.

According to orientalists who underline that "*hajj, which cannot be watched by no consul, diplomat, soldier, and by an unhallowed eye, is ideal for ambitious who know how to use mass instincts for their own purposes and how to add even more fuel to the already great fire of faith*", the things told, planned and discussed there are beyond the knowledge of even non-Muslim experts who are most familiar with Islam, and thus, this is an opportunity that can be well seized (Cited from Vollers by Turköne, 1993: 99).

The prohibition or coercion of Hajj will be a violation of religious freedom as it is one of the obligations of Islam. That's why the European states, when there was no other remedy, tried to ensure a way to successfully control it instead of banning. The most beneficial formula they used in this way was to make it difficult for the fulfillment of the hajj pilgrimage under sanctions such as urging sea companies at the point of providing humane conditions for pilgrims to travel or imposing passport requirements (Becker as cited in Türköne, 1993: 171).

However, Sultan Abdulhamid II was not afraid to use the pilgrimage for the Islamic Union, and he found there the opportunity to reach the Muslim world by distributing pamphlets and by way of the hajj practices. For example, Sultan Abdulhamid II who displayed an attitude that avoided conflicts in relations with Muslims in Central Asia under

the Russian control, wanted to give the messages of unity to Muslims not directly, but he sent them through the Hajj pilgrims from Turkestan, setting out to visit the Holy Land in the Hajj season (Eraslan 1992: 336). As a gesture of goodwill, 20 cents visa fees that were received from Central Asian pilgrims were lifted; issues such as residence and trade were eased, and even travel expenses of some pilgrims coming from areas such as Bukhara or Kashgar were paid by the state (Eraslan, 1992: 336-338).

The Young Turks referring to the brotherhood enhancing and politically unifying aspects of pilgrimage in their writings, even though not as much as the Sultan Abdulhamid II who distributed pamphlets of Islamic Unity[447], were aware of the political and social mission of the pilgrimage:

"Going to Hajj is an political and social obligation," (Celal Nuri, 1912: 312).

"The reasons why pilgrimage was commanded and the benefits which are provided by these reasons are so divine that, above the great regulations, nothing can be imagined to create brotherhood between critical believing Muslims who carry out a detailed investigation of these. All social desires and aims of our obvious religion that generate with enthusiasm and pleasure excitement among humankind are completely accumulating and sufficient. Hajj is one of the principals embraced by Islam to ensure brotherhood that is at the beginning of the book of human regulations. In all social circumstances, in the way of contemplation and disposition of soul and spirituality, the main reason for strength and resemblance seen between Muslims is the pilgrimage. Even though hundreds of thousands of people are speaking in separate languages and have non-similar costumes differing from each other in the guise of their wearers, they unite in the way of oneness. On all their obedient bodies Ihram ... in all their humble and observant language "Labbayka Allāhumma Labbayk" melodie, Islam has succeeded to ensure the brotherhood of humankind through a holy ritual," (Ittihad-i Islam, no. 4: 2).

Although Abdulhamid, as other sultans and every Muslim who can afford, was obliged as long as it was possible to go the pilgrimage to Mecca, if at all once, he never went to pilgrimage, nevertheless, for a caliph who claim the leadership of the Islamic world, the obligation of going to Hajj was a great opportunity for any kind of statement he wanted to declare to the world. In order to gain credibility in the eyes of Muslims in the face of all sorts

[447] See appendix in Çetinkaya's master thesis.

of accusations by the European powers and difficulties they raised for Muslim subjects, the Ottoman Sultan as "leader of the believers" was supposed to guarantee their prosperity. This meant that he had to provide the security for the pilgrimage. In addition, it also meant that he was responsible for the creation of a fair and just ground in terms of economic interaction during the pilgrimage season. All Hejazi, from the Bedouins who attacked and plundered the caravans, to the local *mutavvıf*, namely guides, had made a bad reputation for ripping off pilgrims. Every year, Istanbul gave orders and warnings prohibiting the setting exorbitant prices for camel rental and "guidance wage". For example, on 30 January 1896 a public information was sent to the Hejazi authorities, expressing that all the pilgrims, whether Ottoman subjects or not, were precious guests of the Ottoman Empire (Deringil, 2007: 85).

However, whether before or the pilgrimage, or on the way back troubles continued to be repeated frequently. At this point, the following lines from the period offer a unique description:

"Strangely enough, helpless pilgrims are raided in Mumbai by the ingenuity of the government of India, and in Adisa by the ingenuity of the Russian government. Hundreds of thousands of lira are taken. The semi-official participation of governments is certain. Yet, nobody says anything. Even the pilgrim himself cannot be informed. Here the pilgrims are robbed by through government. And what's more, twenty or thirty thousand, maybe forty or fifty thousand pilgrims all get robbed. And then, when in Hejaz, in the middle of nowhere, one or two pilgrims are shot and their fifty or sixty liras are taken, they talk about the insecurity and barbarism in Turkey. The pilgrims complain about this situation and they also complain about the government of which they are subject. Hundreds of thousands of stolen by the gangs in their countries would not be seen, but a few liras stolen in Turkey or Arabia are noticed in wretchedness. These are given to Russian officers as tips. The number of pilgrims traveling through India counts in some years seventy or eighty thousand. If they took eight liras more from each pilgrim [there is no doubt they are receiving], that would make six hundred and forty thousand liras in total. These remain unnoticed, however, it is for sure that they take more than this. The Flemish government spoils the Javan pilgrims. The French spoil pilgrims from Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. The British spoil the pilgrims form Egypt and India. Russia spoils pilgrims from Turkestan, Iran, China, and Tartars. There were even years; a passport in St. Petersburg was sold for hundred rubles [eleven liras]. If the government officials would not join the company, passport would not be sold as onion in the

market. The wretched Muslims become the target of so many insults to fulfill one of their religious duties. These are always official and semi-official insults. In fact, in Russia specific books under the title Hajj and Muslims were written about the issue of pilgrims and these books stated causing difficulties for pilgrims could obstruct the gathering of Muslims in Mecca. Having said that, the quarantine should also be tightly controlled." (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 365-366)

In Russia, dignitaries of the Russian government introduced many measures peculiar to the pilgrims and they wrote several works, considering the resorts to ban Muslims from pilgrimage. One of the entries written completely in those works is the issue of quarantine. Even the invention of a fake cholera, when needed, was presented as one of those measures. Furthermore, also practically every year from the beginning of the month of Rajab, cholera appeared in one of the Russian provinces. Once the pilgrims used to set out from Russia in the months of Rajab and Sha'ban. In those years, cholera cases began to be seen in Russia in Rajab. In these recent years, due to the Hejaz Railway, the roads got shorter. In Rajab, no one was able to get a passport. And cholera was postponed to Ramadan and Shawwal. Cholera too became Muslim. It necessarily occurred through lunar calculus. At some point Muslims also came up with a solution for this situation and stopped getting Hejazi passports. They asked for passports to other places and were able to get them. They went to Hejaz. Cholera got confused about its month.

Most of the quarantine practices of people coming from Hejaz are not legal. There is one clause in the quarantine law: "Men, who had left with infectious diseases shall be kept in quarantine for a certain period and are subject to the legal treatment needed to protect the public's health." There is another article that says: "after a man receives the needed treatment at a site of quarantine, that man cannot be subjected to quarantine treatment for a second time unless he enters the town suffering from disease again." This sentence, too, is a clause in law. Our pilgrims, however, leave Mecca and endure the disgrace of quarantine at Mount Sinai [Tûr-i Sinâ]; arrive in Beirut afterwards, suffer again under quarantine; arrive in Urla and are kept once more. If they are to go to Russia, they become subject to quarantine anew. But none of these practices is legal or hygienic, either. There were once even such disgraceful practices that were beyond comprehension (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 386).

Whenever a Muslim would go from Islambol to Russia, he was certainly quarantined for being Muslim. A Ferry full of passenger came to Aqsa; none of the hundreds of dirty, filthy, and ugly Russians returning from Jerusalem would undergo isolation. But if there was only one Muslim, he would necessarily be subjected to quarantine no matter whether the Muslim is a first class passenger or a gentleman in the proper meaning of the word. This continued at least for ten years. Afterwards, they also felt the indigestible degree of the obviousness of such practices. And they experienced a lot of turmoil. Now, for some years, quarantines have been yearning for the return of pilgrims. The Christians returning from Jerusalem had never been subject to isolation. They came to Islambol and walked around the streets of Islambol as they wished; our health officials would even not known about it because they were Christians. If he would die in the middle of the street from cholera, not one Turkish officer would be able to say something. If he were a Muslim, thousands of precautions and cordons would be brought. Helpless Turkish doctors believe that he served science (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 387).

Abdulhamid II made great efforts to show his generosity on the whole pilgrimage route, extending from the unknown villages and towns of Thrace and Anatolia to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. On 6 April 1889, imperial gifts consisting of many candlesticks were carried to Kaaba and were presented in a ceremony held in Ramadan in the company of thousands of believers wishing altogether a long life and success to His Majesty. Further, each year during pilgrimage period, two ceremonial tents were pitched up in Mecca between Arafat and Mina mountains. These tents were erected only during the pilgrimage and while the annual message of pilgrimage was recited in the tent, they functioned as the signs of the Sultan's existence. It is an important fact that the two tents were set up between two mountains that acted as spots of excitement during the religious service. Thousands of Muslims from different places who witnessed such ceremonies in pilgrimage season told their circles what they had seen upon their return to their countries and made in fact propaganda for the Ottoman Empire and its sultans (Özcan, 1992: 43).

Abdulhamid II for sure played a great role in the restoration of most prestigious and the most politically critical sacred places and got a plenty of advertisement. He personally ordered the repair of Kaaba as well as mosques in Medina, Karbala and Najaf, and he did not forget the family tombs of the fourth caliph in Atabat'ı 'Aliyat [literally sublime thresholds].

In most of these cases Abdulhamid II provided required funds from his own treasury (Karpat, 2005: 423).

During Abdulhamid's reign, holy land became one of the major transportation hubs: Ottoman officials distributed books, brochures, and specially printed Korans to the pilgrims in Mecca and Medina[448] (Karpat, 2005: 424-5).

However, in order to preserve the caliph's influence, Ottoman governors hindered excessive donations to Hejaz made by other Muslims and controlled the expenses met from the funds provided by other Muslim rulers because sultan was jealous about the gifts he presented to the holy places. British consul in Jeddah reported that he rejected a silver staircase that was worth 45,000 rupees for Kaaba door and was sent by a Rampuri regent due to the fact that "the Sultan (...) opposed the idea that a foreign nationality could bestow such gifts and sent a will declaring people of this sort may not have this privilege". Reflections of this issue on Ottoman documents leave no doubt about the sultan's exclusivism:

"Such gifts only belong to the caliph who is the sole owner of the prestigious title of the Protector of the Holy Places. No foreign ruler is entitled to share this honor," (Deringil, 2007: 81).

Barriers: Political Situation in Mecca

It is appropriate to describe the political structure in Mecca through Abdürreşid İbrahim's writings, who stayed in the region for a long period:

"There are two political structures in Mecca; one of them is the government. [The other] One of them is the emirate, it was previously a privilege in the hands of the sharif and it was essentially a means for the administration of the Arabs and an affair of administration. Later, emirate gained power by taking advantage of the chaos in Istanbul, and in fact used some governors as servants and at least succeeded in silencing The Governor Pasha with soft words. Therefore, the governors of Hejaz usually considered spending time writing history to a duty.

[448] Since 1860, the government had put a ban on the Koran that were imported from of Iran, Egypt, and elsewhere because it was feared they would contain more serious printing errors. After press got cheaper, entrepreneurs with less education began to gain huge profits on the easy way by printing and distributing holy texts. While doing it, they published some parts of Koran wrongly and some parts in their publications were missing. In 1897, the government completely banned the unauthorized printing of the Koran and put monopoly on its retail.

All powers of the emirate come from the Arabs. Governors could keep their finger on the pulse of Arabs for they did not know the language. Arabs sometimes rebelled by claiming the right to ownership and tenancy of the road between Mecca and Medina; they closed and opened the road whenever they wanted and they further demanded payments for the passage between Mecca and Medina as well as for prayers." (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987b: 424)

As it is understood from this short quote, Ottomans were not the only rulers in the Hejaz region and they managed to remain in the region through quite painful and laborious ways. According to the titles of Ottoman monarchs, the Sultan is, first of all, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn [Commander of the faithful], and after that, he used the expression "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-muhtaramayn", namely the Precious Servant of the two holy cities, namely Medina where the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad is and Mecca where Kabaa is. Since Hejaz started to be ruled by Ottoman sovereignty in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman sultans "served" and protected the holy places. Their "service" to holy lands strengthened their legitimization both in the eyes of their subjects and of the whole Islamic community. Therefore, it was necessary for them to have the province of Hejaz firmly under control and to protect it from every kind of foreign dominance, to ensure the public order and security in Mecca and Medina, as well as to take care of the maintenance of the sanctuaries and their proper functioning. Their most important duty was to ensure that the hajj was properly done; that is to say, they had to enable the pilgrims to perform hajj, which is one of the five duties of Islam, in the best conditions, hence they had to secure the sea and land routes used by the pilgrims (Georgeon, 2012: 277).

Abdulhamid II put Hejaz in first place among all the imperial provinces. In fact, location in question is a poor region, largely made up of desert having a mountainous coastline. In addition, the population of this distant region is small; the total population of its three largest cities, Mecca, Medina and Jeddah does not exceed 100,000. Hejaz, further, has no other strategic importance. At the beginning of Abdulhamid's reign only a few hundred soldiers were on duty in Hejaz (Georgeon, 2012: 278).

Despite all these characteristics of Hejaz region, Abdulhamid II gave paramount importance to this region as a requirement to revive the institutions of the Caliphate; he tried to increase his popularity in the eyes of the pilgrims by building a large soup kitchen, giving alms, and renewing the water supply system. Applying a policy of building and generosity,

the Sultan every year rigorously supervised the *Surra* procession bearing his gifts to Mecca to be sent with all necessary ceremonies.

As a result of all these practices, the number of pilgrims significantly increased at the end of the 19th century. Between 1850-1860, the number was fluctuating between 30,000 and 160,000; around 1900 it was reported to be between 130,000 and 250,000. There are also without doubt other factors playing a role in this increase. The opening of the Suez Canal and entrance of steamships into the Red Sea facilitated the pilgrimage. While the travel between Suez and Jeddah with sailing ships depending on wind conditions took about a month, this duration now reduced to three days. Moreover, problems such as pilgrims' safety and states of health became more of concern for great states because the number of Muslims living in colonial territories and hitting the road to Mecca was increasing. The fact that some of these pilgrims fall victim to epidemic diseases or to bandit Bedouins created new tensions between the Ottoman Empire and great states.

Accordingly, the issue of Hajj and protection of pilgrims became amore acute problem in the last quarter of the 19th century. Notwithstanding that the seaway was safer, caravans setting out from Damascus or Egypt were as well under the constant threat of Bedouin tribes' raids in addition to the climatic conditions, the food and health issues, One of the remedies in the hands of the Ottomans was to send guard troops accompanying the caravans; another way was to send gifts to the tribes, and to distribute food, rice, and wheat. Although governors wanted to ensure the safety of pilgrims by force, Abdulhamid II rather gave preference to the application of other more flexible methods that were avoiding losses of lives; he preferred to distribute gifts and medals, and especially, to provide freedom of movement to the Sharif of Mecca who had variety of means of exerting pressure on nomadic tribes (Georgeon, 2012: 283).

Then, in l893, the area was hit again by a major epidemic. According to estimates, the number of pilgrims who had been victims of the disease was between 32,000 and 40,000. Even though, it was found out that the disease broke out in India, the European states pointed to Hejaz. A French specialist in public health announced in 1890 "the pilgrimage to Mecca constitute[d] a permanent threat to Europe" (Georgeon, 2012: 284).

By the end of the century, Abdulhamid II managed to consolidate the Ottoman presence in Hejaz and to strengthen his position as Khadim ul-Haramain us-Sharifain. The

conditions of the pilgrimage beyond outbreaks were improved and after the year 1900, the number of pilgrims who convened in Mecca approached 250,000. But there was a high cost of this policy: whereas only a few hundred troops were on duty in the region at the beginning of Abdulhamid's sultanate, it was now necessary to place about 7,000 military garrison permanently in the major cities of Hejaz to undertake urbanization and sanitation activities, to build and to care for quarantines, and to maintain a poor and less productive province that yielded neither soldier nor taxes by taking advantage of various exemptions as well as to supply its food. On top of these, it was necessary to distribute plenty of gifts and bribes to local notables and the Bedouins.

Hejaz was a serious burden on the state budget: while in 1884-1885 province's expenditures were around 255,000 pounds, the income did not even exceed 15,000 liras. The treasury of the Ottoman Empire compensated the "hole" in the budget; fortunately, the deficit of no other province was close to this size. But this deficit is the cost of protecting the holy places from foreign intervention and to maintain the legitimacy of the caliph in the eyes of all Muslims across the world.[449]

At this point, in the last years of his reign, Abdulhamid II would realize his dream of a long reign he apparently had for years and he would build the Hejaz Railway (Georgeon, 2012: 284).

9.4. (Hamidian) Hejaz Railway

Another issue regarding Sultan Abdulhamid's employment of religious elements as a political tool was the Hejaz Railway that he mentioned in his memoires as his biggest dream and regarded as the project fostering the hope to combine logistical advantage with symbolic

[449] A long time after this, the following anecdote will be used to illustrate that such sensitivities continued also after Abdulhamid. In the besieged Medina at end of June 1918, the commander of the Ottoman headquarters Fahreddin Pasha issued an order for the soldiers to eat grasshoppers. Since April 1918, the connection of the headquarters of the Medina to the outside world had been cut by the Arab troops that seized the Hejaz railway linking Medina to Damascus. The headquarters that was well equipped in terms of weapons and ammunition soon faced starvation. Nevertheless, even under conditions of siege, Fahreddin Pasha began the construction of an emblematic boulevard in the city as an indication of the continuity of the Ottoman sovereignty. The headquarters of Medina, which resisted about three months after the surrender of Ottoman Empire due to the Armistice of Mudros of 30 October 1918, was well aware that this boulevard protected the total ground of the Ottoman legitimacy, its materials consisted of bricks and mortar. When the commander of Hejazi Expeditionary Force was asked by sheriff's forces to surrender after the long-term siege of three years from the loss of Mecca in June 1916 to January 1919, he sent the following message to the British commander: "Because I am under the protection of the Prophet and the supreme commander at the moment, I'm dealing with the fortification of the defenses and building road and squares in Medina. I would ask you not to harass me with inane requests," (Deringil, 2007: 65).

success.[450] This railway line would provide the connection between Muslims and serve as an important tool for an idea of the unity among Muslims, which the Sultan saw as a condition for the survival of the government. Both the debates about the construction of the railway and the proposals or projects submitted to the Sultan by the statesmen emphasized the very significant political results of the line that would connect Istanbul not only to Anatolia but also to the Holy Lands. Muslim charity campaigns organized to overcome the economic difficulties during the construction of the pipeline justified the Sultan's idea. In addition to providing a significant association between Muslims completely caught up in despair, the construction of Hejaz railways consolidated the confidence and trust of Muslims towards each other in general terms and specifically towards the Ottoman caliph in Istanbul. In fact, during the construction of the railway, the issue took place in the front pages of all Egyptian, Indian and Ottoman newspapers (Deringil, 1993: 25).[451]

Railways have a particular importance as symbols of modernity in the period discussed here. The Ottoman Empire failed to carry out the Industrial Revolution; nevertheless, Sultan Abdulaziz who travelled to Europe tried to bring railways, the symbols of the Industrial Revolution during this period, to the country. It can be said that railways in comparison to many other novelties came rather earlier to the Ottoman Empire. The most significant reasons for bringing railways were probably the idea to spread the state authority to everywhere and to ensure economical improvement. Rural people were, in this regard, very demanding. As a result, the concession for the first railway in Anatolia, Izmir-Aydın Railway, was sold to the British in 1857. During the construction of this railway, both the Ottomans and the British who constructed it took primary economic concerns into account. Sultan Abdulaziz gave so much weight to the construction of the railways that he said the following famous phrase when he was asked whether he would allow the railway to be built in Istanbul to pass by the palace garden: "It should be built, even though it has to pass through my back," (Ürkmez, 2006:108).

For Sultan Abdulhamid who ascended the throne in 1876 the railways were comparable to feet, while telegraphs and intelligence fulfilled the function of the eyes and ears. Railways and telegraphs were the most important and modern inventions of the era, as

[450] For detailed information see: Donald Quataert, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Demiryolları", Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 6, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1985

[451] Ufuk Gülsoy, "Gerçekleşen Bir Rüya: Hicaz Demiryolu", Yeni Türkiye Dergisi, Osmanlı Özel Sayısı, March-April 2000, Year: 6, Vol. 32: 322.

well. When Abdulhamid succeeded to throne, there were already 300-400 kilometers of railway lines in the Ottoman Empire. During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, 5792 kilometers of railways in total was constructed not only through the state's hand, but also for the most part through German capital[452] (Ürkmez, 2006:110).

By way of these railways, Abdulhamid II connected Istanbul to the Persian Gulf with the Haydarpaşa-Baghdat line, the Empire to Europe with the Orient Express, and Anatolia to the Holy Lands through the Hejaz Railway (the Damascus-Medina line). Thus, the image of the empire changed and Abdulhamid II demonstrated his desire to reach a synthesis between East and West by emphasizing not only his modernist and reformist side, but also his Islamic and traditionalist aspect (Ürkmez, 2006:115).

Abdulhamid's expectations of the Hejaz Railway can be summarized as follows:

1. With this project he wanted to say to the entire world and Islamic world "See how Islam can keep science and religion in peace, and look, how Muslims manage to follow technology in a very short period of time" because this is the period in which the Ottoman Empire started to blame Islam for its underdevelopment as well as its defeat and with this project, Abdulhamid II further wanted to answer the question "Does Islam really impede progress?" which was open to discussion at the time (Karpat, 2005:469).

2. The purpose of the Hejaz Railway was to connect Istanbul to the Holy Lands through a railway line. Previously, a caravan leaving Damascus for Mecca needed fifty days to arrive there and on the way to Mecca, it had to face many difficulties such as backing heat, epidemics, thirst and the Bedouin attacks in the desert. One of the most vital aspects of this line was the facilitation of worship for Muslims coming to Hejaz by sea and land routes. The number of people was around 200.000 at the time (Turgut, 1995: 156).

[452] The length of the railways constructed across the Ottoman Empire until its fall is 8334 km. 4138 km out these railways are still within the borders of today's Republic of Turkey (Ürkmez, 2006:110).

3. According to Paul Imbert, ensuring the attachment and obedience of the people in the Holy Lands was the most solid way to achieve success in Abdulhamid's Unity of Islam policy (Imbert, 1981: 75).[453]

4. The ability to suppress rebellions in Arabia in a very short time and, in particular, to transport troops to Yemen in a very short period of time were other reasons for the construction of the railway.

There are nearly no economic reasons for the construction of the railway line. Therefore, no one believed that its construction would be completed when the decision to build this line was made. The German ambassador wrote in his report that "no rational person would believe in its completion". Even the Minister of Foreign Affairs Tevfik Pasha, with a smile, stated that he did not consider this initiative to be balanced. The belief that the Ottoman Empire would fail to finish this project had three grounds: (1) insufficient amount of money, (2) the lack of trained workers to build a railway, and (3) absence of experienced staff in business administration (Kologlu as cited in Ürkmez, 2006:118).

The most vital problem in the construction of the route was, in reality, the issue of financing because the state was even unable to pay the salaries of the officers on a regular basis. It was impossible to bring foreign capital in. Although organizing charity campaigns for the construction of this line brought all Muslims together, the donations would not be enough to realize this project and would remain as a symbolic practice.

Among non-Ottoman Muslims who contributed most to the construction of the railroad were Egyptians and Indians. Total amount of aid from Muslims abroad constituted 9.5% of all donations. The share of these donations in the total budget of the donations corresponds to a rather low rate of 2.8%. In addition to the external donations, significant domestic donations came from ministers, particularly the grand vizier, high-ranked officials, clerics, officials, and notables. However, these donations were insufficient for this project. Taxes were further collected for the construction of the railway and special fees were charged from the pilgrims. An alternative resource to cover the costs of the railway included the income obtained from the slaughtered animals and their leather during the Feast of the Sacrifice. Nevertheless, the main resource for financing the construction of the Hejaz

[453] Paul Imbert; Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yenileşme Hareketleri, trans. Adnan Cemgil, Istanbul, 1981, s.75. (The first edition was published in 1909.)

Railway were deductions from the wages of civil servants and also the employment of soldiers located in the region in this project. Another important source was the credit of Ziraat [Agricultural] Bank, which met the 12.2% of total expenditure.

Sultan Abdulhamid II personally took care of the construction of this line. Moreover, he founded a financial commission for the construction of the railway and appointed Müşir Kazım Pasha to deal with such issues. Although Europeans estimated the expenses of the railway to be around 10-15 millions, the construction was completed faster than expected and it was 70% cheaper than the estimated amount, which astonished all foreigners to a great extent.[454]

The construction of the railroad, which started in the 1890s, encountered a wide variety of challenges. To begin with, those who worked in the construction of the Hejaz Railway was not only workers because as the construction proceeded towards south, the problem of thirst emerged, thus it became more difficult to run workers. That is why, the state took advantage of soldiers from the 5th Army in Syria to continue the construction. As the construction proceeded, the problems too continued. One of the most important problems was the Bedouin opposition for the construction of the Hejaz line.

Bedouins in exchange for not attacking the Muslim pilgrims going to Hejaz were rewarded with cash and valuables by the Ottoman rulers each year. Besides, pilgrims on the way to the pilgrimage left income to the Bedouins. Moreover, the Bedouins were able to survive independently from the center by earning additional money from issues like transportation and they also annually took gifts from the Imperial *Surra* processions. Therefore, the Bedouins not only believed that they would lose some of their privileges and advantages once the Hejaz Railway would be built, but they also feared that the ruler would then be able to send troops in a short span of time to take them under his control. Although the Mecca sheriffs seemed loyal to the Ottoman rulers for they believed that the existing order might change, they underhandedly supported the Bedouins. As a consequence of the opposition of both Bedouins and Meccan emirs, parts of this railroad project, Medina-Mecca and Jeddah-Mecca lines, could not be built.

[454] The fact that construction of the Hejaz Railway constitutes a rare example in the history of economics was interpreted in the UK as the occurrence of Panislamism and this policy was found quite frightening. Therefore, UK banned people in India who donated for the Hejaz Railway from wearing medals sent by Abdulhamid (Ürkmez, 2006: 120).

Moreover, UK also was against this railroad for it didn't want the Ottoman state to send troops to the region in a very short time. Once the line has been completed the influence of UK in the region would be shaken up, and the Ottoman state would dispatch to region with need for neither Suez Canal nor the British navy. In point of fact, by 1904, in the period of four years 621 kilometers of rail have been tracked, and Abdulhamid, who was happy about the very fast and effective execution of Izzet Pasha, in recalling the British barriers to prevent the realization of the project, was crying out in happiness; "We do not need the Suez Canal!

Nevertheless, UK permanently made underhanded propaganda and provoked the Arab sheikhs against this project. Additionally, the British tried to hinder the aid of the Muslims from India, and thus the realization of the construction. It can be said that they were at least partly successful (Ürkmez, 2006:122).

As the line proceeded to the Arabian Peninsula, coming closer to Mecca and Medina, soldiers working under permitted Europeans who were not allowed to enter the Masjid al-Ḥarām [Grand Mosque] undertook many works. Despite all difficulties, Hejaz Railway reached Medina in 1908 and the opening of the 1464 kilometers the line marked a great victory for Abdulhamid II's propaganda.

Hejaz Railway encouraged the growth of Syrian settlements on the line, allowed for strengthening the domination of Ottoman Empire in these territories and the state, compared to previous periods, succeeded in suppressing the rebellions in these areas in a very short time. The real military benefit was seen in the First World War. However, due to the destruction of rails by Arab tribes maximum benefit was not achieved (Ürkmez, 2006:122-123).

The opening of the railroad found great echo in the Muslim community:

"*The decoration of Haramayn al-Sharifayn, development of its environment by the great Ottoman Sultan and ahl al-kiram's [People of the Generous] and reception of all kinds of means of prosperity brought so many reliefs that it is impossible to count them. He has given out the great order of Hamidian Hejaz Railway to provide relief from troubles for the people coming to this sacred place and to facilitate until the end of the world both the communication among Muslims and the access to Medina and Makka al-Mukarramah that are the heart of Islam. Accordingly, the whole Islamic community will understand how useful*

it is for Islam in its various battles [against enemies]" (Cited from Servet-i Fünun; Istanbul, 1318, Vol. 21, No. 546, 411 by Turgut, 1995: 154-5).

The Young Turk press often discussed Hejaz Railway and it was possible to find all and any kind of information from the taxes collected to the phases of construction every kind in the newspapers. The general tendency was to point out again the deficiencies instead of supporting the construction of railroads. For instance, in one article giving historical information, that the British were the first to come up with the idea of building a railway in the Ottoman Empire was mentioned and that railways were being constructed for political goals while they were used for trade purposes in other countries was discussed.[455]

The articles containing elaborate information about the Hejaz Railway provided such details as the bridges and viaducts built in its region and the geographical features of the region where the line was constructed, criticized what the established commissions did and did not do and every kind of issue, from the course of the construction and operation processes, from soldiers to officials, from engineers to accounts, from its purpose to its outcome, as well as from pashas to foreign participation, were scrutinized. Many objections were raised against the process rather than against the line, and moreover, the failure of an proper inspection of the donations coming from all over the world and that the newspapers did not write about this issue was criticized.[456]

Finally, the Railway arrived in Medina in 1908: the opening of the rail station in Medina, one of the two Holy Cities of Islam, took place on 1 September 1908, which overlaps with the Sultan's enthronement anniversary as it was decided beforehand. But on this date, Abdulhamid, whose authorization was revoked, already became a constitutional monarch (Georgeon, 2012: 502).

9.5. Religious orders

Religious orders, in addition to holding religious beliefs and feelings of the people live, performed functions such as contributing to conversion of non-Muslims, constitution of resistance fronts against occupier and colonizer in Islamic countries, joining the campaigns of

[455] Anonym, Şura-yı Ümmet, Devlet-i Aliye'de Demiryolları [Railways in the Ottoman Empire], N.31, date 1 Rabī` al-Ākhir 1321 Saturday / 27 June 1903, p.2.
[456] Anonym, Şura-yı Ümmet, Hicaz Hattı [Hejaz Railway], No. 69, date 15 Dhu al-Hijjah1322 Sunday / 19 February 1905, p.3

Islamic armies in cases of need, or settling in newly conquered areas to spread Islam. For instance, it is known that followers of orders played a great role in the conversion of Turks to Islam. The spread of Islam in Central Asia, India and in some Far Eastern countries and in Africa, or embracement of Islam by thousands of Zoroastrians' in Iran. Moreover, the conversion of non-Muslim people in Anatolia and the Balkans happened largely through the agency of religious orders. This success of orders lies in their appeal to people's hearts. Nevertheless, this issue gave also rise to exploitation and corruption in both sectarian and Sufi life. Hence, examples of such cases can be seen in the past as well as at the present time. Therefore, the followers of religious orders, no matter to which rank they rose, were asked to obey the Sharia laws and the disobedience to evident rules was seen as a clear deviation from the sectarian life. In the past, the religious and moral exploitation and corruption was prevented to a large extent due to the fact that the orders operated publicly according to certain rules[457].

And Ottoman version of Islam is a state Islam. On the one hand Ottoman sultans established a customary law that was based on both Sharia and on code of laws, and on the other hand, the state kept a firm grip on religious institutions and religious functionaries. Sheikh al-Islam was in a sense an official in the service of the palace; the court was able to give him orders or to depose him (Georgeon, 2006: 8).

However, the recent political and administrative modernization of the Ottoman Empire, which wanted to respond to challenges in respect of modernity and territorial integrity, paved the way for even a greater constriction of the scope of authority of Islam. The reforms undertaken after Mahmud II actually were devoted to the westernization of the state institutions and restricted the powers of the ulama. The authorities of the ulama were already weakened during the reign of Mahmud II due to the Sultan's control over their financial resources (waqf system) and the development of a western style bureaucracy. This new bureaucracy that was slowly breaking away from religious values had started gradually to seize the ranks that traditional belonged to the ulama. Religious institutions particularly experienced great regression in the two areas. The first one was in the legislative and legal areas: in addition to the traditional Islamic law, Western-style legal regulations were developed first in the commercial litigations, then in criminal trials. The second recession in

[457] Comprehensive archive files about many religious order such as Babi, Khalwati, Bektashi, Besherti, Celveti, Khalidi, Idrissi, Qadiri, Naqshbandi, Shazeli, Melami, Rifa'i, Sunbuliyyah, Senussi, Shaabani, Yazidi are kept at Yıldız Palace archives. (See: Reşat Öngören, DIA, Tarikat entry)

terms of religious institutions was seen in the field of education: in addition to madrasas and in time also instead of them, a new modern public education system gradually emerged as of Tanzimat (Georgeon, 2006: 12-13).

Additionally, there were resurrections in the religious sphere during Abdulhamid's reign and orders became **the most important tools used in the policies for Unity of Islam.**

9.5.1. The Benefits of religious orders

During the reign of Abdulhamid, religious orders were used to connect with other Islamic overseas countries, to establish social communication and to mobilize the public (Çetinsaya, 1988: 8).

From 1826 onwards, namely from the abolishment of the Janissaries and closure of Bektashi lodges, the relations between the state and orders had been quiet tight in the Ottoman Empire to such an extent that sometimes the state even tended to cooperate, or in other words, to make use of orders. Religious orders, as it can be seen in the Kuleli case, from time to time became active and influential foci of power in the political and social life, and participated in welfare activities or in battles when needed (Çetinsaya, 1988: 62).

Sultans sometimes met committees from various regions in person, held speeches and granted them medals to ensure their loyalty to the state. On one of these days, in one of his speeches he delivered to the committee from Yemen on the occasion of rebellions in Yemen, the Sultan said:

"The reason why we asked you to come from Yemen is to hear details about the circumstances and proclaim our princely goodwill personally, and to manifest herewith compliment to my loyal subjects. After stating, *"I'm touched and mournful as a result of the news about some people's taking the way of brigandage in Yemen,"* he said, *"Because my actual aim is welfare and happiness of all my subjects, I ordered council of ministers to present a report of improvement. In addition to the medals bestowed to you, I also granted silver Legion of Merits as souvenirs for your journey and goodwill. Just as in your arrival here, there is a ship provided for your return as well; you will hopefully arrive in good health in Yemen and explain my intentions*," (Cited from Servet-i Fünun, Vol. 27, 1308 (1892), p. 20 by Turgut, 1995: 146).

The lodges in this period were anyway places where the social education for the public was provided.[458] A great part of the population entered into orders according to their attitude. The sheikhs of religious orders generally had not only a total authority over their followers, but also a public weight as a consequence of their connections across the entire country. Sultan Abdulhamid supported these institutions because of their natural structure and existence and made a good use of them to spread his influence to the furthest regions of the country.[459]

Against ideas and movements of fragmentation, Abdulhamid wanted to utilize the concept of brotherhood that the orders used to institute among their followers and that eliminated ethnic differences and gave great importance to taking care of the Islamic community consisting of Muslims living under the rule of Western states, far away from Istanbul. He pointed out the fact that sectarian understanding and mentality that pushed lingual and ethnic differences among their followers into background and included them within the custom of calling each other "ikhwan" [friends, fellows] and rigorously preserved this approach could be the most powerful element to stop such fragmentation, and for this purpose he sent committees of sheikhs and dervishes to Africa, Japan, Turkistan and even to China (Özer, 2007: 162).

Under the reign of Abdulhamid Sufi sheikhs de facto were very influential. The sheikh of the Naqshiband order, Hacı Fehim Efendi of Erzincan, fought personally during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Another Naqshiband, Ubeydullah Efendi, reorganized local Kurds into an irregular troop of 2000. Moreover, Sheikh Ahmed Ziyaeddin Gümüşhanevi fought at the Batum front. These men were also active in founding schools with "the aim of creating a public unity".

Finally, another matter, which might be seen as important for the Unity of Islam policy in connection with religious orders, in an international framework, was the connection of all men of god in the colonies to the highest religious authority in Istanbul[460]. This

[458] In Ottoman terminology, for instance, "civilizing motif" for Hejaz people is also included in official annals. In one of the Hejaz annals, the "primitive situation" of the region and of the people was expressed and the fact that al-Aqsa Mosque was abandoned and neglected to such an extent that deers used to graze and wander around the Mosque because the intelligence of Meccan people was limited before Ottomans came there was regrettably expressed. At this point, religious orders were regarded as an effective element to civilize people.
[459] In fact, Western writers claim, "Abdulhamid carried out Panislamism movement by particularly counting on religious orders," (Özer, 2007:161).
[460] İslam Politikası, C.H. Becker, 1915

condition was only valid for the regions that had been formerly under Turkish control and was regulated according to the framework of international law. For instance, after the Emperor appointed Reis'ül Ulama, the leader of the Muslims in Bosnia, the Austrian government contacted sheikh al-Islam via ambassador of Istanbul and sheikh al-Islam approved the position of the new leader in Bosnia. Such kind of relations existed not only in Bosnia, but also in other places (Türköne, 1993: 170).

The reasons explaining why the orders and their sheikhs earned Sultan Hamid's confidence and favor to such a degree can be considered the insurance of dependence and loyalty of Syria, Iraq and the people of the other regions to the caliphate by the orders of these sheikhs especially be considered to be the endeavor to defeat the plans of the UK and France in these regions. For this purpose, Abdulhamid built Rifa'i zawiyas [dervish lodges] especially in some outskirts and towns of Syria and Iraq by providing financial resources and appointed assistants whose wages and expenditures he himself wanted to cover. Moreover, he restored the tomb of Sayyid Ahmed al-Rifa'I in the place called Ümm-i Abide in the southeast of Iraq, and by doing so, he tried to win back the support and favor of the local people (Özer, 2007: 165).

In conclusion, it can be said that the activities undertaken by the leaders of the religious orders for the benefit of the Ottoman Empire by means of the unity they established contributed greatly to the survival for a considerably long period, and particularly during its most critical juncture. The constructive activities of the people of the orders and members of the dervish lodges in the periods of establishment and rising, despite of all negative conditions, resulted after all in a positive way during the collapse period and they have done their part (Özer, 2007: 170).

9.5.2. Principle religious orders

Orders are structures that organized over large geographies, regardless of political boundaries. In 1784, 230 lodges, zawiyas and khanqahs were recorded to function only in Istanbul. It is noteworthy that four of these were Uzbek lodges. Religious orders represented political authority in the Islamic world, particularly in places where central authority was not able to make its presence felt (Türköne, 1991: 151).

For instance, the **Naqshbandi** order had great power both in the Ottoman Empire and in Central Asia.[461] Naqshbandi order in its modern state had played a great role in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Turkish speaking parts: while the movement was changing into a more populist, "nationalist" (Turkish) and Islamist direction, it merged the revivalist fundamentalism of the lower classes with the orthodoxy of the established system. Thus, institutionalized local traditions and life styles became visible and acceptable and religion step by step turned into a more global, abstract and unifying ideology[462] (Karpat, 2005: 33).

Naqshbandiyya-Muridiyya [Muridism] branch encouraged the rise of an Islamic political consciousness across the world and played a vital role in building a connection between the political and ideological developments in Caucasus and the Ottoman state. Muridism, the Russian name of Naqshibandi order, is a political and military organization based on the populist social movement of the lower classes led by either a sheikh or an imam. Sheikh has followers who are unconditionally bound to him. Imam is at the same time mentor, chief executive and commander of the army, and the connections between imam and his followers is based on *irşad* [act of showing the true path] that is seen as a symbol of imam's love of Allah. Gazavat (Holy War) doctrine is a tool for the expression of belief, the resistance against Russian occupation, the spread of Islam and a tool for the realization of social reform (Karpat, 2005: 55-56).

Another important order for the Ottomans was the **Senussi** order. Despite distrustful beginning of the relations of the order with Istanbul and refusal of the leader of Senussi to help and to share the fate of the Ottoman Empire that is condemned to be fragmented and to fall, Senussi started to think that the Ottomans would be able to stop the French advance into Sahara and Northern Africa. By overcoming his initial mistrust, Abdulhamid decided to support this order and to take advantage of it. As a matter of fact, this order had been long known as the leader of the local community and it owned both the immunity from taxes and, as long as it helped to collect taxes, the right of asylum (Karpat, 2005: 75-6).

[461] The Kuleli Case, the first uprising against the new order in Istanbul (1859), was organized to a great extent by a Mujaddidi sheikh whose name was Sheikh Ahmed. Sheikh Shamil who fought against the Russian imperialism in Caucasus was a member of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi. Naqshbandi was also influention among Muslims in China. Therefore, it can be said that Naqshbandi order was the leader of Muslim activism (Mardin,1985: 1401).

[462] For more detailed information about Naqshbandi, see: Algar, Hamid: Nakşibendilik, İstanbul, 2007, İnsan Yayınları.

Without any doubt, the ultimate aim expected from the positive relations to this order was to transform them into reliable members of the "key element". The obsession "to bring civilization and progression to the Arabs" and "to turn them into a sedentary society" kept Ottoman officials from the mountains of Iraq to the Sahara desert busy. The reason why Ottomans tried to win the favor of the Senussi sheikhs in Sahara was "to fix the character" and "to subdue savagery" of the Bedouins. Nomads were elements that were seen as wild creatures with which it was necessary to get along in order not to awake their "wild nature and hatred" (Deringil, 2007: 61).

Ideologists such as Ebul huda es-Sayyadi, a member of **Rifa'i** order, and his fellows Sheikh Hamza Zafir and Ahmed Es`ad spread the "official sect".

And finally, active and extremely powerful Khalidi/Naqshbandi order was seen in the eyes of the palace as unreliable and dangerous. Sheikh Mehmed Es'ad of Ardabil had been already sent to exile from Istanbul by the Sultan in 1897 and could not turn back as long as Abdulhamid II occupied the throne (Deringil, 2007: 90).

9.5.3. Sheikhs of Abdulhamid

According to the Islamic Unity policy, Abdulhamid II wanted to take advantage of religious orders that were extremely influential elements of the nineteenth century Ottoman society in order to have influence in distant Muslim provinces. Already in the early years of his reign, he managed to activate the members of orders by holding their status in the community in high esteem. He sent an order to the sheikhs of orders at the beginning of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1879 and asked them to motivate the people by praying for the victory of the Muslim army and the defeat of the enemies of the religion on a daily basis (Eraslan, 1992: 217).

Although the Sultan established good relationships with many Sufis living during his reign, the people he had mostly a close contact with and that he supported were the following: Sheikh Zafir Efendi –the sheikh of the Medeni-Shadhili Sufi order influential in Northern Africa– Abu Huda Efendi –the sheikh of the Rifa'i order influential in Syria– and Esad Efendi from Northern Arabia, who after he had suffered persecution from engaging in activities against the British in India fled to Mecca, where he dealt with the problems of Muslims and handed out articles about the Caliphate to the pilgrims from various regions,

and an advocate of Pan Islamism Sheikh Fadl al-Sayyid (1820- 1900) born in India's Malabar coast with parents from Muscat. Sheikh Rahmetullah, Yusuf al-Nabhani from the Qadiri order, Sayyed Hussein al-Cisar, and Hacı Fehim, Ubeydullah Efendi and Ahmed Ziyauddin Gümüşhanevi from the Naqshbandi order, which was most effective and active Sufi orders in many Muslim countries during the nineteenth century (Karpuzcu, 2009: 71), Sheikh Fazıl and Lüleburgazlı Mehmed Eşref Efendi, who was one of the ascendants of Gümüşhanevi and called "Chinese teacher" for the erstwhile had been sent to China for teaching the religion and Sheikh of the Uzbek dervish lodge Süleyman Efendi[463] can be counted among other sect sheikhs supported, although not as much as those mentioned at the beginning[464] (Özer, 2007: 156- 163).

For it is not possible to give details about all the sheikhs, the closest two sheikhs to Abdulhamid II will be discussed briefly.

1. Abdulhamid, through Rifa'i sheikh **Ebu'l Huda Efendi**[465], sent out sheikhs and dervishes to India and Turkestan who did not hesitate to react to ones worrying the Russians and the British and opposing Abdulhamid and took precautions against these in order to roll back their activities.

Because Ebu'l Huda from Aleppo was the head of the Sufi sheikhs, he was one of the closest to the sultan since 1876. The basic message of Ebu'l Huda addressed Syria and he had "around 212 books and booklets that were ascribed to him". The legitimacy of Abdulhamid's governance as the Caliph of Islam was the constant message in his most important book "*Dâiu'r Reşâd li sebbilil ittihad ve'l inkıyad*".[466] He laid emphasis on the issue of legitimacy of absolute sovereignty and denied arguments claiming that this was a Turko-Mongol invention. He explained in his work that absolute government in Islam belonged directly to the Muhammad's period, that Caliphate was really transferred to the Ottomans, and that

[463] As each of these was active in their own region, Sheikh Süleyman Efendi from Bukhara was appointed on an official duty to Central Asia in order to meet Turks and Turkmens.

[464] All sufis in the eyes of foreigners were mystic people and their influence on padishah was significantly sinister. One of the most important biographers of Abdulhamid refers to the padishah's superstitious belief in relation to prophetic powers of [Ebu'l-huda]. In a report from the period, the religous consultants of the Sultan were defined as "unconscientous adventurers who do their best to frighten him in order to ensure his approval of the existing poor administration" (Deringil, 2007: 92).

[465] For a comprehensive research on the relationships and works of Ebu'l-Huda, who was Abdulhamid's consultant, see: Muharrem Varol, II.Abdülhamid'in danışmanı Ebu'l-Huda Sayyadi'nin Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tesirleri(1850-1909),Master,Marmara Üni.,İstanbul,2004; B. Abu-Manneh, Sultan Abdulhamid II and Shaikh Abulhuda Al-Sayyadi:: Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2 (May, 1979), pp. 131-153.

[466] Daiyü'r-reşad li sebili'l-ittihad ve'l inkıyad/Ebu'l Hüda Muhammed b. Hasan Vadi b. Ali Sayyadi, 1328/1909; tercüme: Kutsizade Abdülkadir -- İstanbul:Matbaa-i Âmire, [t.y.] s. 78

Abdulhamid known for his merit and piety was fulfilling his duties as a caliph in a rightful manner because he showed a great religious effort, served Sharia and protected Islamic community. Obedience to the caliph is one of the basic conditions of Islam, and this should be unconditionally and absolutely respected. He added, *"Those who criticize the caliph are guilty of betrayal and they destroy Muslim unity and play into hands of enemies of Islam,"* (Georgeon, 2012:275-6).

In this context, Ebu'l Huda is a weapon straightly directed to the concept of the Arab Caliphate. Therefore he was seldom able to make little friends in Egypt under British occupation.

Abdulhamid's daughter Ayşe Osmanoğlu in the memoirs she published speaks of Sheikh Ebu'l Huda and his services:

"When it comes Ebu'l Huda Efendi, he was a member of the same order as my father. Because my father knew that he was a clever man, he used him in political affairs related to Arab issues. During the uprising in Yemen, he invited chieftains to Istanbul, he had the throne put in front of the reception hall [Küçük Mabeyn Dairesi], and hosted these leaders there. They all came with oddly colored dresses in one order and were closed to the Father's hands and feet swearing an oath that they would remain faithful to him. Ebu'l Huda Efendi came out with his brocaded dress and gave them in the name of my father a speech in Arabic. Then, some resided in Ebu'l Huda's house and some in the Zafir Efendi's lodge" (Osmanoğlu, 1986: 25-26).

2. One of the important sheikhs resided in Istanbul during Abdulhamid's reign is **Sheikh Muhammed Zafir Efendi** (died in 1903). Although the main goal of Sheikh Hamza Zafir seem to be Africa, in some works it was claimed that his work titled Nuru's-sa'ti' (bright light) and published in Istanbul in 1884 formed the basis of the Panislamic movement (Deringil, 2007: 91).

Zafir Efendi earned the deep love and respect of Abdulhamid both as a confidant and a counselor. Sultan Abdulhamid allocated Hamidiye mosque near the Yıldız palace to him and he began to perform dhikr there according to the Shadhili procedure. In 1305/1887 with the addition of a *tevhidhane, selamlık, harem* and a guesthouse [misafirhane] for the guests from North Africa who came to Istanbul, the Ertuğrul dervish lodge was established next to

the mosque. As a result, Shadiliyya had for the first time a lodge at the center of Ottoman Empire. Sheikh Zafir Efendi would do the same for Africa what Ebu'l Huda did for the guests coming from Arab countries in the Middle East to Istanbul (Özer, 2007: 166-7).

As Abu'l-Hüda was able to spread Rifa'iyya order in Istanbul given his residence in Istanbul and the support he received from the palace, the presence of Sheikh Zafir in Istanbul also led to the progress of the Medeni-Shadhiliyya branch. However, Sultan Hamid not only helped these two religious orders, but he also supported many others. Sheikhs in many regions were put on a monthly salary; apart from donations for the repair of the zawiyas, they received tax exemption, which led to the revival of the Sufi way of life in the towns in many settlements (Özer, 2007: 168).

Landau says that Islamic unity in this period was subjected to not functional but a geographical distribution of responsibility of order leaders and he adds: While Muhammad Zafir was responsible for Egypt and North Africa (and for other accessible African regions), Indian Sheikh Fadl al-Sayyid was responsible for the Red Sea and the Arabian peninsula in addition to India. Ahmad Esad was in charge of the Hejaz region, and Ebu'l Huda was responsible for all Arabs including Syria and Iraq (Landau, 1990b: 30-31). Each of them was active and had a say in their own territory.

9.5.4. Boundaries

Despite of all this intimacy and close contact, as the Sultan's absolute sovereignty was established, the wandering sheikhs began to be viewed with suspicion. For instance, on June 21, 1887, from Ankara, it was reported that Ahmed Efendi called Dagestani settled near Ankara and gathered around 2000 followers. The report states: *"It seems like this number will increase (...) It is very clear that this is not desirable."* Therefore, the decision to put the sheikh on a salary and to send him to Damascus was taken (Deringil, 2007: 113).

Religious fire and enthusiasm was only seen acceptable, if and only if a sheikh did not establish himself as an independent focus of devotion. It is known that famous Naqshibandi sheikh Gümüşhanevî Ahmed Efendi was under investigation at the behest of the Sultan on December 1, 1890 (Deringil, 2007: 86).

Similarly, Ottoman government, despite having the support of the Hanafi and Shafi'i regions in Yemen, faced the implacable hostility of the Zaidiyya Imams in Upper Yemen, who saw it as "foreigner".

Because of this and similar reasons, Abdulhamid did not approached all orders with equal fondness; while he brought some Arab and North African sheikhs who believed and served his cause such as Sheikh Zafir and Abu Huda to Istanbul and supported them both financially and morally on the one hand, he followed and oppressed Mevlevi and Bektashis, who he believed to be politically against him, on the other hand[467] (Özer, 2007: 160).

9.5.5. Reactions

Many of Young Turkish newspapers had an attitude **not against religion but against the religious orders that they blamed with laziness.** For example, according to the newspaper Şurâ-yı Ümmet [Council of the Islamic Community], it was not possible to blame religion of Islam for the Turkish laziness because the type of Islamic thought that was instituted in Turkey caused the settlement of certain restrictive behavior of the people, in particular as a result of the impact of mysticism and orders following it.[468] Another indicator of this situation is that **no article written by a member of the ulama** can be found in a newspaper such as "Şurâ-yı Ümmet" that aims to appeal to every segment of society. Moreover, there is reference to the 38th verse of Sura under the newspaper's logo. ("Their work is also a consultation to each other.") This shows that intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, regardless of whatever kind of a new idea they want to impose on society, always benefitted or were unable to remain indifferent to "religion" as a matter of their intellectual vision.

Young Turks' attitude on this issue was unarguably to call the sheiks to stand against the Sultan, to stop the persecution and to deem it necessary:

"Let us direct some words to the Sheikhs: Sheikh masters! Centuries passed and it was revealed that ember, countenance and death bring no benefits. Prophet Muhammad and his generous companions did not only content themselves with hustle and bustle. Ummah is expecting more than a meaningless politeness from you, but rather an actual service. Oh,

[467] In correspondence of or as a result of this, heterodox orders such as Bektahis supported Young Turks and orthodox orders such as Naqshbandi advocated the Sultan (Kırmızı, 2005:95).
[468] 'K ader', Şurâ-yı Ümmet, 9 Mayıs 1902, s.2.

oppressors your service is also enormous. God forbid, whether Ottoman State would sink through mystery of desire of autocracy or it would not sink and due to benevolent people's desire enjoy an auspicious reform, in both cases insult for you is evident. You should know this as the result of your worthless teaching. It is not an undeniable fact that there are among the hadjis and dedes people who were either legal scholars or Sufis. Our respect and trust to this kind of people is great. However, because we ran out of time as we reproach them for shameless silence, we believe in ourselves even though we complain."[469]

"What if because of this secret truth (God forbid) all Muslims in Islam get harmed, what would be responsibilities and penalty of it? Because in this century there is no other able to become aggregate and appraiser of Muhammad's religion than Ottoman Empire, both in terms of property and rank. But the sultan is so. If the board of the Ottoman sultanate was scattered and became miserable, apart from running off millions of Islamic population in all directions, the whole Islam on earth would remain headless and without a special quality (mahrum-ı himayet ve hassa). The whole kit and caboodle, elderly, diseased and invalid individuals, babies, and nisvander within so many million innocent population driven off from their lands, from their tranquility and comforts would become a stranger and a needy in the foreign lands and among the people they hardly know. Moreover, the Christian states throughout the world would not allow to build another Islamic state that is compared to their victorious forces, ideas and politics much more central. Therefore, the lordless population of Muslims would become homeless, stateless, nomadic refugees and guests like Jews, Circassians and Kıbti. And the reason for this state; Collapse of the Ottoman Empire! ... And contributory to its collapse; attempt of Sharia! ... And also the cause for the attempt of Sharia would have been in reality the neglect and laziness of the wise ulama."[470]

But the value of orders in this period increased so much that among people known for their masonry and rind nature, only those who were able to reorient themselves and to appear as extremely pious had a chance to escape.

Musa Kâzım Efendi (1858- 1910) of ulama, who was personally a mason (and shaykh al-Islam during the constitutional monarchy) explained this transformation as follows: *"People who were under the great perpetrators performed always prayers in order to cover*

[469] De ... e Nasıh, Kanun-i Esasi, Makale-i şeriye: ulul emr kim olabilir? 22 şubat 1897, nr.10, sene 1, sayfa 1-3.
[470] Ebrari, Kanun-i Esasi, Numero: 4 Sene: 2 s.1-2, 1 şubat 1898, Kullukum Ri'in ve Kullukum Mes'ulun An Ra'iyetihi (Makalesinden Maba'd).

their faults and sins; they even had their prayer rugs carried to public authorities. Although the deceased Abidin Pasha (member of the Ottoman Basic Law Commission) was a philosopher [at this time the term philosopher described a nonbeliever] did not raised his head from his prayer rug. In order to become an accepted and admired person in state affairs [*Mabeyn*-i *Humayun] and at the Sublime Porte [Bab-ı Âli], one had to join the mob of sheikhs of religious orders [post-nişin]… he has been raised to the rank of caliph and deity. There were lodges opened in the vicinity of the palace. Sheikh Zafir was sent from Maghreb to Mashreq. together with Ebu'l Huda, he turned the palace into a house of dangers [tehlikehane* (Berkes, 1988: 338).

The religious orders were so popular that the Committee of Union and Progress, which wanted to take advantage of their legitimacy in the public eye, summoned the ulama, Sheikh Muhiddin's Ottoman Association and the leading members of religious orders, also Naqshbandi sheikhs such as Mehmed Esad of Ardabil as well as some members of Mevlevi, Melami and Bektashi to their side (Karpat, 2005: 656).

9.6. Ulama

Who and what is ulama: It is easier to say what they are not, because they are neither a socio-economical class, nor a clearly defined status group, a hereditary class, a legal estate, or a profession. In available texts, they are referred to as half-literate village imams, knowledgeable women, actors stimulating masses, special advisers of the kings, spiritual guides, or as cynical politicians. While some of them are the children of rich and influential families, others are poor immigrants from some distant towns. A part of them are lords owning lands, the other are salaried professors or bureaucrats, and another group are traders or humble craft workers. The vast majority is men, but there are also many well-known women in their ranks. In short, they are likely to exceed the classification of all groups within the Muslim community and the politically, socially and culturally they play a variety of roles. "

R. Stephen HUMPHREYS

The religious scholars (*ulama*) had an important place in the classical Ottoman state structure. The positions in which sultans saw themselves in the face of teachers was described in many kinds of legends, for example, Fatih Sultan Mehmet was not mentioned without his teacher Akşemseddin. So much so that, by the mid-seventeenth century and in the early

eighteenth Ottoman *ulama* in the state system had become a major force that was even able to depose the sultan from his throne; but the modernization initiatives, implementation of policies of austere sultans such as Mahmud II, the abolition of Janissary's (1826), as well as state's rejection to establish alliances with *ilmiye* class[471] in order to separate the two major powers from each other that would stand against the palace, gave rise on the one hand to the state's conversion into a more centralized structure and the loss of power and efficiency of the ulama and traditional clans that were in a historical cooperation with it on the other. (Demirpolat, Akca, 2009: 9)

Although several reasons can be also given for *ulama*'s slow elimination, the most important thing is Ottoman commanders' reaching the conclusion that enterprises of modernization in the military field and in the field of science and culture cannot be carried out through the guild of janissaries or madrasas. As a result, the *ilmiye* class began to take sides with the political opposition against the Sultan and tried to justify the oppositional movement of questionable legitimacy by joining it. This, in other words plunging of the *ilmiye* class entirely into daily politics with one of the sides, facilitated at first the abandonment of madrasas and *ulama* to dead all by themselves and then their elimination rather than *ulama*'s somehow profiting from the emergence of a new media and power balances. (Kara, 1998: 2)

From time to time, Abdulhamid II adopted negative attitudes against the *ulama* and the sheikhs. The *softalar kıyamı* (uprising of madrasa students) in May 1876, a fatwa was

[471] The ulama class which formed education, jurisdiction, fatwa and religious organizations in the Ottoman Empire is called ilmiye. It is one of the occupational groups of the Ottoman state together with the *seyfiye* (military class), and the *kalemiye* (bureaucrats). As in the case of sheikh al-Islam, *Nakîb'al-ashrâf, kazasker*, qadi, or muderris, ulama, too, it is a general name that describes both a group and the name of the institution they form. Ottoman *Ilmiye* class in a more general sense is a carrier field that consists of Muslims, mostly Turks, which after studying regularly in the classical and settled Islamic educational institution of madrasa and graduating from it with a permission, hold offices according to their branches of study in education, jurisdiction, fatwa, basic religious services and finally also in the central administration. This occupation by having generally a mentality well-preserving its own tradition, authority and privileges and gone through certain phases continued its existence over centuries. It is obvious that *Ilmiye* class and sheikh al-Islam have an important place in the Ottoman organization. It has in the fields of *teşri* (legislative), *icra* (executive) and *kaza* (judicial) areas an authority that cannot be compared to another institution. Education is connected to it through madrasas. Qadi, as a member of the *ilmiye* class, carries out municipal services beside his judicial duties. By way of foundations, he has to do with all the areas of activity. He would audit the performance and economy of the state in terms of sharia. He administers common and formal religious services, etc. Nevertheless, within the framework of institutions, the opening of the (secular) schools, establishment of the (secular) regulatory court, regulations such as facility of ministries of Justice, Charitable Foundations and Education, narrowed both the areas of activity of Sheikh al-Islamate, madrasas, professors and religious education, sharia courts and qadis working there, and has both weakened and damaged their reputation in bureaucracy and political life in an increasing rate. (Kara, 2001: 47)

given by Şeyhülislam Hayrullah for the dethronement of Sultan Abdulaziz, and the support of *ulama* and students for Midhat Pasha and the constitutional movement were herein undoubtedly effective. Sultan also knew that he would be unable to realize his thoughts on continuing the schoolization movement that began before him, and reclaiming the system of education as long as madrasas and ilmiye class remained strong. (Kara, 2001: 49-50)

On the other hand, the *ulama* of the Abdulhamid period did not have a monolithic structure. How they were affected by changes or they reacted to them varied according to their realms of authority, or perspectives, and so on. A few scholars among them believed in the necessity of the reforms required by the modern science and the demands of the age, and sought for solutions. As mentioned above, some of them opposed the Abdulhamid regime together with the Young Turks and were repeatedly sent to exile, while others remained loyal to the sultan and his regime. (Hanioğlu, 1995: 50-51)

Those who remained faithful were honored in the palace with great respect. Considering the totality of the simplest greeting ceremony, it could be seen that there was no other group as privileged as the *ulama*. In addition to the fact that *ulama* did not kiss the fringe, the sultan was greeting some while standing. Furthermore, when Sheikh al-Islam came the Sultan stood up. High-ranking dignitaries of the civil service had the privilege of greeting the Sultan while he was standing, but the sultan already welcomed this group standing. The Sultan only stood up for the grand vizier and Sheikh al-Islam. Nevertheless, as different from Sheikh al-Islam, since the old greeting ceremonies, the grand vizier had to kiss the ground in front of the Sultan, or to show respectful acts such as greeting him with a *temenna*.[472] (Karateke, 2004: 97-98)

Like his predecessors, Abdulhamid benefited from the *ilmiye* dignitaries, and in particular from the distinguished religious scholars in many important things like appropriating his implementations to the society or creation public opinion. In fact, in

[472] The reason for *ulama*'s exemption from these was the separation of the ideal power consisting of "political power" and "religious knowledge" which formerly have been unified in the person of the first representative of the Islamic Imamate, namely the Islamic prophet, between the later Muslim rulers who held political power in the hands and passed the other half of the ideal power, religion, to another group, to *ulama*. The important difference here is the continuing position of their political power in a state as one person, to the scholarly of power (usually), which is handed over to many people who is obtained this knowledge. In this case, the *ulama* theoretically is the other partner of the actual power. Besides all these, the impact of the *ulama* on the public was great, and they also had the authority to give the fatwa that could destroy the entire power of the sultans according to Sharia. So, holders of political power always tried to treat *ulama* well. In this context, it would be appropriate to see the privileged relations of Sheikh al-Islam and/or the *ulama* especially with / against the sultan in the Ottoman ceremony in a cause-effect relationship.

contrast to what was generally known and popularly believed in the Ottoman Empire, many reform movements had been pioneered, supported, or at least approved by the *ilmiye* class. Although Abdulhamid who was cautious against the religious hierarchy and acted suspicious against sheikh al-Islam and his fatwas, often complained about the conservatism of the Ottoman scholars who argued against everything coming from Europe, he did not do much for their globalization and renewal. He multiplied the number of modern schools, but abandoned madrassas to their own devices.[473] (Georgeon, 2012: 276)

9.6.1. Ulama in the Young Turk Press

While the relations between Abdulhamid and the *ulama* was in this condition, it was something very natural and possible that the Committee of Union and Progress (The Committee of Union and Progress), which was accused of opposing the palace and its surroundings and being irreligious, traitor, seditious, immoral, unpatriotic, or instigator, started to work in close contact with the abandoned, discredited, passive and dissatisfied clergy in opposition and tried to get strength from their social reputation, religious position, as well as their political power. (Kara, 1998: 3)

Another reason that made this approach possible was the fact that the center of the Committee of Union and Progress in this period was rather kept in the hands of a group with traditional ideas, between whom and Ahmad Riza Bey significant differences of opinion existed.[474] Though, the Young Turks' attitude towards ulama varied in many ways. For example, in some places sending scholars to other Islamic countries for Islamic education was mentioned and volunteers were sought:

"During our visit to Great Sahara, Bruno and Sudan, the notables of Muslim governments, which were under the hegemony of England and France, requested from us to apply the zealousness and the inherent efforts of the Ottoman ulama to educate their Muslim children here. They obtained our promise. We know and hope that this request of us will be accepted by our zealous ulama. In this regard, our executive office will provide every kind of

[473] Even though it may seem like a paradox, the Young Turks, who were in need of an open minded *ulama* for legitimization of their new sovereignty, started the reformation and modernization of madrasas in 1909.

[474] The traditionalist cadre that insisted upon naming the Society "Association of Islamic Unity" [*İttihad-ı İslâm Cemiyeti*] was subjected to elimination. "Istanbul was saying Ittihad-i Islam. I saw the title of Union and Progress appropriate as it was going to work for the benefit of all the Ottomans. It was accepted like this."(Quoted from Ahmad Rıza's memories by Hanioğlu, Jöntürklük, p. 180, for the relations between the Union and Progress Egyptian branch and ulama see also. Hanioğlu, ibid, pp. 242-52)

convenience and give the necessary directions to our honorable ulama." (İttihad-ı İslam, no:1: 8)

"There is no doubt that the Ottoman young ulama would not deny that so many Islamic people residing in Great Sahara and Sudan their help to save them from oppression and ignorance, and to illuminate them with the light of faith and with culture. However, because of the greatness and importance of this issue, we desire the contribution of the Syrian, Egyptian and Indian ulama to this holy service." (İttihad-ı İslam, no. 2: 6)

In addition to this, in many places *ulama* was criticized and warned for their closeness to the Sultan,:[475]

"You are entering a path that will bother every class of population in particular class of ulama! Ulama has the right to supervise the rulers. Our Lord, Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him) said (el UIemau umenullanı ala halkıhı) in short "the ulama is the confidants of God upon the people." (Lev la el ulamau le heleke'l-umera) The rulers and commanders who do not follow the advices and signs of Ulama will be unable to manage the possessions and will perish. (elmülük- i hükkı1m ale'n-nas ve'l-ulama-i hükkı1m ale'l-mül4k) Ulama designates the sultan to the route and movement, and the sultan takes decisions according to it. He cannot intervene with his limits of judgment until it reaches matter of curriculum. If the rulers disobey the ideas of the Ulama and turn into tyranny and despotism, people would be tired of his intolerable deeds and revolt."[476]

In order to attract *Ulama* to their side, they constantly gave examples from history and guided them to behave correctly; those who did not behave in this way were sharply criticized:

"Majesty, it *should be already well-known to you that at one day, Sheikh al-Islam of your great ancestors and owner of fatwas, Zenbili Ali Efendi, while holding the reins of horse of his Sultan, who was riding, said, " Look! If you stay stubborn in recognition and approval of one imperial order of yours contrary to Sharia and justice, I will give a fatwa on your*

[475] Two important articles of İsmail Kara are very informative on the subject: Kara, Ismail: Ulama-siyaset ilişkilerine dair metinler-II Ey Ulama! Bizim gibi konuş! (texts about the Ulama-politics-II O Ulama! talk like us!), 1999/2, Year 4, Issue 7, pp. 65-134; and Kara, Ismail "Ulama-Siyaset ilişkilerine dair önemli bir metin: Muhalefet yapmak/Muhalefete katılmak"(an important text about the Ulama-Politics relationship: Opposition / to join the Opposition) Divan, Number 4, 1998, pp. 1-25.

[476] Hoca Muhyiddin, Kanun-i Esasi, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arîza Suretidir, El-ma'ruz (Hand-made Copies of the requests presented to the Sultan), No: 1 Year: 1, December 3, 1896.

status. The occupation held governmentally since your enthronement is not known to ulama; because of their poverty and ignorance, Anatolian villages forgot their religion, and their duties. They do not have prosperity. Albanians compete with Bedouin tribes in highway robbery. Kurds are walking around in the state of brigandage. Albanians slaughter each other. Urban high and low officials do not even have one hour of spare time from making and inventing various tricks and delusions to rob the people. While people of the center of the caliphate should act as role models to their environment, they are seeking for salvation in factious both according to Sharia and mentally discredited professions like sleuthing."[477]

"According to Sharia it is necessary to help the Muslim community who act against caliph both materially and physically until other Muslims give up oppression against them. The ulama class has not begun with publications. Once our strict declaration starts and if you square the circle for statements of judgment that disguised as political comments, the world will be astonished at this, and the goal gets very achievable. The people look at ulama. You deleted whatever you want from the science books and law books, but you were not able to erase the hadiths from the hearts of the commanders. (el-ulama-i veresete'lenbiya [the scholars are heirs of the prophet]) The summons of Muhammadian scholars is like a breeze! The scepter of the dead by vibrating bodies raises them. My sultan! Are there not some scholars and sheikhs, which snuggle into the crown and mantle of the Sufi who talks about asceticism and piety in your presence, and then expect your beneficence for him? They are numerous besides you. I swear to God, they are liars. They accepted the worldly food of Sharia and mysticism as tools and means. Do not expect benevolence from them! They do not have any value or influence in the eyes of the people of Islam. If they are servants of asceticism and piety, so why do they worship your generous gifts? Let them go to their hometowns, and call the people in mosques and dervish lodges to virtues of moral, to prophetic course, to national service, and to progress. Let them earn their lives themselves. Why are they benefit from the state treasury? What they get is illegal. Fatwa, piety and Sufism are like this! Do not believe in their prayers! Neither on their fleece, nor on their crowns, or on their mantles is there any abundance and blessings.[478]

[477] Hoca Muhyiddin, Kanun-i Esasi, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arîza Suretidir El-ma'ruz (Fundamental Law, Hand-made Copies of the deficiencies presented to the Sultan), No.: 1 Year: 1, December 3, 1896.
[478] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1 No: 2, 28 December 1896, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arızadan Maba'd (Fundamental Law, Continuation of the deficiencies presented to the Sultan)

"How will ulama evade from this responsibility? What will they answer in the presence of the Lord of the Worlds? How will they look into the face of Almighty Sharia? How will they be saved from the hands of Muhammedian Community of the faithful who got into this trouble? ... the issue of the responsibility of public welfare as prescribed in the Hadith concerning the two extents of community of notables and high officials that are mentioned and probably to every member of the society with a point of view and esteem to everyone according to their ranks. All individuals benefit from the soundness of the boat, because it is one and the same that will first remain under foot in the occurrence of hazards." [479]

In the Young Turk press most of the writings about the *ulama* were written about obedience. Countless articles were written on the subject that obedience neither to Sultan nor to *ulama*, which were seen as henchmen under his rule, was a required religious duty. Indeed, in classical sources, and especially in the Ottoman experience, three important functions and powers attributed to *ulama*:

1. To teach courses whenever possible, to preach counsel, and to show the true path and to create a work, that is to say, to continue the heritage they took over according to scientific and moral criteria or to put it up to a higher stage with work of criticism and modification and to transfer it to those who will come after them.

2. Defense, interpretation and enforcement of the divine law. In other words, designating, interpreting the procedures and principles in the abstract for realization of vigilantism, rights and law and to enforce this law.

3. Protecting people from persecution, or abolishment of persecution parallel to vigilantism. [480] At this point, the scholars stand in the middle, between the sultan-caliph (or the administrators in broader meaning) and subjects, directing its face on

[479] Ebrari, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 4 Year: 2 pp. 1-2, 1 February 1898, Kullukum Ri'in ve Kullukum Mes'ulun An Ra'iyetihi (Makalesinden Maba'd) (Fundamental Law, Continuation of the article ""Every one of *you* is a *shepherd* and is responsible for his flock.")

[480] This authorization facilitated the justification of *ulama*'s taking side next to the political opposition against the caliph-sultan by becoming Young Turks, within the framework of sharia. On the one hand, legitimization happened with emphasis on the *ulama*'s long tradition as center of control warning-notification rights and powers against political authority, and on the other hand, in saying that *ulama*'s opposition against cruel, despotic rulers, and their management styles was a religious duty. Further, causes such as Abdulhamid II's not taking care of the madrasas, leaving them for their natural death, as well as the increase of the pressures on *ulama*, their exiles or open arrests, and intensification of the control on religious monuments, has made it easier for *ulama* to legitimize their oppositional work. (Kara, 1998: 9)

one side towards commanders, and to the other side towards people. [481] They should not only invite the sultan to justice and the people to obedience, but they should be a supervisory body in the process of rebuilding this relationship and guaranteeing its functioning on both sides. (Kara, 2001/2: 12)

"Twenty or thirty thousand imperial soldiers, who are present in the official selamlık on Fridays, neither attend Friday prayers nor perform noon prayers. It is not possible to intentionally misinterpret this issue. Because it is known to the military, as it is to the whole population of Istanbul. Since the succession of Muhammad, such a thing never occurred under the rule of a caliph. Public mentality is unwary on this issue. The agent for this will be cursed in the future. The Turkish nation will be ashamed in front of other nations. Can a person who allows this be predestined to be worthy of the Islamic Caliphate? Could there be a greater presumption, audacity and disrespect in the matter of religion? If the soldiers in selamlık on Friday knew that they would have not obeyed. If they would, they would all then become rebels and criminals. In this regard, scholars who remain silent are devils."[482]

"Authorities cannot be asked for being rulers or sultans. Because: God Almighty has decried the rulers and royals with this great verse of "ʾinna l-mulūka ʾidhā dakhalū qaryatan ʾafsadūhā" in the Qur'an. Also the Prophet in one of his hadiths has ordered that "The Caliphate will remain after me for thirty years, and then it will change into a cruel monarchy. Thus monarchs, like mad dogs, savage subjects [will inflict great pain and misery on its subjects]." This being the case how can the decree of God that was commanded us as([to] obey rulers and royalty) be authentic?"[483]

"God Almighty prescribes in the Holy Qur'an: "Oh you believers obey Allah and His messenger and ulu'l emr, that is to say, those who hold the authority*". According to the commandments in this great verse, those authorities whom you have to obey strictly perhaps meant ulama and people of ijma [consensus], for the reason that they are famous by common people not for being royal and high ranked officials, but for being "ahl al-Hall wa'l-Aqd." If*

[481] Although it was told in all the traditional Islamic and Ottoman cultures, as here, that ulama was always on the side of the people against the state or cruel power and protected them, from the Fatih Sultan Mehmet era onwards ulama had been a part of the ruling class, or military class and it was clearly demonstrated its attitude with its policies in the modernization period. (Demirpolat, Anzavur; Akça, Gürsoy: 2008: 121)

[482] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 7 Year: 2 p. 34, March 1, 1898 Zat-ı Şahaneye Açık Ariza (obvious criticizm against sultan)

[483] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 19 Year: 2 p.4, 15 Safar 1316/23 June 1314 from the treatise on Imamate and Caliphate (Mabad)

we say that ulū al-amr in this verse meant the sum of ulama being ahl al-Hall wa'l-Aqd, our words here would not be accepted from the Islamic Community." [484]

"If the rulers disobey the ideas of the Ulama and turn into tyranny and despotism, the people who are tired of his intolerable deeds would revolt. (Threat...) *"* [485]

"Those who became familiar with the Sultan are subjected to rebel against God Almighty in four ways: either by their acts, words, silence, or by their belief."[486]

"The Ulama is the heir of prophets. It is not possible to be that much shameless and impertinent that such a group, which is unable to see the greatness of Prophet Muhammad, attempts in the cause of Caliphate! God and the Prophet are the greatest enemies of these vagrants."[487]

The consensus in these writings is the necessity that the obedience to the authorities, which is the true and deep reason why ulama possessed such a negative and passive position, should not be seen as absolute any more. The most important source that was often recited was the hadith saying that *"Obedience is only in righteousness".* In this case *"what does it mean to rebel against divine leaders because of the obedience to sultan?"*

"(...) Today, the biggest responsibility for the great sins and disasters descending upon the Islamic community lies in the hands of the religious scholars of Islam being inaccurate in their tasks. Oh you, religious scholars of Islam! Do your belief and your conscience allow you to take over the heavy burden of the small responsibility for God and people? Can you endure the tortures and reprimands of Best of all judges *[God] and God's virtuous prophets? We are not that pertinent to argue that you are unwary about the illegitimate malice and cruelties of the urban administration…"*

"Although our sultan is at the top, the solid structure of the obvious religion of Islam is being ruined and destroyed with the bad intentions of oppressors; Sharia law is downfallen; people of Islam suffer with laments and groans with pain, but religious scholars of Islam are still not able to say some words. Oh you, religious scholars of Islam, where are

[484] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 16 Year: 2 7 June 1898 the Caliphate and Imamate Letter (Maba'd)
[485] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arîza Suretidir El-ma'ruz (Hand-made Copies of the deficiencies presented to the Sultan), Year: 1, No.: 1, 21 December 1896, p.3.
[486] Sheikh Alizade Muhiddin, Makale-i şeriyye, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No.: 6, 26 January 1897, p. 1.
[487] Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No.: 17, 20 April 1897, pp. 3-4, D…ynasıh el ulama veresetel enbiya, sıtki Resulullah.

you? Would your silence despite advice of the Utterly Just God and His charging and treating of ulama, show that, God forbid, fear God, you advancing the oppression of a despot?"

"The only aim of the urban administration first of all was to discredit Islamic scholars in the eyes of the public. Bit for bit, it reached its goal. There remained no reason for the oppressors to fear and beware. (...) With your tranquility and silence against evil sins you ruin both yourselves and the people."[488]

"That Ulama means the ones who have scientific reason is comprehensive at first sight. (...) If there is no attempt to prohibit and limit (cruelty) (...) [or] to generalize and procure acceptance (of goodness) and if required no lives would be sacrificed for it, apparent sciences and complex knowledge of Sharia or sciences of the hidden and claims mysterious Sharia remain only in words. (...) A science without use (is) meaningless"; "Oh turbaned men, apparent to cruel and not telling the truth! (...) Let us eliminate falseness and hypocrisy and confess the truth. (...) If you are unable to recognize either verbally or de facto the sown seeds of malefic by the rascals, which are unnecessarily supported and rewarded by Abdulhamid to corrupt people's morals, by yourself, how can this be made explainable to you? If you are unable to understand this, one could even refrain from calling you not scholars, but childish examiners and ignorant."[489]

9.6.2. Young Turk Ulama

Despite Young Turks who were so angry about *ulama* and blamed them in the press, perhaps as a result of this call and effort and under the influence of a variety of motivation as it was briefly mentioned above, especially from 1896-7 onwards, it became possible to talk about Young Turk *Ulama*. Although Young Turks' brain team was affected by the positivism pursued before philosophy of scientific judgment instead of religion, also *ulama* participated in this movement in terms of their own reasons; *ulama* reacted particularly because they were shown as opponents to novelties and innovation, were treated like a step-child and were neglected, as well as, because Abdulhamid II was distrustful to *ulama*, that he not only forbid the publication of religious works that would allow political discussion, but also told

[488] For the full text, see: Ulama-yı Din-i İslam'a Davet-i Şer'iye (Invitation of ulama to religion of Islam, Muharrir: a teacher from Fuzala, the Second publication, 1314, pp. 4-11, quoted by Kara, 1998: 17-25.
[489] Mehmed Kadri Nâsıh, "el-Ulamau verasetü'l-enbiya"(ulama are the heirs of prophets), Kanun-ı Esasi, Year: 1, No. 17, pp. 3 – 5.

humiliating lies to Europe that Islamic scholars would not agree to parliament. People such as Ubaydullah Efendi, Hodja Muhyiddin, Kadri Hodja, Hodja Sadık Efendi, Tunali Hilmi, Dervish Vahdeti, and Said-i Nursi can be given as examples to this group. (Mardin, 1994: 70-71)

Besides this, apparently Young Turks saw religion as an obstacle to social progress and did not consider *ulama* as natural allies. Nevertheless, despite their secular identity, they demanded religious dictates from the scholars in order to oppose this claim of the government of Abdulhamid II that was legitimizing itself through Islam. Thus, this illustrates that *ulama* was not seen as a part of opposition movement itself and Young Turks had a distant and pragmatic approach towards them. (Hanioğlu, 1995: 49-53)

Ulama had a great role in the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy and in the oppositional movements before it. Yet, in the examined period, relations between *ulama* and intelligentsia on the subject of opposition reached important dimensions in two respects: First, the new intellectual type began to see religion as an obstacle to social progress and it therefore regarded *ulama* not as a full matching ally. Second, the undermining of legitimacy of the political regime, which legitimized itself through religious explanations, presupposes the support of the *ulama*. In this context, the Young Turks established a very interesting relationship with the scholars who described themselves as "guardians of the nation, confidants of the right" and argued to have the "right to supervise the rulers". (Hanioğlu, 1985: 112)

As the Union and Progress decided to get rid of its image before 1895 as a student community by establishing relationships with various segments of society, they first contacted with the *ulama*. It is well known that İskat Sükuti and Hüseyinzade Ali Bey, who took on the task of organizing, therefore contacted with a leading representative called Ubeydullah Efendi, and that they extracted a promise of support from him. Nevertheless, *ulama* denied the relationship with the community until 1897, and persisted in saying that they would establishe a separate community of knowledge, although they were still keeping the Committee of Union and Progress branch in Egypt under control. (Hanioğlu, 1985: 113)

However, after this time that can be seen as a turning point, scholars began to appear in the newspaper columns, expressed their pride of being a member of the society; the representatives of science students with *Meşveret* on them had been more commonly seen; a

madrasa teacher had become the liaison officer of Union and Progress Party. Moreover, the Egyptian *ulama* led by Muhyiddin Hodja insisted for a while to publish their newspaper separately. (Hanioğlu, 1985: 116)

During this time, the community center was rather kept in the hands of a group with traditional ideas and the significant differences of opinion between them and the group of Ahmet Riza and the presence of this group facilitated the union with *ulama*, or rather melting of *ulama* in the Committee of Union and Progress. Egyptian branch of Union and Progress Party, the most important work of which was inviting *ulama* to rebellion and to their side, mutated after the increase of desertion, and significant changes in the association's staff as a result of the negotiations was made with the Sultan and it only continued to publish magazines with religious contents for the purpose of preventing reactions from the public. Although, *ulama* led its support towards the group holding the Ottoman newspaper in hand between 1900 and 1903, over time it transformed itself from the great provider of legitimacy that it was before 1895 to a simple supporter of an action for the Union and Progress Party that occurs in 1908. (Hanioğlu, 1985: 117)

Since 1894 the Union and Progress Party tended to build relationships with various religious orders that were pushed into the opposition by the political system, as well. Among these are Bektashis who had not only an opposing character since the very old time and received a great blow from the state in 1826, but also a close relationship with the Masonic organization. Many Young Turks are members of the Bektashi sect. (Hanioğlu, 1985: 118-9)

Also members of Rufai and Kadiri convents like any other who were exiled after their dervish lodges were raided, such as the Bedouin sheikh Nail Effendi, have been influential in the movement, and they even took place at the forefront of two coup d'états tried to be carried out between 1895-1898. Moreover, Khalwatiyya sheikhs, Sünbüliyye sheikhs, or people such as the son of the sheikh of Uşşaki order, who were exiled from crime of being partners with the Unionists, regulations related to making subscriptions of new members and propaganda activities in the lodges, shed light on the relationship between the Committee of Union and Progress and the orders. (Hanioğlu, 1985: 120-121)

Ulama's moving away from the opposition parallel to the modernization line and its search for areas of existence in the places that are foreign to its characteristics and acquis, had important consequences. First of all, individuals and institutions that would be able to stand

against the secular thought and practice of the sultan, bureaucracy and intelligentsia were enfeebled; accordingly, *ulama*'s political and social position in community, as well as their activities and location begun to fall behind the intellectuals, the *ulama* became followers from being leaders.

9.7. Education

9.7.1. Education policies[490] of Abdulhamid II

The period of Abdulhamid II is usually considered on the basis of some basic dual distinctions such as traditional-modern, reactionary-progressive, and anti-reformist - Westernist. In the evaluations on "positivist Westernization" which was understood as modernization process, the parties brought against each other were "reformist bureaucrats who aimed financial progress" and "bigoted reactionary ulama elites". In this perspective, the developments that occurred during the Tanzimat, especially the developments taking place in the state's educational institutions, the growing influence of values of the Enlightenment on the Ottoman bureaucracy was regarded as a result of the ideal of the Westernization that appeared in the wake of these effects, while the Abdulhamid's period was seen as a religious-based reactionary response to all positive gains in the fields of finance and education that occurred during the Tanzimat period. In fact, the most serious modernization efforts in the field of education had been put in during the late Ottoman period, in other words in Abdulhamid's time, and the process did not actually take place as the confrontation of the modern and traditional; on the contrary it occurred as their successful articulation. (Demirpolat, Anzavur quoted by Akça, Gürsoy: 2008: 120)

The desire of Abdulhamid II was to strengthen the state by establishing a structure of equal units that should all be managed from the center. For the consolidation of the state however, there was a need for a strong and smooth middle class. In this regard, Abdulhamid primarily thought that the state's task was to facilitate education and commerce for the subjects and to protect them in order to turn them in manufacturers. With the taxes obtained on this way, he wanted to establish a new type of army, and to strengthen the bureaucracy and the overall government agencies. Indeed, he led the realization of many projects such as

[490] For Forta's article based on the autobiography of the Ottoman education of the recent epoch which contains interesting information, see Fortna, Benjamin C.: Education and Autobiography at the End of the Ottoman Empire: Die Welt des Islams, New Series, Vol. 41, Issue 1 (Mar., 2001), pp. 1-31.

professionalizing the bureaucracy, railway construction, foundation of technical high schools, as well as the spread of the banking system and agricultural services. (Mardin, 1985: 342)

The foundation of the modern education in the Ottoman Empire is also the product of a similar centralizing policy which was set up with the regulations of the Ministry of Education called Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi that was issued in 1869. With these regulations that projected a three-staged education system, being primary, secondary and high, also traditional, quasi-religious elementary schools largely financed and managed by local communities which were taken over by the government began to be monitored under the name of ibtidai (meaning first, primary). In 1898, directorates of education were founded in all provinces except Hejaz and they were all brought under the supervision of the inspector of education. (Karpat, 2005: 180)

In order to recap the topic, it will be useful here to summarize the educational policies and practices of Abdulhamid II's era in a number of substances:

1. Abdulhamid II was eager to re-establish the Ottoman and Islamic synthesis in the education system, and to balance the heavy pressure of Westernization with this emphasis:

"Our country has a sufficient number of soldiers and officers. Due to the extreme conservativeness of ulama, it is very difficult to modernize our universities. The only reason why Al-Azhar Faculty of Theology in Cairo is attracting our students is that they have understood the importance of complying with the requirements of the time. Unless we educate here distinguished scholars worthy of our great religion, Istanbul University [Istanbul Darülfünûnu] is doomed to remain in the shadow of the one in Cairo."[491]

2. Abdulhamid II's time was the period in which the number of schools and enrollment rates at all levels (including community and international schools) highly increased. On the one hand, schools that provided traditional education were turned into Iptidaiye (primary schools), and on the other hand, new primary schools were opened. Second, the importance was especially given to the maintenance of the education in the high school (idadi) level and civil high schools had begun to be opened mainly during this period. In a sense, this period was the time of high schools. Third, Law,

[491] Sultan Abdulhamid, **Siyasi Hatıratım**, p. 141.

Fine Arts, Agriculture, Trade, Forestry, Mining, Veterinary colleges were established, and Civil Service School restructured.

During Abdülhamid's reign, Henry Jessup, the officer of American missionaries in Syria, expressed his astonishment about what he heard and saw as: "The Turks are certainly not in a position to call in a decrepit". In 1880s, Jessup agreed that they confronted a situation, in which "previous estimates of the Islamic decline was baseless and there is a revival everywhere in the Ottoman Empire as seen in the foundation of schools for girls and boys (...) and the establishment of new mosques." (Deringil, 2007: 149)

Indeed, while in 1892 the number of primary schools which were providing an education based on traditional methods was 18983 and of the modern schools was only 3057, by 1900 there were 899932 male and female students studying in 29130 elementary schools or high schools existing in the empire. In the academic year of 1905-1906, there were 9347 official and private primitive schools providing an education according to the *usul-u cedid* (new method) in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the number of the students receiving a modern education was around one million in a population of 37 million. Apart from this, a number of traditional schools were adapted to modern methods of education or were modernized after they were taken over by the state. (Karpat, 2005: 181)

In the context of technical training, there were around 40,000 students in the 1906-07 school year attending to 619 private and official rüşdiyes (junior high schools) in total, 25 of which were military schools. Around the same time there were about 20,000 students in 109 senior high schools. Parallel to the proliferation in the school system, there was an increase in the number of teacher's training schools which were going to meet their requirement for teachers. In 1908, the number of teacher's training schools (Dârülmuallimîn) increased to 31. Another development that took place during this period, additionally to the widespread adoption of primary and secondary education, was the launch of the first trainings for the disabled. While the education for the mute and deaf started in 1889, the training for the blind begun two years later. (Tekeli, 1999[492] transferred by Kaynak, 2012: 129)

3. The change in the courses, programs, curriculum and books in the direction of religionization was also a feature of Abdulhamid II's reign. Looking at the Tanzimat

[492] İ.İlkin Tekeli, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1999.

period, it can be seen that religion and moral training in the inherited education system at the level of junior high schools (rüşdiye) were only given moderately, while these subjects were not covered at senior high schools (idadi) or in schools of higher level, at all. In contrast, positive sciences were fairly included in programs. With the influence of the use of roughly the same curriculum in almost the first fifteen years of Abdulhamid's reign, in medical, military as well as civil service schools, all established and patronized by Abdulhamid himself, beside the positivist / materialist thought gaining prevalence, also an opposition begun to grow against him. Political activities between students increased. The religionizaiton of education first begun after people recognized the raising of a generation with different behaviors and movements ("ahval ve atvarı") within the graduates from the Civil Service. Subjects of religion and moral were added to the training courses of the schools of each level, especially to the military and civil schools which were educating personnel for the state, and the number of hours was increased over time. Both "Official ideology" and "official history" as an institution are the work of this period and were inherited by the later periods. (Kaynak, 2012: 117-119)

4. On the other hand, the period in which "ulama" and "madrasa" were pushed out of the system was in line with Sultan Abdulhamid's reign. Even only the establishment of the Faculty of Law by him was the most severe blow he delivered against legal monopoly in the hands of the ulama and madrasa. Second, the establishment of the Ulum-i Aliye-i Diniye Şubesi (Theology Faculty) within Darülfünun (now Istanbul University), which was launched at the beginning of the twentieth century, was one of the final clash directed to madrasa, being both the place where religion was "reproduced" and one of the last card in ulama's hand. Now, religion was fallen under the absolute control of the state, and began to be reproduced in higher schools. This core had become "official Islam".

5. Although the rapid development of the modern education system during the reign of Abdulhamid and its spread to the masses had led to the corruption of madrasas, Abdulhamid struggled to keep these traditional schools and to revive them. By looking at the ideas, which are filtered from courses, curriculum and books, this period can be described as a period of "traditional modernism".

6. Abdulhamid also had a desire to spread the education to the provinces. Yet, for his investments in education, he particularly preferred populated areas, mainly in the Central and Eastern Anatolia. This is the logical consequence of sultan's political desire to withstand the modernized provincial elites.

7. In the reign of Abdulhamid II, the issues such as abolishing ignorance and bringing of general education service to the public were given priority to areas with large Muslim population formed the basis of primary school politics. Meanwhile, the great size of the primary school to be built in towns and districts, as well as official decrees prescribing education of the children of non-Muslim subjects here shows that both in primary education as well as in secondary education the importance was given to the policy of Ottomanness. The aim is to stop political and harmful activities of the community schools that were teaching national consciousness to non-Muslim children. At the same time, thoughts and feelings of Ottomanism should be infused to children of various religions, sects and races in school age. Nevertheless, due to the attitude of the non-Muslim subjects this project could not be realized. (Kodaman, 1999: 315 transferred by Kaynak, 2012: 119)

8. Another major feature of the era of Abdulhamid II was the effort to create an "elite (*bendegan*) showing loyalty (*ubudiyet*)" through the schools. (Quoting from Alkan, 2004[493], Kaynak, 2012: 120) In any case, the issue of education continued to occupy a special place as a tool to realize the unity (*ittihad*) and to provide continuance.

The matter of tribal schools (*Aşiret mektepleri*)[494] that were founded in 1892, was a fundamental issue in the field of education in serving Islamic Unity. Like Thomas Babington Macauley, the head of the Public Education Committee in India in 1834, who aimed at creating a local elite that would have features such as an "Indian peel and color, but British in terms of taste, morality, and intelligence", or like the Russians who had trained Cemaleddin in St. Petersburg to turn him in to a "Russian", the aim of these tribal schools was to create Ottoman Arabs, Kurds and Albanians. (Deringil, 2007: 144)

[493] Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Modernleşme ve Ulusçuluk Sürecinde Eğitim", Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si, Istanbul, 2004, pp.80-81.

[494] For quite comprehensive information about the tribal school, see: Eugene L. Rogan, Asiret Mektebi: Abdulhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907), International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Feb. 1996), pp. 83-107.

In this special institution of education, depending on the palace, which accepted the children of the Arab and Kurdish tribes that were subordinated to the Ottoman Empire, the aim was to commit these people to the state. Therefore, these tribal children had to be collected and brought to Istanbul under the supervision and protection of the court; to be taught Turkish, and their commitment to both the caliphate and to Ottoman rule had to be increased in this time, so that they could serve in this way as tools after their return. An important issue in this respect is that these tribal schools were political apparatus not established for people with limited possibilities, but for children descending from the most reputable and respectable families. These schools which were opened on 4 October 1892, had already been closed by 1907, because the students disliking their food caused riots against administration; but in fact, they were shut down due to realistic considerations such as school inability to give proper service according to the goals set at their opening, or their failing in finding appropriate students in the desired style and level. (Aybi, 2009: 85-87)

9.7.2. Problems of the education system

In all these frames, there are two main problems when a new education system is built:

1. The most basic limitation was money. Although all local authorities were required to contribute to the education budget (maarif hissesi) with a part of their revenues, it was not possible to build schools or to pay the teachers on a monthly basis, because mostly this money was not paid.

For example, an official writing from the Yemeni province of 1890 explains that the teacher of the primary school in Sana'a was not paid out for some time. Likewise, in 1890, the province of Baghdad complains that a local junior high school also failed in finding the required funds through the donations of the generous personalities. The province Kastamonu proposed in 1899 to make the payments for village primary schools from part of their agricultural products that would be given at every harvest by the families of their students.

2. Another significant problem, despite the philosophy of the understanding of education that we try to mention here extensively, was that the literacy rate was indeed quite low. Carter Findley assumes an increase of the literacy rate from one percent in 1800 to 5-10 percent in 1900.

9.7.3. Congress of Islamic Unity

In the period under review, the Ottoman Empire saw itself as an equal participant in all kinds of world politics games and demanded to be treated in this way. The Europeans, in fact, began to see it as an anomaly, a master who should actually be a servant, or as a monarch who should be seen as a subject, for quite a long time. The meeting of the representatives of foreign powers in Istanbul in 1876 so as to discuss the Turkish reforms without a single Turkish delegate is an obvious example of this attitude. The motivation behind Ottoman Empire's obsession with its image, as mentioned since the beginning of the chapter, and its determination to protect that image against all attacks, insults and humiliation was its seeking for a solution for this state of being ignored.

An important way for being seen as a member of the family of civilized nations was to participate in international conferences, and because the nineteenth century was the century of congresses of various topics such as protection of wild species, correction of the conditions of the visually impaired people or issues of world health, state of the Abdulhamid's era was attentive to participate in many significant and minor international conferences ranging from Africa Conference of 1884 held in Berlin to determine the influence fields on the African continent, to conference on protection of vegetation and animal species in the same continent. The claims of the Sublime Porte in both meetings were the same, "We also have the right to participate because we have land in Africa." (Deringil, 2007: 218)[495]

An important event that occurred in this period of examination, both in educational and cultural contexts and in matters of the main issue of Islamic Unity, was the Islamic Union Congress organized by Gaspıralı Ismail Bey. The World Muslim Congress (*Union der Muslime - Ittifaq-i Müslimin*) held in Cairo on November 1, 1907 was a meeting to which around 500-600 ulama, commanders, virtuous men, writers along with scholars and notables, as well as the entire Egyptian and some European newspaper reporters attended.[496]

[495] (Tt) were also aware of the other conferences so also of the memorandum of Armenian mischief-makers and Young Turks that they will attack the Ottoman delegate during the disarmament conference in Hague.
Date: 29 / M / 1315 (AH), File No. 36, File folder No. 85, Fund Code: Y..PRK.AZJ.
Armenian committees and Young Turks jointly will perform a conference in Europe.
Date: 06 / B / 1316 (AH), File No. 44, File folder No: 47, Fund Code: Y..PRK. I ..

[496] For the full text of the speech made by Gaspıralı see: Saray, Mehmet: Gaspıralı İsmail Bey'den Atatürk'e Türk Dünyasında Dil ve Kültür Birliği, İstanbul, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, p.114 ff.

Because it was the most comprehensive and academic meeting of the analyzed period that was held about the Islamic Union, the views of both the meeting and of Gaspıralı Ismail Bey will be summarized here:

Gaspıralı Ismail Bey (1851 - 1914) was a Crimean educator; publisher and politician who attempted to rescue the Asian Turkishness through the newspaper *Tercüman* that was published from 1883 to 1918. Gaspıralı was one of the first Muslim intellectuals who realized that the Turkish Islamic community of the Russian Empire needed educational and cultural reforms and modernization. The publication with the slogan of "unity in language, idea and work" called the Turkish and Muslim population for unity and solidarity.

Gaspıralı, thinking that Christian Western countries would set Islamic countries against each other and that they would morally and financially exploit Islamic states, hoped to put an end to these or at least to decrease this unfair exploitation by an association to be established between Muslims. According to him, first of all this union among Muslims would be the beneficial for Turkey and Turks. (Turgut, 1995: 56)

Gaspıralı Ismail Bey was complaining about the financial backwardness of the Muslims, while on the other hand, he also blamed Muslims for this:

"From Kazan in the North, to Egypt next-door, from Morocco in Maghreb, to Java in the East, if inspected piece by piece (nazar-ı teftisle), works of fall in peoples of Islam will become visible. Madrasas and schools are dilapidated and in useless form. Acquisition of local industry has either stopped, or it was on its way. Tradesmen are vanishing. Our share in the worlds of trade remained very low. As in matters of expenses, we do not have anywhere to go, we are also unaware of the sea trade. A nation of three hundred million has not even a sea company with thirty ferries, or a bank with a five million capital. "

"Because Russia has been interfering the society of its Muslims since four centuries, my observations during my travels from Bukhara to Algeria were saddening me on one side, and they made me hopeful on the other. The state that at first caught my eye was that Muslims in any climate (geography) and under all kinds of methods were falling to a certain degree behind and short. Movement and progression of some nations such as Armenians and Jews against the worst effects of administration was seen even under the most brutal and the most despotic regime. It is Muslims who are neither austere nor able to benefit from being

subjected to the constitutional and smooth administration since twenty, or thirty years. Although Bulgarians went forty steps forward over thirty years, Muslims of Bulgaria regressed by not thinking of another idea than the idea of emigration. Egypt's Coptics are becoming civilized, while fellahs are still roaming uncovered and barefoot. Algerian Jews are reaching out to France's Finance Ministry, the Algerian Arabs, in contrast, search comfort and bliss only in palm branches and camel toe." (Turgut, 1995: 57)

Ismail Bey asked as bailiff of Islamic Congress the sultan to talk about the congress, yet as this was not possible, he subsequently sent Arabic and Turkish texts of the Congress statutes to the Yıldız Palace. (Turgut, 1995: 58) The Congress per se being an important initiative did not yield the expected results; it has, at least, questioned the state of Muslims and sought remedies, but a consensus for later could be generated. This subject appeared in the Young Turk press as follows:

"Generally, [the fact that] ummah of Muhammad is ignorant and weak for several centuries ... and it wallowing around in poorness and tactlessness [nadani], and the condition of Muslims is primitive and -if you'll excuse the expression- they are even savage people, in comparison to non-Muslim people of our current century, having a high position in terms of sound progress and becoming civilized, started to concern a few dignified and conscious Muslims very much. Yet, the ruin of Muslims in the whole earthly sphere, with an act of congress compound of briliant people... the first idea to have negotiations on the diagnosis and treatment of Islamic public belongs to honorable Ismail Gaspranski Bey. In this case, the proposal of the aforementioned leader [Mir Mumi ileyh] with the great importance that it was worthy of.... and in Egypt, one of the free countries of the world in consequence of being under the majestic wings of England and being escaped from the war of despotism and the damage of the Ottoman dynasty, which is the unbeliever and unconscientiously enemy of the Islamic world, the primary organization and concerns of this congress start to be dealt with. What are the reasons and the remedies for the fall of Muslims?" [497]

[497] Unsigned, General Muslim Congress, ijtihad, page 287, number 4, September 1907, the year 2.

9.7.4. Thoughts of Young Turks on the issue of education

For all the backwardness in science, Young Turks made Abdulhamid responsible as in all other backwardness. If he desired, with the scholars in his subjecthood, he could indeed guarantee a full-scale scientific progress including also other Islamic countries:

"Because Ottoman Sultan held the Caliphate, every wish for public work he would accept as appropriate for the requirements of the century will be also accepted by the Muslims of other countries. And [they] would imitate [his] every act. According to this, in the Islamic countries ***knowledge*** *and* ***sciences*** *can be spread very fast. Due to the increasing power of the Ottoman Empire, it became successful in preserving the rights of the Muslims that are not under its rule. Political assistance can be found in all kinds of dignified guidance.*

As the Ottoman Empire possesses more population, lands and important positions than any other Muslim governments, it has, to a certain degree, also knowledgeable people under its subjecthood. As indicated, the performance of the duty of Muslims' guidance for progress does not coincide with difficulties. He cannot accomplish the task of guiding the work he carried out until now. On the contrary, it has lost it. It inflicted also a loss on the others. His Majesty Abdulhamid Khan favoring seriousness and purity should correspond with all Islamic rulers. Ambassadors should be sent to them; with brotherly treatment, building of their countries and education of their people should be ordered. It should be understood the rat race would end with nothing else as damages." [498]

"However, there is no doubt that in the present century, in which Abdulhamid is spreading his claim of Caliphate to the surrounding world in every way, and all domestic and foreign affairs in Turkey are being corrupted, [World Muslims] would not be of real and political help. The hope for exploiting such impoverished people dependent on the strongest and civilized states for whatever reason it might be arising from not knowing the desires of foreign countries, the power of each one, and circumstances of world events at all. If Caliph Abdulhamid Khan was a wise man and a lover of Islam, with use of various precautions in order to ensure that Muslims who are subject to the foreigners will be the object of allowance as the need of building the required separation of religious knowledge and new education, he

[498] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi (Fundamental Law), No.: 13 Year: 2 pp. 2-3, 11 April 1898 From the Islamic Unity (Ittihad-i Islam) article (Maba 'd and Hitam).

would show serious effort the to teach and to bring prosperity to all the spiritual and political population of Turkey, which according to the press of countries should be religious duty/ presumption and the principle of rise, by abstaining from any movement or behavior causing distrust of foreign governments that are already not interested in Islam. By this way, action and attempt are reasonable."[499]

So, if Abdulhamid encouraged Muslims to education, he would encourage not only his subjects but also Muslims all over the world. Therefore, he should politically contact the European states with a Muslim population on the issue of educational freedom, and introduce them their rights and freedoms. He should, as well, not only claim the honor simply because he is the caliph, but as a requirement of this he should encourage Muslims under his subjecthood and finally all Muslims of the world to develop and progress on knowledge and science:

"In other Islamic governments opening of parliaments of consultation freshly started to increase. Thanks to the national consultation in each constituent of Muslim country would shine and subsequently become intensified and increased. Great benefit could be gained from this. Everyone would understand the interests of Islam. [And everyone] would try to preserve it. In that case the effort would not be a vain. If the sultan would seriously encourage the people of Islam to study sciences and learning, then Muslims in Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, Egypt, India and Cape of Good Hope would take advantage of this before others. Because in the abovementioned countries means of instruction, as well as opinion and press are also free. There are also clever people. Yet, they cannot benefit if there is no agency or a countenance from the side of caliph of Islam. Most of them believe that the new system of education is not suitable for Sharia. The incentive of the caliph would allay this faulty suspicion.

Because the Dutch, Austrian, Russian and French governments have not given the permission to the Muslim people in matters of education and training, by giving up this useless claim, his majesty should submit a political bona fide to the abovementioned governments.

[499] Unsigned, Ehl-i islamla Almanya ve Türkiye (Germany and Turkey with People of Islam), Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 31, pp. 5-6, Year: 2, 6 February 1899.

[The sultan] should also show Muslims how they could preserve and make use of their national rights. He should try to produce similar allowances about the education and complaints of Muslim subjects. A reasonable and possible service can be performed in this way. With comments such as "No, I'm the caliph, those who recognize my spiritual influence are obliged to defend my honor." he would not generate anything but the increase of pressure about the poor and Muslims' remaining ignorant, as well as, the regret afterwards." [500]

"If the imperial government indeed has the intention of serving the Muslims, first of all it should try to progress its own people morally and materially. By damaging its own property, by disdaining its own nation, deceiving inside and outside, it cannot gain anything; it also loses what it has now. Since our government is more superior that every other Muslim governments and also as it holds the caliphate, it is certainly necessary to be a guide for all the Muslims in progressing and civilizing.

As it was written many times that the duties of an imperial government to whatever it /he is faithful, are educating its own people, to civilize, if there is bad moral removing it with wise measures and according to this showing good examples to Muslims of other countries. Ottoman Sultan should absolutely know that he is more powerful than other Muslim rulers only thanks to his own people, that Ottoman people could be a model for the progress of other Muslims, and that the primary augmentation of honor of the people of Islam is not possible other than State of Turkey's pushing forward its own people. If the Ottoman government really considers serving Muslims, it should first attempt to lead its people to spiritual and material progress. Because it cannot gain anything from destroying its own possessions, degradation of its own people or from betraying abroad and at home, it would also lose what it owns. It is absolutely required for our government to be more powerful than any other Islamic government and having the caliphate its hands should guide all Muslims to the imperial way of progress and civilization. Yet, now there is not even that. There is only a vain issue of honor. As for that it is violating Islamic affairs." [501]

[500] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 13 Year: 2 pp. 2-3, 11 April 1898, from the Islamic Unity article Maba' d ve Hitam)
[501] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 13 Year: 2 pp. 2-3, 11 April 1898, from the Islamic Unity article -(Maba' d ve Hitam)

If Abdulhamid II did not revive the educational institutions, construct and repair schools, as well as ban the press, the Islamic nation would be on the path of civilization towards progress and wealth:

"Since the time of your accession to the throne you should have preferred the method of circular letters for villages, for the study of Sharia, built, destroyed and crumbling madrasas and in order to revive Islamic madrasas, you should have added Turkish and Arabic literature, history, geography, natural and mathematical sciences to the regularly taught sciences, which would also of help for the students of sciences. And if you had not forbid the independent / free press that proved to have the right of performing the duty of general inspection of every mischief and left it as it was at the beginning of your enthronement…. For eighteen years, the Islamic people would have taken most remote ways to prosperity in terms of civilization and wealth."[502]

Apart from blaming Abdulhamid, and on the one hand, showing him the right path in terms of general development of sciences, another issue that is commonly seen in the Young Turk literature was the building of a common Islamic education, usage of a common language and creation of a common literature.

Accordingly, this common literature would be the voice of a common conscience:

"We are in need of a common Islamic literature and union. The same thoughts should spread to every corner of the Islamic world; it should be the object of discourse and discussion at each center. Due to this common literature people of Islam in Maghreb should know the religious people in the East, and should not be alien to their problems." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 319)

"We also need a common Islamic literature. The same ideas should radiate to every part of the Islamic world and should be the object of conversation and discussion in every center. Through a common literature, a Muslim residing in the West should know the religious men in the East. In order to penetrate ideas of Islamic Unity generally, to the spirits and to gain output, and to write down information that Muslims would be proud of, a new

[502] Hoca Muhiddin, Kanun-i Esasi, Hand-made Copies of the deficiencies presented to the Sultan, No.:1 Year:1, 3 December 1896.

and solid literature should really be created. Returning to the Islamic principles and warning people can only be made by such a work." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 319)

Education is a weapon that can be used at the point of Islamic Unity. Madrasa of Al-Azhar in Cairo has been incorporating for a long time and still embodies every folk and every movement of thought in itself and young people studying here and old men searching for new thoughts are bringing the ideas and theories taught in Al-Azhar to distant parts of the Islamic world. Also, the ideas created in other places are being brought to Cairo, discussed and if needed softened or radicalized through interpretation. (Quoting from Vambery, Türköne, 1993: 96)

Yet, for this, there was primary need for a melioration of general Islamic education[503]*. "Today, there exists a general Islamic education and culture in its full meaning. This education is more or less uniform. The basis of the Islamic nurture is the recitation of Quran. Except the preservation of this principle, the method of teaching everywhere varies a little. Nevertheless, the essence is the same. Yet, one should think of remedies of taking duly the advantage of the existing educational system. It is difficult to create a new sensitivity in the Islamic world with new and totally different methods or citations it is nearly a dream. But reform [of educational system] is easier. More outcomes can be achieved [through this]. The general Islamic education should be reformed with joint forces. Therefore, the advantage of the already existent [structures] should be taken."* (Celal Nuri, 1912: 316)

If the melioration of madrasas is considered, through Islamic cultivation, the inactive students here become able to read, write and account. They become clever and healthy men. And they raise the future [generations]. In this case, within twenty-five years the East will approach the West both materially and mentally." (Celal Nuri, 1912: 317)

Beside this, important scientific solutions such as the determination of a common Islamic education and the establishment of the greatest university of the Islamic world in the Grand Mosque (*Mascid-i Haram*) are thought on the issues concerning the Islamic Unity:

"Common principles of Islamic education should be imposed and remedies for making use of this situation should be found. Around the Great Mosque (Mascid-i Haram)

[503] For detailed information about training policies and reform efforts of the period, see: Bein, Amit: Politics, Military conscription, and Religious Education in the Late Ottoman Empire: the International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 38, No. 2 (May, 2006), pp. 283-301.

the greatest university of the Islamic world should be built. A new Muslim science and understanding, a new Muslim philosophy should rise from the East from Mecca, the East of Islam, and spread to all Islamic horizons. Hejaz should become not only the center of religion but at the same time also the center of science. Jews are trying to turn Jerusalem into a center of education. We should similarly advance Mecca as our greatest scientific, literary and technical center. The most important works should be produced there, the most significant newspaper should be published there, and our most founded societies should meet there. Capitol was the point for unity of the Roman world, while Acropolis was the one for Greekness. Why should Mount Arafat not be the spiritual center of the Islamic world of this century?" (Celal Nuri, 1912: 318)

Here at this point, examples were given about the scholars who were trained in the Islamic World; how today Muslim students are being educated in Western schools, as the reverse case of how once Westerners had been educated in the Islamic schools. Moreover, the circumstances of the students studying in the Oriental schools are further revealed:

"The reason for a language to be the object of general demand is due to the fact that its people have advanced in the imperial way of progress and civilization. The education system and civilization of Islam formerly progressed in such a degree that it aroused the envy of the world, and because it has brought up many quite wise people as well as scholars such as Ghazali, Al-Farabi or Avicenna, the training of the eastern imams decreed also as essential by your other subjects and has obliged Europeans, even the French whose language is world-wide known and admired today, to study in Andalusian universities.

The aforementioned question is similar to the one below; how many students were there in the Oriental language schools in UK between 1895 and 1897? Russian emperor, after having appointed numerous special oriental language teachers, is placing the students he has educated in the civil service, military and navy departments. The German government complained about many oriental letters in Berlin. Even Austria has launched several schools in Vienna. Also France has built a particular school in Paris and called it Special School for Oriental Languages. Great Powers have reported that in order to confirm their sovereignty over 300 million oriental subjects and to consolidate their commerce in the East, they had to give importance to this issue in their operations and attempts more than other countries.

In the aforementioned statement it becomes obvious that how much importance the study of oriental languages have for the Great Powers."[504]

For the realization of all these ideas, the hostilities should be given up and rather than people, ideas and their application should be given more weight: *"We should expect the melioration of our domestic affairs not from people, but from the application of the Islamic ideas in a regular manner."* (İttihad-ı İslam, No.: 1, 3)

In conclusion, in order for the Muslim states to get rid of the existing condition and to proceed, education was necessary; it was even better to have a common education; and it was also essential to carry out its construction and implication in İstanbul, which was being claimed to be the center of the caliphate. This progression was mostly necessary for the Ottoman State:

"It is regarded as necessary that the beginning of Islamic development as a result of reason and transmission should be in Turkey. If Muslims progress in education, they can better appreciate the difficulties of a legitimate caliphate. It is obvious that if no advantage is taken from what is known, no advantage can be taken from the unknown at all. Getting along with the states whose political aims are not in opposition with the continuance and progress of Turkey, being means of Islamic honor /pride is a wise policy serving Ottoman interests and then also a benefit for Islam." [505]

Finally, despite all critiques, in every part of the Ottoman Empire, junior high schools (*rüşdiye*) had been established until the Young Turk period. Such that, through the end of the Empire, even only in the areas within the lands of today's Syria and Iraq there were 570 Ottoman state schools in which 28400 students at the primary stage and 2100 students at the secondary stage could be educated and most of these students were going to İstanbul for a higher education. Modest village schools were leaving good impressions on the travelers who saw that also girls were being educated there. (Deringil, 2007: 141)

And interestingly enough, after 1908, as the Young Turks came to power, they were able to add only very little to the educational system applied by the obscurantist Sultan whom they had dethroned. (Karpat, 2005: 184)

[504] Atik Sami Basir, elsünniy-i Şarkıyye (Orientalism), Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 13, Year 2, p. 3, 12 April 1898
[505] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, No.: 13 Year: 2 pp. 2-3, 11 April 1898, from the Islamic Unity article (-Maba' d ve Hitam)

9.8. Islamic Publications

"I have started the sermon with a newspaper
It is the basic way to warn people
Publication is, for the civilized people
The highest platform, yet alas,
The abiding newspaper published in various names,
Spreads seeds of separation amply to the country.
Its land is quite fertile for raising dogs."
Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Süleymaniye Kürsüsünde

9.8.1. Abdülhamid II's Press

The press organs that Abdülhamid II supported served to him by advising their readers the loyalty towards the Sultan who was the caliph of the Muslims all over the world. Due to the facts that press was able to reach the large masses, having moderate tone and being in enormous financial difficulties, it was easily bribable. This also offered a propaganda advantage. Nevertheless, it had a significant disadvantage in terms of propaganda as well. This was the fact that Islamic newspapers and journals were understandable only by the masses they were addressing to and were published in many different languages. This meant a huge financial source which was not always possible to be provided. In this way, the Sultan's Pan-Islamic propaganda began to be developed by supporting and financializing the press which had greater influence.

One of these newspapers was the Malumat newspaper, which was published first in 1897 in İstanbul, by Mehmet Tahir. Malumat, which was subsidized by the government, was sold at a quite cheap price, and it was even exported to the countries it was banned through illegal ways. The newspaper had designated a bi-directional way from the beginning: on the one hand it was trying to convince the European States that Islamic Unity was only a spiritual issue and it was not related to political fanaticism, and they were encouraging Muslims to unite against European powers, to trust their protector and caliph Abdülhamid II and to work for the victory of crescent over the cross and paganism.

Most of such propaganda activities tended towards the press organs that were publishing in foreign languages. At this point, it could be said that the main purpose was to

influence Muslims who were unreliable in terms of their attitudes towards Pan-Islamism and whose loyalty to the Sultan /caliph was not much apparent. For instance, the Urdu newspaper called Peyk-i İslam, which was published in Turkish and Urdu, started to be published in İstanbul in 1881 with celebrations and to be distributed in India.

On the other hand, since the Muslims living in the territories of European powers and the Arab Muslims residing within the borders of the Empire became more of an issue, in Arab press organs Pan-Islamic propaganda materials took place with an attentive journalism work. Al-Jawa'ib provides a good example for this situation. This weekly Arab newspaper which was being published since 1860 in İstanbul and was officially making publications in favor of government policies was being subsidized beginning from 1881. This newspaper was almost the pioneer of the written Pan-Islamic propaganda in the Arab provinces of the Empire such as Syria and North Africa countries, since 1887 or even earlier. Al-Jawa'ib was making such an unconcerned propaganda of Pan-Islamism that the newspaper was periodically banned in India by the English and in North Africa by French. The newspaper which had a political approach, was constantly calling its Muslim readers all over the world to the leadership of the Sultan and to the union in the Muslim regions. Indeed, when there were attacks to Muslim territories, the weekly newspaper was calling all Muslims to unite with more strict and direct statements. The newspapers and brochures that were being published in Abdülhamid II's palace and distributed in Paris and London had a common characteristic: While emphasizing Pan-Islamism's character against violence on the one hand, they were implicitly warning about the power of united Islam. (Landau, 2002: 133)

9.8.2. Abdülhamid II and censorship

In Abdülhamid II's time, like press, publishing was also mobilized in favor of the caliphate. For instance, in history books, the greatest Sultan was given Yavuz Sultan Selim despite his short reign (1512-1520), instead of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. The reason for this was the fact that he conquered the Arab provinces, expanded the Ottoman hegemony towards Holy Lands, Sunni Islam gained victory over Shi'ism thanks to him and finally he took over the caliphate from the Abbasid caliph.[506]

[506] In this period, mostly books on ethichs were published; and in these, the issue of obedience was deeply examined. Instead of the idea of obedience, with the laws emerged with Tanzimat, obedience to God, Prophet and the caliph was introduced once again.

Since the Sultan was completely informed about the curriculum of the public schools and the content of the courses and he also controlled the printing of the textbooks, only the textbooks which were able to obtain license could be printed. Moreover, it was a difficult process to license these books. For instance, in the two-page long list which was included in the third and last volume of the Ottoman Turkish dictionary of Ali Seydi which is called Resimli Kamus-i Osmani, there are sixty words with their definitions which would be removed from the text by the censorship of Abdülhamid II for political and ideological reasons. (Georgeon, 2007: 191)[507] These words had three characteristics; first, except for a few exceptions, the words had political and ideological connotations. Second, the words which were unfamiliar to Ottoman Turkish had a significant portion (more than half)[508]; most of them were French-rooted. Third, many words among them had the suffixes of –ism or –ist. (Georgeon, 2007: 193)

In this period, places and institutions were under control just like publications. In this context, Ottoman capital city had been divided into twenty-one regions; each region was under the control of a head spy. A document on the spies in the Young Turk period gives the list of the places that were kept a close watch on; except for the Yıldız Palace which was seen as a kind of spy home, the palaces of various princes, military schools, madrasas, dervish lodges were included in the list, particularly the lodges of Mevlevi dervishes were under strict control, since Abdülhamid II's brother crown prince Reşad was also Mevlevi. (Georgeon, 2012: 219)

[507] Arsenik (arsenic), aksülümen (corrosive sublimate), anarşi (anarchy), ihtilal (revolution), irtica (reactionism), irtiyab (suspicion), ispiritizm (necromancy), istibdad (despotism), infilak (explosion), inkıraz (decline), inkilâb (reform), obstraksiyon (obstructiveness), oligarşi (oligarchy), ballı baba, bomba (bomb), parlamentarizm (parliamentarism), parlamento (parliament), panelenizm (Pan-Helenism), Pan-Turkism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Islamism, psikolociya (psychology), teevüh (complaining), tenkil (banishment), cemiyet (community), cumhur (public), cumhuriyet (republic), hürriyet (liberty), hürriyet-i vicdaniye (liberty of consccience), hatt-ı sünbüli (calligraphy), hafiye (secret poliçe), hal (dethronment), humbara (bomb), darvinizm (darwinism), demokrat (democrat), demokrasi (democracy), disiplin (discipline), diktatör (dicatator), dinamit (dynamite), radikal (radical), randevu (appointment), zehir (poison), sansör (censor), sansür (censor), sosyalizm (socialism), şura-yı devlet (state council), şura-yı ümmet (national council), isyan (rebellion), avam (common people), klik (fraction), klerikal (clerical), konservatör (conservative), me'bız (hamstring), meclis-i ayan (senate), meclis-i umumi (parliament), mutlakıyet (absolutism), müfteris (predatory), memorandum (memorandum), nihilist (nihilist), veto (veto). In the new foreword that was written for new edition in 1914, the author presented this list as a work of Tedkik Müellefat Encümen (The censor organ right next to Ministry of Education). In Abdülhamid II's period all these publications were subjected to the approval of that council – there was a special organ for the religious books. The dictionary of Ali Seydi was also examined by this council. Since the author had been reported by the spies and banished to Baghdad for many years, it was not hard to imagine that the censor organ would be especially attentive when reading Resimli Kamus-ı Osmani (Illustrated Dictionary of Ottoman Turkish). After this organ extracted almost fifty words, the dictionary (according to inscription in the book) got the official permission on 27 September 1905.

[508] In this period, fort he first time, the textbooks of educational institutions in different levels and areas, were published in Ottoman Turkish.

Spies should be regarded as four different groups, rather than a one organization. The first group was the palace officers who conveyed the spy reports directly to Abdülhamid II. The second group was composed of the professional spies who were assigned with the duty of spying in Istanbul and in provinces. Later follow the statesmen and officers who turned towards whistleblowing with the hope of receiving a reward in addition to their salaries in return of the reports that they would send to the palace. The last group on the other hand, the bodyguard-like *avanes* who were in the service of significant people; these gangs which were called as Faik Pasha avanesi, İzzet Pasha avanesi, Ebülhüda avanesi, beyond whistleblowing, were able to intervene in suspicious people. Indeed, there was another group of spies: The ordinary man who did not abstain from reporting others so as to receive a small award. All in all, everyone had the potential to turn a spy.

Another function of the system which provided the Sultan with intelligence was keeping people in worriment and to make the power of the "secret Sultan" influential everywhere. Therefore, at the end most of the people who served to state lived in worriment. For instance, a governor who set off to his place of duty in Jerusalem stopped by İzmir; under normal circumstances it was required to visit the governor of that province as well, but that man was an old disgraced grand vizier, it could have been dangerous if he met the governor, he could have been reported… Another time the same governor on the way of Yemen needed to stop over in Port Said. During his stop he did not want to get off the ship and go ashore with the fear of coming across one the Young Turks there, and seen by someone while having a conversation with a Young Turk and being reported. (Georgeon, 2012: 200)

Particularly after 1900, the pressure on the intellectual life increased. The well-known journal Servet-i Fünun was closed because of a simple article which was mentioning about the French Revolution and commented as the censor's provocations for rebellion. In this period, the notifications and closing sentences towards newspapers increased for four times. Both censor and self-censor reached its peak. The newspapers made a list of the words and phrases that should have been abstained from in order not to be censored. (Georgeon, 2012: 532)

An example on this issue will summarize the situation chronologically. Between editions of the dictionary Kamûs-ı Fransevi: French- Turkish Dictionary of the Albanian rooted dictionary writer Şemseddin Sami, this famous dictionary had been used by the all

young Ottomans learning French at school, there were many differences in that respect. It seems like the first edition which was published in 1882 was not censored at all: The "sensitive" terms such as "anarchy", "communism", "democracy" and "republic" were all included with their definitions. These terms did not take place in the second edition published in 1898, but still it was possible to find many words from the political vocabulary: such as "tyrant", "independence", "constitution", "parliament", "revolution", "socialism" and "terrorism". Yet, in the last editions published in 1901 and 1905, none of these were included. The definition of "revolution" was only given as astronomic, and "tyrant" only as a bird in America. Apart from the language, censor also affected the books. In an interesting catalogue from 1902, a list was made which compiled the literary works that were banned to enter to the Empire and to be distributed. Within this almost a hundred pages long catalogue, there were around three hundred and fifty entries. Among the Turkish works, besides the books belonging to Namık Kemal and New Ottomans and all Young Turk publications, not surprisingly, took place. Among the foreign entries, there were some Russian works about Karl Marx, socialism and social-democracy which were published by Russian migrants. Nevertheless, the largest portion belonged to French books: Almost half of the banned books were concerning the evidences on Islam and the Ottoman Empire, Prophet Mohammed, crusades and European colonies within the Islamic world. Even Lamartine's L'Histoire de la Turquie was also banned, which indeed praises the Ottomans so much that Sultan Abdülmecid gave the author an enormous land in the Aegean region for his work. The regime, apparently did not want anything to be published on Islam and the Empire beyond its knowledge. (Georgeon, 2012: 533)

To sum up;

1. Many newspapers, booklets and books were not permitted to be published. The works which were permitted on the other hand could get the possibility of being published only under strict controls, with rigid rules and censors.

2. In terms of religious books, during publishing, some words, expressions and chapters were extracted from some Islamic law, hadith and books outlining the doctrines of a religious faith. For instance, from *Sahih-i Buhari*, the hadiths on the Quraysh origin of the caliphate, and from *Kitabu'l Mevafik*, the requirements for the caliphate were extracted. Moreover, as the term "hulu" which meant women's divorcing with paying

a price was written in the same way as "hal", meaning leaving, and it reminded "nahle'u hal" in Kunut prayer, and the hadith in the meaning of "travel and be healthy" evoked escaping to Europe, these words and texts were extracted from books.

3. Many books including catechism books, which were regarded as "detrimental" were collected, and the owners were punished. "Therefore, poor educated men had to burn the precious books themselves or bury them underground or in cellars. Only in Syria almost ten thousand old new books were destroyed within a year." (Kara, 2001: 136-7)

4. Banned, collected and not revised books (rumor has it for one hundred and twenty boxes) were burned for one week in the furnaces of Çemberlitaş bathhouse and in another one that was built especially for this.[509] (Kara, 2001: 138)

Nevertheless, this censor, oppression and tight control were used as serious evidences for Abdülhamid II's dethronement, and his reasonable sensitiveness for the religious books turned to the justification for his deposition. In Abdülhamid II's fatwa of dethronement, his greatest crime "Extracting significant issues of Islamic law, from the books of Islamic law and banning and burning aforementioned books" are mentioned in the text frequently.

The basic justification provided for Abdülhamid II's dethronement was as follows: "In case a man get some significant issues extracted from the holy books and leads them to be banned or burned[510]…" Here, the attempt of monopolizing Quran and banning the import from non-Ottoman Muslim territories are being referred.[511] Certainly here, it is ironic that a

[509] Since it was not possible to destroy Quran, even if there were "fallacious" editions, there were wide-ranging discussions on what to do with them. In the fatwa of Abdülhamid II's dethronment, his order for burning Qurans which included some parts against the official belief, was given as a reason for his dethronment. Despite the Sultan's dethronment, the Young Turk regime continued to "reviewing" Qurans and after 1909, it established "the inspectorship of the publishing of Quran and juridical books". This implementation even continues today. It is compulsory to get the approval of Directorate of Religious Affairs before releasing an edition of Quran. (Deringil, 2007: 77)

[510] There is no certain information on whether the confiscated Quran editions were indeed burned or not. (Deringil, 2007: 219)

[511] It is true that the obsession on foreign plots around Quran had reached to a degree of naivete. At this point, the palace even ordered the Ambassy in Stockhol to buy all the editions of Quran they could find in Sweeden and Norway "since it was not permissible for an infidel to own a Quran". In a very distressed tone the ambassador was saying that "selling only editions of Quran was not possible, there were found in the rare books collection of the public libraries". He was also adding that "the fact that the public opinion there was not very positive towards the Ottoman State, made the situation more gentle".

precaution that Abdülhamid II believed it to reiterate the orthodoxy and consolidate his caliphate was used as the main blame against him.[512] (Deringil, 2007: 219)

9.8.3. Young Turk press and Islamic publications

Certainly, Young Turks raised serious and various objections to the new publications and censors. In the articles which emphasized the importance of the press and addressed our backwardness on this issue, they told that if publication had developed, all Muslims were going to be informed about each other, they were going to be able to tell their situations to others, and they also claimed that Abdülhamid II took advantage of this for hiding the murders he committed.

"The press is among the greatest powers of the twentieth century. The newspapers, publications, in short this helpful means penetrated into Muslims quite late. Today Islam's poor conditions as if it cannot surpass the middle ages stem from the deprivation of this publications and newspapers which has talent and power. Today, the countries settled by Muslims, except for Egypt, are deprived of the independent newspapers which would announce the news and enlighten people's thoughts. Today in Morocco, if there were newspapers which tell the truth with the language people understand, tell the situation in Europe and requirements of the time, Morocco, the miserable Muslim state, would not be in such a complicated situation.

Do the Muslims in India and China know the situation of the Ottoman Empire or how a betrayer is destroying Islam with the title of caliphate? Alas! There is no need to go to India and China to show the misery that the deprivation of the press and newspapers has created. By any chance, do the people in Konya, Kastamonu, and even in İstanbul slightly know about the incidents take place in our provinces in Europe that are called Macedonia, and also the reactions of Europe to them and their political arrangements? Because of this ignorance and not having honorable and independent journalists we are perishing. If our newspaper enjoyed independence as much as during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, would

[512] The second accusation towards the Sultan was "killing subjects illegitimately according to Sharia, imprisoning and banishing them". This was a clear referance to Midhat Pasha's banishment and execution. In other words, the execution of a grand vizier who was once accused, now became an element of crime. There could not be a clearer manifestation of a change in the tacit knowledge which was ruling the Ottoman state tradition. Another aspect of the same change was the inclusion of a national council to a fatwa. (Deringil, 2007: 219)

people not kill rightly those who get two thousands of soldiers killed in Yemen because of starvation?

The people of Anatolia, who are unaware of the fact that after the Ottoman army won the war against Greeks Abdülhamid II gave Crete to Greeks and this "perfect gift" of him, were writing to their soldier sons and brothers in the island after a year that Crete was lost. Can we not say that the whole Ottoman State is being ruined due to not having the press? It is the virtuous and independent newspapers which will confirm the brotherhood among Muslims and enlighten Islam with the attainments and progress of our time."[513]

In these articles it was told that despite everything The Committee of Union and Progress had remarkable independent publications:

"First of all, the purpose for the establishment of the Committee is to inform people about the independence level of the countries, and this can only happen through the press. In Paris there are Mizan and Meşveret (in French), in London there is Hürriyet, in Geneva Hakikat and Egypt Kanun-i Esasi are the respectable thoughts of people which write the truths. Moreover, the booklets published in opposing languages inside or outside are not included in them. Second, the community's branch offices inside and outside have been organized and the number of community's people has dramatically increased. The branches abroad: London, Paris, Geneva, Egypt, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, and there are also active agents in Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia and other places. The branches here are already known. Third, as the publications of our community have gained a respectable position in both European press and the intellectual circles of our country, also they are also promised to be morally helped by the creditable men who are influential in politics.[514]

Certainly, these publications were not adequate; also the publishing and distribution were prevented in various ways. As in all other issues, the main reason of the troubles at this point was Sultan Abdulhamid II, who was also blamed for ruining education, burning books and banning some significant Islamic works:

"Education has come to an end. Publications decreased. The terms like nation, country, patriotism, despotism, revolution, and law… were extracted from books. The dates

[513] Unsigned, Şura-yı Ümmet, 15 February 1907, No: 109, p. 1.
[514] Memalik-i Osmaniye'de ta'mim(genelleştirme)-i cehalet, Selami, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1, No: 1 p. 6, 21 December 1896.

have been altered. Calling mad and guardian has been prohibited. Among the other states, eighteen year-old Bulgaria has university, academia, science, medical communities. In their country, only as big as one of our provinces, several hundreds of newspapers are being published. Do we have these? Do we have even the imitations? Do we have a national newspaper? In order to create them we again say (God shall make people experts).”[515]

“These conditions bring about sadness and anger in Muslim people. Have you ever heard a Sultan who ordered the books on Islamic law to be collected? Madrasas have no difference from the animal shelter in terms of destruction. Travelers come and see. At least be ashamed of the foreigners!”[516]

“Two months ago, a strict order has been issued by the chief clerk of the distrustful Sultan according to which the book of the prophet that our descendant used to read with submission and willingly and our mothers listened lamentingly and with a religious clemency, will not be published again, and also the already existing ones will be destroyed. This arbitrariness has also been also announced to the education directors in all the provinces.”[517]

The main objection to Abdülhamid II was against his love of Arabic. The quotation below belonging Hüseyin Cahit, who was the pioneer of the articles that had the characteristic of a War Manifesto against Arabism, portrays this reaction:

“…Back then there was a powerful Arabism fashion in our publications. Yet, will you write everything in Turkish? You have to learn Arabic. Will you learn our religion? You will read books in Arabic, and you will learn it from the Arabs. These thoughts created a revolt inside me. Right next to us, there is the Western civilization which keeps the whole civilization for itself; living, freedom, culture, art and prosperity are all there… We, on the other hand are living in this ruins and wane, just like being imprisoned within Chinese walls… We were going to close our eyes, ears and souls to the lights, voices and flows of civilization. Civilization? Arabs created it! Sciences? In the books of Arabs! Life? We have it! Ethics, virtue? We have them abundantly!... Yet, even if all these were true, what advantage

[515] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1 No:2 28 December 1896, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arızadan Maba'd
[516] Unsigned, Kanun-i Esasi, Year: 1 No:2 28 December 1896, Zat-ı Şahane'ye Takdim Kılınan Arızadan Maba'd
[517] Unsigned, İstanbuldan, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 16, 7 June 1898, Year: 2, p. 3

did the Arab civilization and sciences have?... This Eastern culture, Islamic civilization, claims on Arabic sciences were all being repeated in every article to benumb us and preventing us from joining to the pace of life. Besides the black, thick ignorance that fell in on people, we were in a double ignorance of praising our situation and disparaging Europe." (Quoting from Hüseyin Cahit, Berkes, 1988: 377)

"As the trousers we wear come from Europe, our literature as well will come from there… In case all history books of Arabs are translated into our language, we still need to appeal to Europe. Ibn Haldun's philosophy of history belongs to the childhood period of the science of history. Since then the child grew up; it became a young man in Germany; even got old; no the poor even died! The new science of history will come to us from Europe, not from the Arabs. Today the history of Arabic science can teach us only one thing: the level of the history knowledge back then. The articles written on what Arabic sciences have taught us have taught me only one thing: We got rid of the Arabic civilization forever! If our gratitude to Arabic civilization is for those Arabic sciences, certainly we can get rid of it. Before today's astronomy tools, machines, military methods and techniques, geographical explorations, developments in medical sciences… The poor sciences of Arabs would be like kids play… If we are worthy of the fourteenth century of Islam, we shall leave these Arabic books and embrace the modern books which will fill our brains with the science and techniques of our time. (Quoting from Hüseyin Cahit, Berkes, 1988: 378)

Nevertheless, the most interesting issue on the press is an article in which Young Turks criticized their own publications and their difficult language and admitting their mistake in ignoring people by whom they needed to be supported and not criticizing the Sultan any more:

"…About the publications of the New Turks, apart from their contents, we encounter just a few journals of which the language is understandable and this only happened within the last year. Therefore, the works they write only try to awaken the Sultan and the government. The circle they stroll is always around Yıldız. Warning these people is never possible. They would never leave their belief. From my point of view, if they worked on the barelegged people within the country instead of Yıldız from outside, and if they made an effort for their awakening, they would already achieved their objective.

Yet alas, alas for thousand times that five per thousands of Young Turks, who were grown up in an aristocrat life, would not condescend to warning or showing the true path to these barelegged. It does not befit their education.

Mighty Turks, talking, exclaiming and screaming only are not adequate. We need efficiency. Courage, sacrifice and unity are needed. Otherwise, you are here today and tomorrow also; do not expect anything with Abdülhamid II's death. Kill the oppression in Abdülhamid II and around Yıldız so that it shall be not inherited by anyone else after him. Those who would kill him are the villagers Ahmet or Mehmet Aghas to whom you are very far away."[518]

In newspapers, orientalist Islamic works were also mentioned in foreign languages, within the context of Islamic publications:

"Mr. Luzac who got education in London on the publications of Islamic works and his association Luzac & Co, had published two significant works in the past and sent an edition to our executive office, and he won our approval. The title of the first one is "First steps in Muslim Jurisprudence" and the second is "The Miracle of Muhammed", in one of our following issues we would like to mention about them."[519]

Within this context again, in the work written by Halil Halid, "A Study in English Turcophobia"[520], various groups which made propaganda against Turkishness and Islam in England were examined, and it was stated that among them especially journalists, some politicians, Christian ecclesiastics, some Jews who became English played an important role. According to the author, the reason for European powers, who used Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire for their own aims, to choose this state as the target was knowing that the Turks were the most loyal defenders of Islam and also regarding them as the most serious obstacle for spreading their imperialist aims. (Yuva, 2007: 298)

9.8.4. Works on Islamic Unity

As it is seen in every part of this thesis, in this period numerous articles were written on Muslims living in various different parts of the world and Islamic Unity:

[518] Jöntürk muhibb-i hasan Sabri Ayvazof, Rusya inkılab-ı kebiri, genç Türklere, p. 294, No: 5, kanun-i sani 1908, Year: 2
[519] Unsigned, İngilizce matbuat-ı İslamiye, İctihad, p. 24, July 1906 No: 1, Year: 2.
[520] Halil Halid, A Study in English Turcophobia,London,1904

"In most of the Muslim newspapers that are published in the countries other than Turkey, many articles are seen on Islamic Unity which was banned to be used so far."[521]

"In the present century, the idea of Islamic Unity occupied the minds' of many statesmen, scholars and writers. Like deceased Kemal Bey, scholars expressed opinions on this issue. For centuries, this idea has been examined esoterically. Some history and geography professors in schools brought about the 'union of thoughts' by explaining the political ideas of Sultan Selim I and Sokullu. This is because; people tend to criticize the institution of caliphate for not taking up the opportunity of making pilgrimage; to regard Islamic Unity as an easy job and everyone is aware of this and waiting for a sign of caliph to create it. The Arabic booklet written by deceased professor Tahsin Efendi on the Islamic Unity was translated into Persian and Urdu. The politics of Abdülhamid II prevented him from going to Hedjaz and distributing it there. After the Russian War, Sultan Abdülhamid II embraced the caliphate more than every caliph. Nevertheless, he did not use the term of Islamic Unity. He left this term to some newspaper and journal owners who were supporting it outside of the great provinces. They say that bringing deceased Cemaleddin Afgani to İstanbul and gathering many sheiks around him was based on the idea of Islamic Unity…

In Egypt, a bimonthly journal was published with the title of Islamic Unity. It is not known if it still continues. It is said that in that journal the name of the notable treasure counselor Esat Efendi is mentioned. Nevertheless, the journal had no influence, because it is not mentioned anywhere. After all, there is not much possibility for this ide to be thought in Egypt."[522]

Except for this article, it is needed here to mention about a few works on this issue. Abdülaziz Kolcalı's work "The religion Islam in China and Muslims of China" is one of them. This work from 1903, which emerged by adding to the articles published in İkdam newspaper on Muslims in China, gives information on Islamic works in China, general characteristics of Muslims and their demands, Turks of China, Turks of Beijing, the relationship between Chinese rulers and Muslims. (Yuva, 2007: 310-311)

Again in Hasan Tahsin's work of "Islam in China", after China's general geographical and human features were mentioned, the Islamic developments there were told according to

[521] Unsigned, İttihad-ı İslam, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 15, p. 7, 28 April 1898, Year: 2
[522] Unsigned, İttihad-ı İslam yazısının devamı, Kanun-i Esasi, No: 9, Year: 2, p. 3, 15 March 1898.

three provinces. The main theme of the book was on how Islam was established in China. The life styles of the Muslims in these countries, their financial and moral conditions, social positions, in which provinces Islam was influential and in what way, what kind of a civilization they conduced to be created, the Islamic and architectural works in their countries were the main subjects of the book. (Yuva, 2007: 307)

"Travel Book of Ethiopia"[523] of Sadık El-Müeyyed Azimzade was written as a result of his assignment to Ethiopia as ambassador by Abdülhamid II. So, the situation of the Muslims, whose number considerable increased in Ethiopia, could be learnt. Azimzade and his cortege had the chance to see different Muslim land since he used different routes while going and returning. The notes they took during almost three months of travel were told in four hundred and eighty four pages. The author did not confine himself to his notes; he got information from trustworthy and experienced men. The author also acknowledged the maps of the places he passed through after his memoires. In this work, besides places, clothing styles of different people living there, their traditions, living standard, their beliefs, way of speaking etc. were mentioned. In addition, the nature, architectural works, and the history of those places were also narrated. (Yuva, 2007: 308-9)

The most important of such works was written by Abdürreşid İbrahim. His two works called "Islamic world" is about his travels between 1907 and 1910 to Russia, Central Asia, Mongolia, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, Indonesia, India and Hedjaz.

Abdürreşid İbrahim had a distinguished place among the Ottoman intellectuals of the last period and he dedicated his life to the mission of Islamic Unity. Originally he was among Turks of Russia and he made great efforts to put Turks in order in Tsarist Russia. He worked on founding schools, publishing books, being judge and political activities. (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987: V)

Besides many interesting determinations about the places he traveled, Abdürreşid İbrahim provided striking examples on how the Ottoman State was seen in those countries. For instance, he wrote that in a meeting held in Beijing an Indian non-Muslim told that: *"The development of the Ottoman government is an honor for all the Eastern nations. The life of the Ottoman nation is the life of the whole East. The collapse of the Ottomans will be a death*

[523] Sadık el Müeyyed, Habeş Seyahatnâmesi, İkdam Matbaası, 1322(1904), p. 484.

for the all Eastern nations. Therefore, we cordially wish to see the Ottomans in the arena for struggle as soon as possible." (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987: XII-XIII)

What he basically did was to examine the lives of Muslims in different parts of the world and to tell this to the Muslims in the rest of the world. For instance, he saw the places of the Muslim in Asia most of whom were Turks and subjected to an inferior treatment, he observed their life styles, listened to their financial and moral problems and searched for solutions. The conclusion he arrived at was as follows: The material and religious lives of the Muslims living under the Russian and Chinese hegemony were lamentable and deficient. They were under the influence of many superstitions. There was a pleasing part as well: Despite all the oppression they kept their unity and did not leave their religions. With a little effort, they could be awakened and recovered. Abdürreşid İbrahim, who observed the situation of the Muslims in Malesia and India which were English colonies, was claiming that they were facing similar problems. It was obvious that Muslims here mostly fell a victim to their ignorance.

In these travels, Abdürreşid İbrahim tried to give a message to whole Islamic world. A speech he gave among Muslims in Singapore summarizes the common perception: *"If Muslims become true believers; if they work in accordance with the hadiths such as "swearing at Muslims is a sin" and "killing a Muslim is infidelity", Russia not only would not be able to send the two hundred and fifty thousand Muslim soldier in their army on Muslims, but also it would not be able to keep them within their country. Muslims would not take commands in the wars against humanity. England also would not be able to send the Egyptian soldiers on Muslims in Sudan and Indian Muslims to Afghanistan."* (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987: XIV)

Another issue that he emphasized and did not pass over was to stop by the schools and madrasas in every country, every city and even the smallest center of population, to meet with the professors there, to test the students, and to view their program and curriculum. He particularly emphasized this issue in the Muslim towns. As he was aware that Muslims' progress depended on their education, sometimes he stayed in the towns he was passing through and giving lectures. (Abdürreşid İbrahim, 1987: 9)

9.9. Evaluation

Image and propaganda, one of the most important parts of this thesis, has a prominent and distinguished place for the modern times in which Islamic Unity was produced. Abdülhamid II placed the value on image and symbols that they deserved, Young Turks on the other hand criticized heavily the use of those symbols, which they believed to be inutile. Moreover, they portrayed Abdülhamid II as a fraud who deceived people with those images and symbols, which led him to modernization on the one hand and Islamization on the other.

The issue of immigrants, which provided to images and propaganda subject with abundant arguments, has a special significance, because after the land regulations of Berlin Treaty, the percentage of Muslims in the Ottoman territories had increased dramatically and that altered the image all together. Only during the reign of Abdülhamid II, more than two million Muslim immigrants coming from Balkans and Russia settled in the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan turned the issue of immigrants to a personal matter. Although it was an ordinary situation for a Sultan's son, maybe because his mother was Circassian he became more sensitive and he did all he could do to help the immigrants. Such that, he paid for the disbursement of the establishment of large villages himself; he founded mosques and schools to those villages and as a symbol of his devotion to this cause and to dignify his name, many of them were named as "Hamidiye". Indeed, as a result of the migration movements strengthened the Islamic character of the Empire, the cultural diversity and wealth that the immigrants brought, their loyalty and adherence, provided Abdülhamid II's policy of Islamic Unity with a quite qualified and functional apparatus.

Since ceremonies, as a second main topic, were tools that the Sultan used to define himself, they had a great importance for keeping significant clues concerning the character of the Sultan. Within the period of our study, for these purposes ceremonies began to be more widespread, modernized and to be used more effectively. Abdülhamid II extended the appearance and the scope of the rituals that he found politically appropriate. Moreover by turning some obscure rituals into magnificent ceremonies, he strengthened the influence of both himself and the Sunni Hanafi sect which was subjected by most of the Turks. Indeed, together with many other factors, to a large extent Abdülhamid II owed his positive and powerful image to those ceremonies.

The third main topic is pilgrimage. Islam is a social religion and all the five pillars of Islam, but particularly the last two ones, that is to say alms and pilgrimage, are quite social issues. Abdülhamid II did not abstain from using pilgrimage for Islamic Unity, with the booklets he distributed and pilgrimage implementations, he found the opportunity to reach the Muslims of the whole world. Abdülhamid II made a great effort for his generousness to be learnt through the whole pilgrimage route from the smallest villages and towns of Rumelia and Anatolia to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Thousands of Muslims who witnessed such ceremonies during the pilgrimage season, told others what they had seen when they returned their countries and in a way they made the propaganda of the Sultans and the Ottoman Empire. Abdülhamid II also played a significant role in the repair of holy places, which was quite prestigious and politically sensitive, and he also advertised himself.

Another issue on Sultan Abdülhamid II's use of religious elements as a political tool was Hedjaz railways about which he mentioned in his memoirs as his greatest dream. For Sultan Abdülhamid II, railways functioned as telegram, intelligence and for transportation and getting information. In that period it had also a crucial importance as a symbol of modernity. Beyond all these, Hedjaz railways were going to provide the contact among Muslims and also function as a significant tool of the idea of Islamic Unity, which the Sultan regarded as a condition for the state's perpetuity. Besides forming a strong association among hopeless Muslims, the construction of Hedjaz railways also resulted in strengthening of the trust and confidence among each other in general and more privately towards the Ottoman Sultan in İstanbul.

With that project, Abdülhamid II wanted to say the whole world and the world of Islam that "See, how Islam keeps science and religion together in peace and Muslims follow technology very closely". This is because; this was a period that the reason of the Ottoman State's backwardness and defeats was stated as Islam and with that project Abdülhamid II wanted to respond the question of "Is Islam an obstacle for progress?", which had been in discussion.

Religious orders were approached in this thesis as another valuable element for image and propaganda in the policies on Islamic Unity. Indeed, during Abdulhamid II's reign, the religious orders were benefited for establishing and maintaining connections with the other Muslim states, providing social connection within the state and also for creating social

mobilization. In that period dervish lodges were places where social education was provided for Muslim people. According to their dispositions, most people were the members of these dervish lodges. Besides having an absolute authority on their disciples, the sheiks these religious orders had a general power in the whole country through the ramifications of the order. Therefore, Sultan Abdülhamid II supported these dervish lodges, which had a natural structure and were social educational institutions; he took advantage of them in spreading his influence to the most distant places of the state.

The issue of religious scholars (*ulama*), which did not have a monolithic structure and some of whom supported Young Turks, was discussed as another main topic. Indeed, those who remained loyal from the *ulama* were always respected in the palace. When we consider the ceremonies of religious festivities, it is seen that there were not any other group that was more privileged than the *ulama*. Like his predecessors, Abdülhamid II benefited from the professors and especially from the *ulama* in many businesses he attempted, for spreading his implementations to the society and for molding public opinion. Nevertheless, Abdülhamid II was always precautious for religious hierarchies and skeptical about *şeyhülislam* and his fatwas. Therefore, although he was often complaining about the conservatism of the *ulama* who was objecting everything coming from Europe, he did not do much to familiarize them with the outer world and to modernize them.

The issue of education is another area that was full of with symbols. Indeed, from the period of Abdülhamid II, who truly attached great importance to the modernization of education, to the period of Young Turks, junior high schools had been established all over the state. Moderate village schools left a positive impression on the travelers who saw female students here and even by everyone who learned about them through pictures.

As another example, Tribe Schools (Aşiret Mektepleri) were a fundamental issue which served Islamic Unity educationally. The aim in these private educational institutions, to which the children of the members of Arabic and Kurdish tribes were accepted, was to connect these tribes to the state.

Another example on the other hand, could be given regarding the participation to the congresses and conferences. A significant way to be seen as a member of civilized nations was participating in international congresses and the nineteenth century was the age of congresses held in various topics such as protecting wild species, improving the conditions of

visually impaired and word health problems. Therefore, the state in Abdülhamid II's period paid attention to participate in significant or insignificant international conferences; from the Berlin Africa Conference held in 1884 so as to designate the zone of influence in Africa to the conference on protecting the vegetation cover and animal existence in the same continent.

As the last issue, we have discussed the press; because in that period all the activities of the press and publishing were mobilized in favor of Abdülhamid II's policies. In history books for instance, despite his short reign, the greatest Sultan was given as Yavuz Sultan Selim, instead of Kanuni Sultan Suleyman. The reason for this was the fact that he conquered the Arab provinces, extended the Ottoman hegemony to the Holy Lands, Sunni Islam's victory over Shi'ism, and finally taking over the caliphate from the last Abbasid caliph. Since the Sultan was informed about the curriculum of the public schools and contents of the courses and he also controlled the printing of the textbooks, only the licensed textbooks could be published and it was a difficult process to license them, and censorship was imposed very widely.

Although this part of thesis was enriched with the Young Turks' reaction to this image and propaganda, rather we have emphasized how the images were successfully turned propagandas in the hands of Abdülhamid II.

10. CHAPTER

CONCLUSION

If we needed to summarize this thesis in one paragraph and to form one conclusion sentence, it would be befitting to say that there were not considerable differences between the approaches of our actors Abdülhamid II and on the opposite side Young Turks on Islamic Unity; each of these patriotic actors regarded this ideology either as a lifesaver or as a danger that they approached it as a source of social front, solidarity and motivation. It was not possible for the Young Turk movement, which did not have any other concern than overthrowing Abdülhamid II and bringing the constitutional system, to put an Islamic Unity policy or ideology in the center. Although Abdülhamid II put forward the Islamic Unity policy as his most important trump, he rarely acted through this politics. Therefore, although this period was a time that the unity and solidarity among the Muslim countries, which were all troubled and were not even able to help themselves, voiced quite often and aid campaigns were organized from time to time, it did not witness a real Islamic Unity movement neither politically nor ideologically. This was partly because Abdülhamid II was not as powerful, legitimate and independent as the earlier caliphs his intelligentsia and public did not consider Islamic Unity as the main way out and mostly because he did not have power to resist non-Muslim world.

Since this thesis is a study of conceptual history, it is structured to include even those who are not familiar with the period, actors and related titles. Within the late Ottoman historiography most of the studies on Islamic Unity approach the concept as a gun in the hands of the Sultan and emphasize the use of this gun by the state. This study on the other hand, discusses how this concept and its extensions used not only by the rulership, but also by the opposing power Young Turks; within which purposes and contexts it was used; the different uses of the concepts in different periods and places and its positive and negative influences.

Enemies on the same road

In this context, two main subjects came to the forefront in this study: Abdülhamid II and Young Turks. As it was stated above, although they were opposing each other, they cannot be regarded completely disconnected; despite the hostility among these two subjects, there was a relationship based on mutual interest and relatively lenient attitude towards each other. For Young Turks' attaining their objective late, the fact that protecting Abdülhamid II with the fear that the Empire could collapse without a dynasty can be given as a reason. Nevertheless, with reading backward, what made this objective achievable was the fact that Abdülhamid II did not exterminated the movement hoping that Young Turks could save the state by their Turkism in case the state got into trouble in the period of national movements. Indeed, Abdülhamid II's wide spy network infiltrated within Committee of Union and Progress and informed the Sultan about the activities of the Committee in Paris and who were the supporters of it. In the same way, Abdülhamid II knew the names of the all leaders in Thessaloniki branch and although he had the political, military and financial power to eliminate these lodges, he did not do that. (Karpat, 2005: 649) What made possible such a connection among the two main actors was the firm belief they hold about the continuity of the state and their devotion to the country.

Therefore, throughout this study, both subjects were tried to be approached broadly and the term "Young Turk" was used to involve the all reformist and revolutionary political organizations either belonging to nationalist, Ottomanist, or Islamist wings. In the same way, as it is not possible to see Young Turks as a homogeneous group, Union and Progress was not a uniform committee that proceeded on the same line. While it was an organization which was terrified of violence, evolutionary, purely intellectual at the beginning, later on it turned to a completely practical, functional, militarist and revolutionary community. It is possible to divide the Committee of Union and Progress as the first group under French and Anglo-Saxon influence and the second group under German military body. Sometimes the only common attitude of these groups within this heterogeneity was being against Abdülhamid II's regime.

The representative of heterogeneity: newspapers

The Young Turk newspapers, which are the main sources of this study, represented the various fractions among Young Turks with their featured characteristics. All the issues prior to 1908 of Şura-yı Ümmet which can be regarded as an Ottomanist newspaper, besides

giving place the first Turkist articles; Kanun-i Esasi again an Ottomanist newspaper despite its powerful Islamist side; a western sympathizer İçtihad; Mizan which can be seen as a Pan-Islamist newspaper, and İttihad-ı İslam a Pan-Islamist newspaper true to its name, the first four of which were the most long-lived Young Turk journals among 152 other, were studied within the context of Islamic Unity and discussed throughout thesis.

The reason for making use of newspapers in order to feel the pulse of the period was the fact that the late Ottoman intellectuals used them as a tool to promulgate their thoughts and to inform people about the political developments. Apart from this, in terms of society, within the Ottoman state structure, as the first tools for the participation of people into the political system newspapers undertook the spokesmanship of the public. In terms of Islamic Unity, the newspapers which spread the news in the Ottoman State to the Islamic world and the news in the Islamic world to the Ottomans together with the other Muslim countries, hosted the aid applications of the world's Muslims to the Ottoman Sultan on the one hand and the idea of Islamic solidarity on the other. Another significant point here is that Muslim representatives were no longer appealing the Sultan for help behind closed doors, but rather before the public through newspapers. When examining these applications, the pressure of public opinion was placed on the government for the first time. The Islamic world which was known to be a fairytale until then was now before the reader with its whole reality.

New Islamic Unity

On the other hand, although Islam was already immanent for Muslim's unity, ideologising the religion with Islamic Unity was peculiar to that age and it owes its existence in the nineteenth century mostly to orientalist works. Besides this, Young Turks mostly considered Islamic Unity as a way for the Muslims, who felt degraded before Europe, to recover themselves and to be saved from the trouble they were suffering from; to awaken the national conscience and to establish constitutionalism in the places under the Ottoman hegemony. In other words, the policy of Islamic Unity was only meaningful and supported as long as it had a social and cultural content in the context of Islamic brotherhood. Indeed, in their newspapers the offending events in the Muslim countries were mentioned with sadness and they helped the Islamic world to be informed of each other and support others. While providing these, to be actually united against the enemy states and facing with the enemy as the Islamic world were not mentioned. The emphasis on all the Muslim communities should

develop themselves in the countries they lived, regardless of under whose occupation and annexation they were living, was a frequent discourse used by Young Turks who abstained from considering Islamic Unity as an invitation of political unity and who instead suggested praying for each other and providing financial supports.

Such that when Islamic Unity was used politically it was only defined as an ideological movement that was impossible to be implemented. At the same time it was argued that when the equalities in political and legal spheres were abolished, the hostility would increase, arguments on religion and denomination were going to arise, and with many other similar arguments the harms rather than the benefits were brought forward. According to Young Turks who did not believe that Abdülhamid II was truthful in his efforts towards Islamic Unity, even if the Sultan was genuine, he was deprived of the qualifications which would be at the center such a policy.

At that point they were not very wrong because Abdülhamid II's policy of Islamic Unity never had concrete, effective or meaningful examples. Cross-border activities were only mentioned when there were disagreements or tensions between European states for political benefits. For instance, the politics on Islamic Unity which was intensified right before and after the 93' war stagnated during 1880s, in 1890s however, came to the fore once again with Armenian and Greek incidents. As it was argued by some contemporary European statesmen and journalists, within the context of Islamic Unity, neither sending secret agents nor a systematic working aiming at forming military organizations in the Muslim countries were at stake.

Abdülhamid II himself also argued that not the jihad itself but its name was a gun at hand and it should be abstained from mentioning about that gun unless it was indispensable. In this context, there were two aims of Abdülhamid II's policy of Islamic Unity: The first aim was establishing a communication network among Muslim countries by using the institution of caliphate in the international politics and using this as a trump against imperialist European powers. Second aim on the other hand, was intended to create a common identity and unity among Muslim population who were intensifying within domestic politics. The call in this politics was "Islam is in danger", the reason was "Western Christian powers" the solution sought was "gathering around the caliph".

Although this simple formula did not bring about a great political success, it attracted millions of Muslims from different parts of the world who were traditionally conditioned to wait for a savior in times of crisis and disaster and played a significant role especially for developing national identities in the colonized Muslim countries. In this context, it is possible to consider Islamic Unity as a kind of proto-nationalism.

It could be also argued that the solidarity, which was tried to be revived among Muslims, was the engine of the issue of Islamic Unity. Particularly, the fact that many Muslim territories fell under the Christian rule already strengthened the feeling of Muslim brotherhood that Islam naturally set forth, and by asking for help either from the Ottoman government or from each other, Muslims tried to establish a common platform.

Although in that period intellectuals devoted themselves to spread the argument that the East was the birth place of the civilization and continuously blamed European civilization for many weaknesses and double standard, the ruling power of the time was "European civilization" and Islamic world was losing face before this. Under these conditions, it was indispensable to seek for new formulations in the perception of civilization and creating different and local alternatives that were the representation of the desire for re-strengthening or the obligation of changing, in place of the Western civilization which was presented as the expression of power and difference. The discussions of Islamic Unity should be seen as a part of the process of creating alternatives of this situation.

Together with the thought of Islamic Unity, the development and the spread of the idea of world's Muslims' solidarity added value and strength to the institution of caliphate. Only very few of Young Turks believed in the unnecessity of the caliphate and even fewer of them argued about the illegality of the Ottoman caliphate. For most of the Young Turks besides those, caliphate was a significant morale force and the Ottomans were the only holder of this force. Nevertheless, Abdülhamid II was a tyrant who occupied this holy position and played various games so as to impose his occupation upon the world. Unless *ulama* does not designate a real caliph in his place, both *ulama* and people would be responsible before God.

Indeed, the ignorance of people who displayed an unconditional loyalty to Abdülhamid II, was the second greatest problem for Young Turks after Abdülhamid II himself. It is quite apparent in all sources we have exploited that despite the fact that Young Turks at the beginning had the dreams of justice, independence and consultancy, most people

did not support them in this period, and instead of this young and inexperienced generation, they trusted the Sultan and prayed for his safety and the continuity of the state. Although this situation infuriated them, it did not stop them from calling these ignorant people to the true path as they believed it, sometimes with convincing methods and sometimes angrily. In order to console themselves, from time to time it was mentioned in quite Jacobean ways that people then would not understand the reality but in time they could realize it.

A Sultan who knew his people well

On the other hand, contrary to Young Turks who were not very successful in speaking in the language that people understood, Abdülhamid II knew his people very well and spoke well in their language. While Young Turks were presenting Abdülhamid II as a fraud who deceived his people with various ways that sometimes served to modernization and sometimes to Islamization, Abdülhamid II did not stop valuing all the images and symbols that would ensure people's loyalty and love towards him.

For instance, Abdülhamid II made the problem of refugees, more than two million Muslims coming from Russia and the Balkans, a personal issue. Such that, he paid himself for the expenses of the establishment of large villages, constructed mosques and schools in these villages, and as a symbol of his devotion to this cause and so as to honor his name many villages were named as "Hamidiye". Indeed, the migration movements strengthened the Islamic nature of the Ottoman Empire, the cultural diversity and richness that were brought by the refugees, their loyalty and fidelity presented a very qualified and functional resource for Abdülhamid II's policy of Islamic Unity.

In another example, Abdülhamid II expanded the image and scope of the rituals that he found politically appropriate, and by turning some undistinguished rituals into great ceremonies he consolidated the influence of the Sunni Hanafi madhab, to which both himself and most of the Turks belonged, on the public.

He found the opportunity to reach the world's Muslim through the booklets and pilgrimage applications that he distributed during his duty of pilgrimage. Abdülhamid II made a genuine effort to make people learn about his generousness in the whole pilgrimage route, from Thrace and smallest villages of Anatolia to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Thousands of Muslims from different places witnessed these ceremonies that were conducted

during the pilgrimage season, and when they went back to their countries they told others what they had seen and in a way they made the propaganda of the Ottoman State. Abdülhamid II was very attentive about the repair of the holy places, which were politically the most sensitive and prestigious places, and he publicized himself.

The construction of Hedjaz railways, which was the greatest dream of Sultan Abdülhamid II, besides fostering solidarity among the hopeless Muslims, helped to consolidate the trust and reliance among Muslims and specifically towards the Ottoman Sultan in İstanbul.

On the other hand, during the reign of Abdülhamid II, he took advantage of the religious orders in establishing and maintaining connections with other Muslim countries outside, and inside in maintaining social communication and expanding his influence to the farthermost places of the state and in also creating mobilization. Accordingly, in appropriating the applications to people and molding public opinion, in many significant issues he undertook, he benefited from the scholars and particularly from *ulama*.

In Abdülhamid II's period, all the activities of press and publishing were mobilized in favor of caliphate. For example, in history books, the greatest Ottoman Sultan was given as Yavuz Sultan Selim who reigned for a very short time, instead of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. The reason for this, he conquered the Arab provinces, expanded the Ottoman hegemony towards Holy Places, Sunni Islam won over Shi'ism in his time, and finally he took over the caliphate from the last Abbasid caliph. In short, most of thesis is full of examples of how the images very successfully turned to propaganda in Abdülhamid II's hands.

Main conclusion

Although Young Turks, who with Ottomanist thoughts regarded all the subjects as equal and on the other hand embraced western science and lifestyle, mentioned about the idea of Islamic Unity in their works, it is not possible to identify them as a whole with the idea of Islamic Unity. It is not possible because these intellectuals did not believe that a religious ideology could be valid in the age of nationalism. After all, while Young Turk leaders were not very religionist, some of them were completely nonbeliever. It is not possible because an obvious support of Islamic Unity would exclude many non-Muslim Young Turks and would damage the policy of Ottomanism that was still being defended. It

was not possible because despite the fact that Islamic Unity was an ideology that belonged to modern times, it was by no means appropriate to Westernizing thoughts.

Besides this, in the Ottoman perception a good man was someone who could arrive at practical solutions and Young Turks saw themselves as "social doctors" who were responsible for curing the sick state. Therefore, they considered Islamic Unity as an idea to be benefited from time to time and appropriated it so as to save the state, particularly during the time in which the non-Muslim territories were being lost and those remaining were trying hard to leave. Since it was still early for Turkism in this transitional period, in which Ottomanism was not valid anymore, they took advantage of Islamic Unity as a proto-nationalist approach.

Nevertheless, it would be unfair to interpret the fact that western sympathizer Young Turks did not totally rejected Islamic Unity and appropriated it from time to time merely as an example of opportunist real politics. Maybe it is better to discuss it within the context of subconscious attachment and the Young Turks' connection to Islamic Unity should be seen as the manifestation of their self-identification. Such that, they tried to overcome the inferiority they felt before the European civilization which they went and saw and tried to be a part of, by the Islamic civilization that they belonged to. While all their western sympathizer discourses and attitudes bore the traces of the western civilization that they were trying to be a part of, the fact that Young Turks supported Islamic Unity in the context of Muslim brotherhood, even it was with cultural codes, and even they found the Sultan unqualified and insincere, must be the result of their self-identification that they always had in their consciousness contrary to what was on the surface.

If we go back to beginning, where were Young Turks mistaken?

Young Turks were mistaken in many issues. Nevertheless, in a time of troubles in which the country turned to a hot-spot, all the great powers of the world were playing games on it with various aims, maybe what is right is to consider Young Turks as confused intellectuals and bureaucrats who were trying to do something for their countries and so to reinterpret their mistakes, instead of focusing on their mistakes.

They were confused because they could not understand that the institutions they were trying to import from the West were not the cause, rather the consequence of their

development. Therefore, their newspapers were full of the articles that they got angry at people's ignorance. They were so confused that while dethroning Abdülhamid II and bringing the constitutional system were their only common aim, for a very long time they could support the idea of preventing people's, including Ahmet Rıza, whom they regarded as riffraff, to be involved in politics. Within this confusion, the fact that they could not put forward an original theory, political formula or ideology should not be seen as their fault.

Yes, their whole agenda was on abolishing Abdülhamid II's oppression, the constituent or constituents that they were opposing were known very well and they were subjected to serious accusations, and all the impositions on this cause were seen legitimate. Yet, at the point of determining and creating a regime that would be introduced after overthrowing the old system, they did not produced much, at least in the period that we study here. Maybe for this reason, we are provided with rich documents concerning our subject matter, because otherwise all these western sympathy would bring about an orientalist discourse and that would be the opposite of Pan-Islamism, not the confirmation of Pan-Islamism, despite everything.

And then?

After everything was over, 1908 Young Turk revolution was staged and when Young Turks came into power after the Abdülhamid II government, which were continuously accusing, they had an Empire that was shaken by nationalism and they also had the pressure of European imperialism on them. In these conditions, they were not able to internalize neither the constitutionalism nor other reforms just as their predecessors. While they were claiming that they would save the country from oppression, they could not do anything but turning it to a modern dictatorship. The fact that in the following years of the declaration of constitutionalism they first adopted Ottomanism, later Islamic Unity and finally the policy of Turkism demonstrates that they could easily change their political paradigms. We already said at the beginning that they considered every way as legitimate in order to save the country.

When Bayur said "*Very few movements in the world raised such great hopes as the Ottoman constitutionalism and likewise very few movements destroyed the hopes they cherished that quickly and absolutely*." he was right. Indeed, Young Turks who came to power through coup d'état and not with their political skills, tried to balanced their lack of

intellectual and qualified staff with their patriotism, yet the Committee of Union and Progress that they represented turned into a political order in a very short time, in Mizancı Murat's definition. They believed that the only power to save and rule the Ottoman State was The Committee of Union and Progress and as a result of numerous executions they made people hate politics. Finally without experiencing the intellectual change that Sabahattin Bey mentioned about, the idea that there is no difference between the oppression of one person or five hundred people was confirmed by itself.

Besides all these, the thoughts and the way of thinking of the Young Turk generation, who were able to remain in power until 1950, influenced the other generations that followed them, and even today it continues influencing. As a historical consequence, if we set aside Ottomanism, the ideological world of the Turkish intellectuals are still shaped today through theories they put forward and developed, either in the course of western sympathy, Turkism or Islamism.

11. CHAPTER

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11.3. Appendices

Appendix: 1

The Life of Abdülhamid II[524]

1842: Birth. His father Sultan Abdulmecid was 19, his older brother Murad was 2.

1844: His brother Mehmed Reşad was born.

1847: He and his older brother Murad were circumcised; he started Qur'an lessons after a ceremony in Haydarpaşa.

[524] Kırmızı, Abdülhamid II: Sultan II. Abdülhamid II, İmparatorluğun son nefesi, Abdülhamid II, The Last Breath of the Empire, in II. Abdülhamid II, Modernleşme Sürecinde İstanbul, Istanbul during the modernisation process, ed. By Coşkun Yılmaz, İstanbul, 2011, sf. 37-45, İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti .

1853-56: Crimean War

1856: Imperial Reform Decree

1861: His father Sultan Abdulmecid dies

1863: Egyptian journey with his uncle, Sultan Abdulaziz, leaving from Izmir

1867: European journey with his uncle, Sultan Abdulaziz

1875: The Bosnia-Herzegovina Rebellion.

1876: His uncle Abdulaziz is dethroned. His brother Murad V is placed on the throne. War with Greece and Montenegro. Murad V is dethroned, and he ascends the throne himself, promulgating the Kanun-i Esasi (constitutional law).

1877: Ottoman-Russian War. The Hilal-I Ahmer (Red Crescent) Society is established. The sultan moves to Yıldız Palace.

1878: The Edirne Ceasefire is signed, the Meclis-i Mebusan (parliament) is dissolved, the Treaty of San Stefano. The Ali Suavi coup d'etat attempt. Cyprus is handed over to Britain. Berlin Congress.

1879: Justice reforms. The Sheikh Ubeydullah Rebellion.

1880: The Mekteb-i Hukuk (Law School) is opened.

1881: France invades Tunisia. The Muharrem Decree. The establishment of the Duyun-i Umumiye (Public Debt).

1882: Great Britain invades Egypt. The establishment of the Bayezid Library.

1883: The Sanayi-i Nefise (Fine Arts) School and the Beyoğlu Nisa (Emraz-ı Zuhreviye) Hospital are opened.

1884: Midhat Pasha is murdered in Taif.

1885: Eastern Rumelia joins the Bulgarian Principality. Yıldız Mosque is constructed.

1886: He sends a medal to Pasteur, who developed an immunization for rabies, and sends a donation to the Pasteur Institute. The Yıldız Military Hospital is established. The Hınçak Society is established in Genoa.

1887: The Daülkelp Surgery, the third rabies institute in the world, is established. The railway from Paris to Istanbul is opened. Namık Kemal dies.

1889: The first visit from the German emperor. The Dilsiz Mektebi (School for the Mute) is opened. The İttihad-ı Osmani Society is established in the Askeri Tıbbiye (Military Medical School). Ahmed Rıza flees to Paris.

1890: His tutor and chamberlain Osman Bey (whom the area in Istanbul was named after) dies, as does his first grandson Mehmed Efendi. The Taşnak Society is established.

1891: The Hamidiye Troops are established. The Sur-i Hitân-i Humayun (A great celebration that provides the circumcision for 9,656 boys) takes place. The Amalar Mektebi (school for the blind) is opened. Ahmed Vefik Pasha is killed.

1892: The Aşiret Mektebi (tribal school) and the first Telkihhane, which produces immunization for smallpox, is established.

1893: There is an outbreak of cholera in Istanbul. The Hıfzıssıhha (Hygiene) Commission is established. The Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization is established.

1894: There is an earthquake in Istanbul. The Sason Uprising. A bacteriology laboratory is established.

1895: Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, State Chief Secretary Sureyya Pasha and Nazik-eda Başkadınefendi die. The docks at Galata are opened. The Hınçaks demonstrate in front of the Sublime Porte. The first great demonstration of the Young Turks.

1896: The Greek Uprising in Crete. The Taşnaks raid the Ottoman Bank. The *Servet-i Fünûn* (Science Fund) is established. The Darulaceze (poorhouse) is opened.

1897: His daughter Hatice Sultan is born. Military victory against the Greeks. Autonomy for Crete.

1898: His daughter Hatice Sultan dies when she is only eight months old. The second visit of the

German emperor. The Gülhane Tababet-i Askeriye Tatbikat Mektebi (today's GATA military hospital) and the Aşı Dershanesi(immunization school) were opened.

1899: The Hamidiye (Şişli) Etfal Hospital, dedicated to his daughter Hatice Sultan is opened. The concessions for the Baghdad Railway are given to the Germans. The construction of Haydarpaşa Port begins.

1900: Silver Jubilee; construction of the Hijaz Railway begins; the Darulfunun (school of sciences) is opened. The French invade Lesbos. Gazi Osman Pasha dies.

1901: Meetings with Theodor Herzl about Palestine.

1902: The Young Turks meeting in Paris. Huseyin Hilmi Pasha is appointed as General Inspector for Macedonia.

1903: Şazeli Sheikh Zafir dies. The Bulgar Uprising in Macedonia. The Murzteg Reform Program.

1904: Şemseddin Sami and Murad V die. The Yemen Uprising.

1905: The rebels in Yemen capture San'a. There is an assassination attempt during the Friday Procession.

1906: The Akabe-Taba crisis.

1907: The second Young Turks congress in Paris, growth of the İttihat ve Terakki Society.

1908: Meeting of Reval, the Young Turk Revolution, the re-promulgation of the Kanun-I Esasi (constitutional law). Completion of the Hijaz Railway. Independence of Bulgaria, annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovinia by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, annexation of Crete by Greece.

1909: Rifai Sheikh Ebu'l-Huda dies. Incident of 31 March, the Adana Incident, the dethronement of Abdülhamid II and exile to Salonica, ascension of Mehmed Reşad V.

1910: Rebellion in Albania and Yemen.

1911: Fire at the Sublime Porte. The invasion of Tripoli by the Italians.

1912: Italians invade the islands, the Balkan War, Abdülhamid II is transferred to Beylerbeyi Palace. Albania declares independence. Death of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.

1913: Invasion of the Sublime Porte. Mahmud Shevket Pasha is assassinated. 2nd Balkan War, Edirne is reclaimed.

1914: First World War begins. Said Pasha dies.

1915: Sarıkamış, Çanakkale, Armenian relocation.

1916: The Arab rebellions begin. The sheikh-ul- Islam is removed from the cabinet.

1917: Arab lands are lost.

1918: Death of Abdülhamid II, death of Mehmed Reşad V, ascension of Mehmed Vahdeddin VI.

Appendix: 2

YOUNG TURK PERIODICALS [525]

No	Gazetenin Adı (Name)	Naşirin Adı (Owner)	Çıktığı Yer (Place)	Dili (Language)
1	Abdülhamid II	Ali Fuad	Londra	Türkçe
2	Ahali	Ali Fehmi/M. Sabri Kardeşler	Filibe	Türkçe
3	Akbaba	Ahmed Tevfik	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
4	Anadolu	Adanalı Süleyman Vahid	Kahire	Türkçe
5	Arnavutluk	Derviş Hima/Drita Cemiyeti	Roma/Cenevre	Türkçe/Arnavutça
6	Balkan	Mustafa Ragıb	Rusçuk	Türkçe
7	Balkan	Ahmet Zeki/E.Ruhi Balkan	Filibe	Türkçe
8	Basiretü'ş-Sark	Ahmed Reşid	Kahire	Türkçe
9	Beberuhi	Ali Fahri	Cenevre	Türkçe
10	Bedraka-i Selamet	Hilmi	Filibe	Türkçe
11	Le Croissant	Halil Ganem	Paris	Fransızca
12	Le Courrier Des Balkans	-	Sofya	Fransızca
13	Curcuna	M.Ali Hafi Cihanzade	Kahire	Türkçe
14	Cüret	Hilmi Hakkı	Paris/Cenevre	Türkçe

[525] Göçmen, 'Türk Basını', *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, c.14, s.670-673. Yeşil, Alper: Şurâ-yı Ümmet Gazetesinin (170-220) Ve (140-1/140-122) Sayılarının Sistematik İndeksi-İncelemesi- Seçilmiş Yazıların Çevirisi, Fatih Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul, 2005, s.45-50

15	Davul (Daoul)	Ali Nuri	-	Fransızca
16	Dikkat	Menizade Yusuf Ali Bey	Sofya	Türkçe
17	Dobruca	-	Köstence	Türkçe/Romence
18	Dobruca	Kırımizade Ali Rıza	Köstence	Türkçe/Romence
19	Doğrusöz	Ahmet Kemal Akünal	Kahire	Türkçe
20	Doğruyol	Ubeydullah Efendi	Filibe	Türkçe
21	Chicago Sergisi	Ubeydullah Efendi	Kahire	Türkçe
22	Doğruyol	Ubeydullah Efendi	Kahire	Türkçe
23	Doğruyol	Ebülmukbil Kemal Bey	Köstence	Türkçe
24	Dolap	Abdulhalim Memduh	Folkestone	Türkçe
25	Efkar-ı Umumiye	Mustafa Ragıb	Ruscuk	Türkçe/Bulgarca
26	El-Basira	Necib Melhame	Tunus	Arapça
27	El-Eyyam	-	Londra/New York	Arapça
28	El-Katib	-	Kahire	Arapça
29	Emel	Moralı Hasan Fehmi	Kahire	Türkçe
30	Emel	Müstecib Hacı Fazıl Bey	Köstence	Türkçe/Arapça
31	Emniyet	Emin Tevfik Selanikli Hilmi	Filibe	Türkçe
32	Enin-i Mazlum	Ahrar-ı Osmaniye adına	Kahire	Türkçe
33	Es-Sadaka	-	-	Arapça
34	Ezan	Tunalı Hilmi	Cenevre	Türkçe
35	El-Farik	Ali Ulvi	Kahire	Arapça
36	Feryad	Hocazade Osman Enveri	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
37	Feryad	Mustafa Ragıb	Sofya	Türkçe/Bulgarca
38	Feryad	Ahmet Tevfik	Kahire	Türkçe
39	Frei Osmanische Post	-	Viyana	Almanca
40	Gayret	Hocazade Ali Rıza Paşa	Filibe	Türkçe
41	Gencine-i Hayal	Hilmi Hakkı	Paris	Türkçe
42	Girit	Tunalı Hilmi	Cenevre	Türkçe
43	Hak	Bahriye Yüzbaşısı Rıza	Kahire	Türkçe
44	Hakayık-i Şark	Ahmet Kemal Akunal	Kahire	Türkçe/FransızcaArapça/İngilizce
45	Hakikat	Tarsusizade Münif	Cenevre	Türkçe
46	Hakk-ı Sarih	Salih Cemal	Kahire	Türkçe
47	Hamidiye	Selim Faris (Ahmed Civanpir)	Londra	Türkçe
48	Hamiyet	Hocazade A. Rıza Paşa	Filibe	Türkçe
49	Hareket	İbrahim Temo	Bükreş	Türkçe
50	Haksöz	Mehmed Niyazi	Silistre	Türkçe
51	Hatıra	Ethem Ruhi Balkan	Trablusgard	Türkçe
52	Havatır	Hoca Kadri	Kahire	Türkçe/Arapça
53	Hayal	İsmail Şefik	Paris	Türkçe
54	Hayal	Ali Şefkati	Londra	Türkçe
55	Hilafet	Pircivan Efendi	Londra	Türkçe/Arapça
56	Hilal	Pehlivanoğlu Ahmed	Filibe	Türkçe
57	Hilal	Halil Ganem	Paris	Türkçe
58	Hizmet	Tefvik Nevzat/Emrullah Efendi	Cenevra	Türkçe
59	Hürriyet	Selim Faris	Londra	Türkçe
60	Islah	Ahmet Zeki Bey	Ruscuk	Türkçe
61	Islahat	-	Pire	Türkçe
62	İcma-yı Ümmet	Ahmet Kemal Akünal	Atina	Türkçe
63	İctihad	Abdullah Cevdet	Kahire/Cenevre	Türkçe/Fransızca
64	İncili Çavuş	Köprülüzade Ressam Galip	Paris	Türkçe/Romence
65	İntibah	Ali Riza Muzaffer/Zahrab Ef.	Kahire	Türkçe/
66	İntibah	Şekip Bey	Paris	Türkçe
67	İntikam	Ali Fahri	Cenevre	Türkçe
68	İslamiyet	Hasan Rıza	Pire	Türkçe
69	İstikbal	Ali Şefkati	Cenevre/Napoli	Türkçe
70	İstirdat	Osmanlı İstirdat Cemiyeti	Cenevre	Türkçe

71	İttifak	Yusuf Ali Bey	Sofya	Türkçe
72	İttihad	Cemiyet-i Çerakise	Kahire	Türkçe
73	İttihad-ı Osmani	-	Cenevre	Türkçe
74	La Jeune Turquie	Emir Arslan/Halil Ganem	Paris	Türkçe
75	La Justice	Leon Fehim	Kahire	Fransızca
76	Kanun-ı Esasi	Rodoslu Salih Cemal	Kahire	Türkçe
77	Kıbrıs	Kufizade Asaf Bey	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
78	Kokonoz	Ahmet Tevfik Efendi	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
79	Kukumav	Hayreddin Kaptan	Kahire	Türkçe
80	Kürdistan	Bedirhanpaşazade Abdurrahman	Cenevre/Kahire/Londra	Türkçe/Kürtçe
81	Laklak	Mehmet Fazlı	Kahire	Türkçe
82	Lavara	Avram Galanti	Kahire	Ladino
83	Liberal Ottoman	Lütfi Bey	Paris	Türkçe/Fransızca
84	Mecra-i Efkar	Hocazade Ali Rıza Paşa	Filibe	Türkçe
85	Mecra-i Efkar	İsmail Kemal	Filibe/Ruscuk	Türkçe/Bulgarca
86	Meşveret	Ahmed Rıza	Cenevre/Paris/Brüksel	Türkçe
87	Mechveret	Ahmed Rıza	Paris	Fransızca
88	Mecmua-i Kemal	Ali Kemal	Kahire	Türkçe
89	Menfada	Jön Türk Sürgünleri	Trablusgarb	Türkçe
90	Merhale	Jön Türk Sürgünleri	Trablusgarb	Türkçe
91	Meşrutiyet	Abdülhalim Memduh	-	Türkçe
92	Metanet	Kudsizade Nuri	Girit/Kandiye	Türkçe
93	Mirat-ı Zaman	Ahmed Tevfik	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
94	Mizan	Mizancı Murad Bey	Kahire/Cenevre	Türkçe
95	Mizan-ı Adalet	Leon Fehim	Kahire	Türkçe
96	Moniteur Ottoman	İsmail Kemal/Dr. Lütfi	Paris	Fransızca
97	Musavver Deccal	Jön Türk Sürgünleri	Trablusgarb	Türkçe
98	Muvazene	Ali Fehmi	Cenevre/Varna/Filibe	Türkçe
99	Müdafaa-i Hukuk	A Zeki Bey/Russuk Yaranı Cemiyeti	Ruscuk	Türkçe
100	Nasihat	Hayreddin Kaptan	İskenderiye	Türkçe
101	Neyyir-i Hakikat	Mahmud Soydan	Manastır	Türkçe
102	Osmanlı	Abdullah Cevdet/İshak Sukuti	Kahire/Cenevra/Londra/Folkestone	Türkçe/Fransızca/Arapça/Almanca/İngilizce
103	Osmanlı	Tarsusizade Münif	Kahire	Türkçe
104	Osmanlı	Vatan Kütüphanesi	Atina	Türkçe
105	Pinti	-	Kahire	Türkçe
106	Rağbet	Filibeli Hafız Ahmed	Filibe	Türkçe
107	Saadet	Ahmed Emin	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
108	Sada	Ubeydullah Efendi	Paris/Filibe	Türkçe
109	Sada-yı Millet	İbrahim Temo/Şefik Kadri	Köstence	Türkçe/Ulahça
110	Sada-yı Millet	Leon Fehim	Kahire	Türkçe
111	Sadakat	İbrahim Hakkı	Manchester	Türkçe
112	Sadakat	-	Romanya	Türkçe
113	Sancak	Ahmed Saib Bey	Kahire	Türkçe
114	Sanska Bosna	-	Saraybosna	
115	Sebat	İskender/A. Zeki Bey	Ruscuk	Türkçe
116	Selamet	İsmail Kemal Bey	Folkestone/Atina/Brüksel	Türkçe/Rumca/Arnavutça
117	Serbest Bulgaristan	Necib Nadir Bey	Sofya	Türkçe
118	Seyf-i Hakikat	İhsan Adli/Nuzhet Bey	Pire	Türkçe
119	Şafak	Şafak Cemiyeti	Kahire	Türkçe
120	Şark	Ebulmukbil Kemal Bey	Bükreş	Türkçe

121	Şark	Yörükoğlu İsmail Bey	Sofya	Türkçe/Bulgarca
122	Şark-ı Musavver	Ahmet Kami Bey	Kahire	Türkçe
123	Şark ve Garb	İbrahim Bey	Paris	Türkçe
124	Şura-yı Osmani	Mustafa Nuri/Reşid Rıza	Kahire	Türkçe/Arapça
125	Şura-yı Ümmet	A.Rıza/S.Paşazade Sezai	Kahire/Paris	Türkçe
126	Table	-	Brüksel	Türkçe
127	Takib-i İstikbal	Abdülkerim Hadi	Kahire	Türkçe
128	Tarla	Yusuf Ali Turabi	Sofya	Türkçe
129	Teessüf	Hilmi Hakkı	Paris	Türkçe
130	Temaşa-ı Efkar	Süleyman Fehmi	İslimye	Türkçe
131	Temaşa-ı Esrar	Süleyman Fehmi	İslimye	Türkçe
132	Terakki	Prens Sabahaddin Bey	Kahire/Paris	Türkçe
133	Terceme	Kenan	Palermo	Türkçe
134	Tokmak	Ali Fahri	Cenevre	Türkçe
135	Tuna	Tahir Lütfi	Ruscuk	Türkçe
136	La Turquıe Contemporain	Goergiadis	Paris	Fransızca
137	Türk	Fevzi ve Celal Beyler	Kahire	Türkçe
138	Uhuvvet	Hacı Mehmed Şevki	Ruscuk	Türkçe
139	Vatan	R. Murad	Atina	Türkçe
140	Vatan	Dr. Çerkes Kemal	Cenevre	Türkçe
141	Yeni Fikir	-	İskenderiye	Türkçe
142	Yeni Zaman	Osmanlı Kıraathanesi	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
143	Yıldırım	Rafet Bey	Pire	Türkçe
144	Yıldız	Tarsusizade Münif	Kahire	Türkçe
145	Le Yıldız	Georgiadis	Paris	Türkçe/Fransızca
146	Zaman	Tüccarbaşı Hacı Derviş Efendi	Lefkoşa	Türkçe
147	Zuhuri	Kemal Saadettin Mazlum	Kahire	Türkçe
148	Asr-ı Hamidi	İranlı Muhsin	Kahire	Arapça
149	Ez-Zumar	Şahin El-Hazin	İskenderiye	Arapça
150	El-Fevza	İranlı Muhsin	Kahire	Arapça
151	Es-Siham	Corc İshak Bared	Kahire	Arapça
152	Er-Rakib	-	Rio de Jenario	Arapça

Appendix: 3

The books published in the Ottoman State between 1820 and1908, and their subjects[526]:

Year	Literature	Positive Science	Religion	Administration
1820-39	56	89	59	13
1840-59	217	230	310	55
1860-76	583	583	372	118
1876-1908	2950	3891	1307	946

[526] Source: Orhan Koloğlu, Avrupa Kıskacında Abdülhamid II, İstanbul, 1998, 406.

Appendix: 4

The West's Colonisation of Muslim Lands [527]

Country	*Controlling power*	*Occupation time period*	*Type of colonial rule*	*Notes*
Afghanistan	Britain, Russia, and the US	1839–1919; 1953–89; 2001–present	indirect/ protectorate; occupation; occupation	Britain repeatedly tried to take control of the area occupied by Afghanistan, but never completely succeeded. Independence was declared for last time in 1919, but Soviet involvement began in 1953 at General Mohammed Daud's invite. A full-blown Soviet intervention began in 1980; they left in 1989. The US invaded in 2001.
Albania	Italy/ Germany	1939–44	Occupation	Italy invaded in 1939; Germans replaced them in 1943 after Italian surrender in WWII; Germans left in 1944.
Algeria	France	1830–1962	Direct	Local, non-Jewish population denied French citizenship under French rule.
Armenia	Russia	1916–18	annexed territory	Joined USSR in 1922. Independence gained in 1991.
Azerbaijan	Russia	1828–1918; 1920–91	Occupation	
Bahrain	Britain	1913–71	Protectorate	Prior to 1913, there was a dispute between Britain and the Ottoman empire regarding who properly controlled Bahrain. Britain and the Ottomans signed a treaty in 1913, purportedly recognizing the independence of Bahrain, but declaring that it was to remain under British administration.
Bangladesh (East Pakistan, formally part of India)	Britain	1858–1947	Direct	The idea for a separate nation to house India's Muslim population was formally introduced in 1940. Pakistan was created in 1947 after British rule ended in India. Gained independence from Pakistan in 1971.
Benin (Dahomey)	France	1894–1960	Occupation	Became an overseas territory of France in 1946, then became self-governing in 1958.

[527] http://www.linguistics.routledge.com/books/details/9780415782425/

Borneo (Island of	Netherlands,	1824–1941; 1941–45	Direct	After Indonesia gained independence in 1957, control of Borneo was
Kalamatan in	Britain, Japan			divided between Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei, who all currently
Malay archipelago)				share control.
				(*Continued Overleaf*)

Table 1.1 Continued.

Country	***Controlling power***	***Occupation time period***	***Type of colonial rule***	***Notes***
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Austria–Hungary, etc. 1908–45		occupation	The geographical area comprising Bosnia and Herzegovina was annexed to Austria–Hungary in 1908. In 1918 it became part of the Serb, Croat, Slovene Kingdom. In 1941 it was annexed to the Croatian state and it became part of Yugoslavia in 1945.
Brunei	Britain	1888–1984	protectorate	Occupied by Japan from 1941 to 1945. In 1963, it decided to remain a British dependency instead of joining the Malaysian Federation. A written constitution first produced in 1959 declared Islam the state religion.
Burkina Faso	France	1896–1960	protectorate	Formerly Upper Volta, it was divided between Côte d'Ivoire and French Sudan in 1932. Upper Volta was established as a separate territory in 1947 and in 1958 it became an autonomous republic within the French Community. It became Burkina Faso in 1984.
Burma (Myanmar)	Britain	1852–1948	direct	The Arakan coastal strip was ceded to British India after the Anglo-Burmese war (1824–26) and, in 1852, it was annexed as a part of British India. In 1937 Burma was separated from British India and made it its own colony. The Japanese occupied the area from 1942 to 1945, but the British liberated Burma in 1945.

Cameroon	Portuguese; Netherlands; Germany; Britain and France; Britain	1520–1600s; 1600s–1884; 1884–1916; 1916–60	direct/slave trade; slave trade; protectorate; occupation/ administration	This area was divided into French and British "administration Zones" in 1919. The League of Nations conferred mandates to Britain and France in 1922, which were subsequently renewed by the UN as "trusteeships." Self-government was granted in 1958. Southern Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon unified in 1961; Northern Cameroon joined Nigeria.
Celebes (Indonesia)	Netherlands			This island is one of the four Greater Sunda Islands, Indonesia.

Chad	France	1913–60	direct	Sudanese "adventurer" Rabih al Zubayr ruled from 1883 to 1893. France took control in 1900 and the area became an official French colony in 1913. In 1946 it became an overseas territory.
China	n/a	n/a	n/a	None.
Comoros	France	1886–1961	protectorate	Located off the eastern coast of Africa in Indian Ocean. In 1947, it became an "overseas territory" and was given representation in French Parliament. The Comoros were given autonomy in 1961 and they declared independence in 1975.
Côte d'Ivoire	France	1842–93; 1893–1960	protectorate; direct	This country became part of the French Federation of West Africa in 1904. In 1958 it became a republic within the French Community.
Cyprus	Britain; Turkey and Greece	1914–60; 1960–present	direct; occupation	Ruled by the Ottomans from 1600s to 1914.
Djibouti	France	1888–1977	direct; indirect	Islam introduced here in 825 ce. France acquired the port of Obock in 1862. The French colony of Somaliland was established in the area. Ethiopia acquired what is now part of Djibouti in a 1897 treaty with France. In 1946 Somaliland became an overseas territory of France and voted to join the French Community in 1958. It voted to stay a part of the French community in 1967.

Egypt	Britain	1882–1922; 1922–54 de facto control	protectorate (as of 1914)	Arabs conquered Egypt in 642 ce. Ottomans took control in 1517, the French invaded in 1798, and were repelled by British and Turks in 1801. The Ottomans took control again until 1882 and employed a "divide and rule" principle. Britain assumed control in 1882, then relinquished formal control in 1922. A republic was declared in 1953, but British forces and government did not really leave until 1954.
Eritrea	Italy; Britain; Ethiopia	1890–1941; 1941–62; 1962–93	direct; occupation/ trusteeship; annexed territory	Islam was introduced in 600 ce. The Ottoman empire annexed Eritrea in the 1500s. Italy occupied Eritrea from 1885 until the Italian surrender in WWII. Britain invaded in 1941 and, in 1949, the UN assigned the area to Britain as trusteeship. In 1952 the UN made Eritrea a federal component of Ethiopia.
				(*Continued Overleaf*)

Table 1.1 Continued.

Country	***Controlling power***	***Occupation time period***	***Type of colonial rule***	***Notes***
Ethiopia	Italy	1889–96; 1935–41	protectorate/ occupation	Islam was introduced in sixteenth century. The Emperor signed a friendship treaty with Italy in 1889 and Italians interpreted this as Ethiopia conceding to protectorate status. Italy invaded in 1895. Italy recognized Ethiopian independence in 1896, but retained control and combined Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland to form Italian Eastern Africa. The British helped Ethiopia to regain self-control from the Italians in 1941.
Gambia	Portugal; Britain	1455–1889; 1894– 1965	trading occupation; protectorate	Independence occurred in 1965; a republic was declared in 1970.
Georgia	Russia; USSR	1801–1918; 1921–91	occupation	
Ghana	Portugal; Britain	1482–1874; 1874– 1957	trading occupation; direct	A republic was proclaimed in 1960.
Guinea	France	1891–1958	direct	France declared Guinea a colony separate from Senegal in 1891. In 1952 it became a part of the French West African Federation.
Guinea-Bissau	Portugal	1846–1974	direct	In 1951 it was declared a province of Portugal. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) declared independence on behalf of the area encompassed by Guinea-Bissau in 1973, which Portugal recognized in 1974.

India	Britain	1858–1947	direct	Britain implemented a “divide and rule” scheme here.
Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam)	France			Home to somewhere between one half and one million Muslim Cham, an ethnic group thought to be descended from a fifteenth century kingdom in the area.
Indonesia	Netherlands	1670–1949		The Dutch colonists brought the islands of Indonesia under one government during the period of 1670–1900. In 1942, the Japanese invaded and, in 1945, they assisted independence leader Sukarno in returning from internal exile and declaring independence in 1945. The Dutch recognize Indonesian independence in 1949.

Iran	n/a	n/a	n/a	Islam introduced here in 636 ce. Iran successfully resisted occupation after WWII.
Iraq	Britain	1919–32	protectorate	Britain was awarded the country after WWI as a League of Nations mandate. An independent republic formed in 1958.
Jordan	Britain	1919–46	protectorate	British troops completely withdrew in 1957.
Kazakhstan	Russia/USSR	1731–1991	occupation	Islam was introduced here by Arab invaders in the eighth century.
Kenya	Britain	1895–1920; 1920–63	protectorate; direct	In 600 ce, Arabs began settling in coastal areas. The Portuguese tried to establish a foothold here in the sixteenth century, but were repelled. The British East African Protectorate was formed in 1895.
Kuwait	Britain	1899–1961	protectorate	This area became part of the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth century. Kuwait became a British protectorate in 1899 out of fear of direct rule from Turkey.
Kyrgyzstan	Russia/USSR	1876–1991		Islam was introduced here by Arab invaders in the eighth century. Many sought refuge from the Russian/Soviet occupation and fled into China in 1916–17.
Lebanon	France	1920–26; 1940–41	protectorate	The French employed the "divide and rule" principle here. A League of Nations mandate granted this territory to France in 1920. The Lebanese declared an independent republic in 1926. France's Vichy government assumed control in 1940. Lebanon declared independence again in 1941 and French forces/government actually left in 1944.
Liberia	n/a	n/a	n/a	Africa's oldest republic. It was founded in 1847 with a constitution modeled on the US constitution.
Libya	Italy; France and Britain	1911–42; 1942–51	occupation	Islam was introduced into the area in 643 ce by Arab conquerors. Allied forces ousted Italians in 1942 and divided the territory between the French and the British.
				(*Continued Overleaf*)

Nigeria	Britain	1851–1960	direct/ protectorate	The slave trade sent millions to the Americas in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries. In 1809, a single Islamic state was founded in the north of what is now Nigeria. Civil wars plagued the south from the 1830s to 1886. In the 1850s Britain established a political presence. Between 1861 and 1915, the British consolidated power and in 1922 a League of Nations mandate added part of the former German colony of Kamerun (Cameroon) to Nigeria.
Oman	Portugal	1507–1650	coastal occupation	Islam is introduced to the area in 700 ce. In 1507, the Portuguese capture the coast; they are not driven out until 1650. Though there is no real evidence of colonization by the British, Oman seems to have close ties to Britain going back to 1913.
Pakistan (West Pakistan – formally part of India)	Britain	1858–1947	colony	The idea for a separate nation to house India's Muslim population was formally introduced in 1940. Pakistan was created in 1947 after British rule ended in India.
Palestine	Britain	1917–47	protectorate	The British employed the principle of "divide and rule" in their governance. The San Remo conference assigned the area as a protectorate to Britain.
Qatar	Britain	1916–71	protectorate	From the eighteenth century to 1867, this area was widely recognized as a dependant of Bahrain.
Saudi Arabia	n/a	n/a	n/a	Remained unoccupied.
Senegal	Portugal; Netherlands; France; Britain	1444–1677; 1588–1677; 1659–1763, 1775– 1960	slave trade/ indirect; annexed	Portuguese traders landed here in the 1440s. In 1588, Dutch slave traders established a port. France established a slave-trading port in 1659 and, in 1677, it took over the Dutch port. From 1756 to 1763, the British and French fight over the area and Britain won. France regained its holdings during the American Revolutionary War (1775– 83) and in 1895 Senegal became part of French West Africa. In 1946 Senegal became part of the French Union and in 1958 it became an autonomous republic as a part of the French Community.

Table 1.1 Continued.

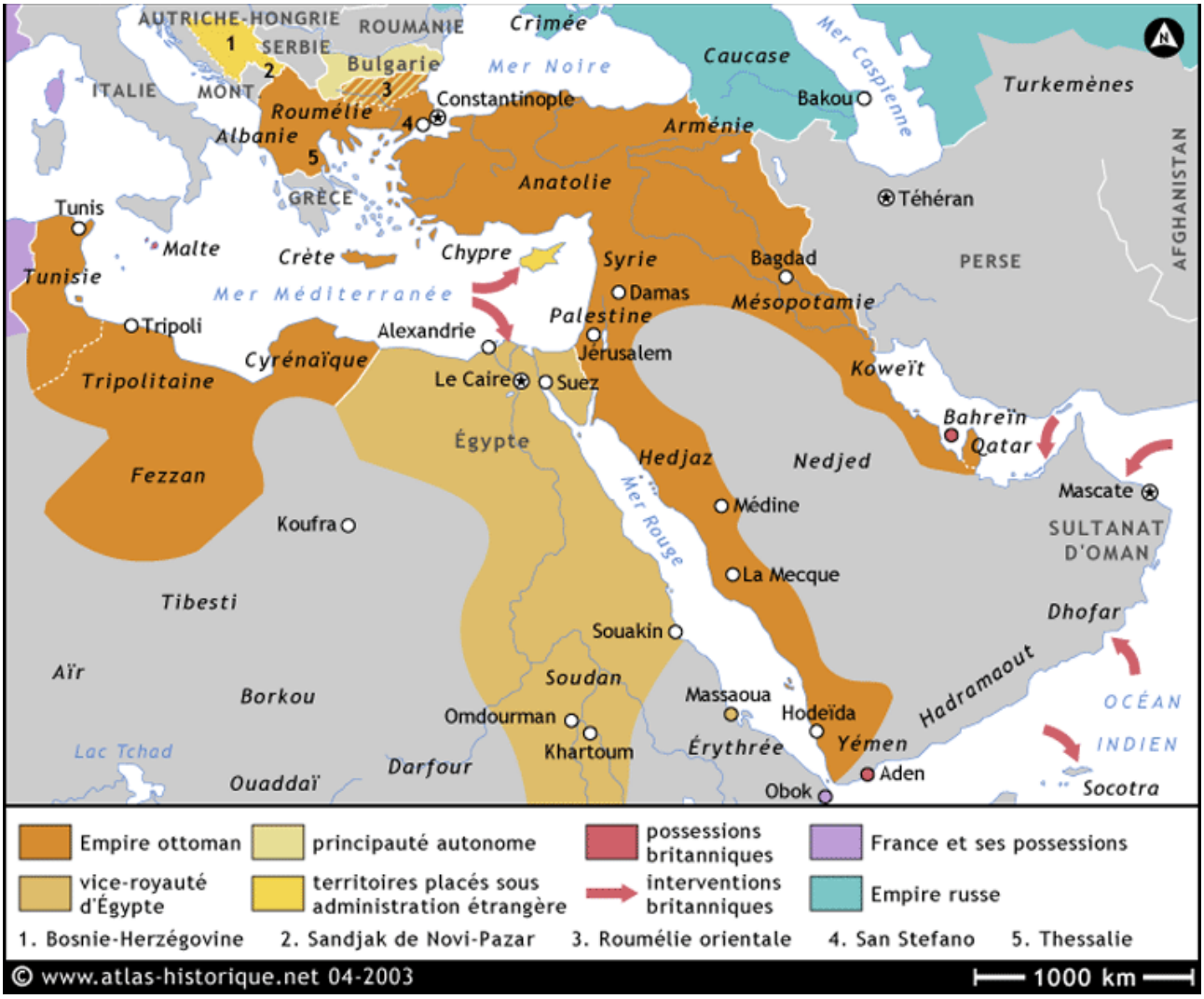
Country	***Controlling power***	***Occupation time period***	***Type of colonial rule***	***Notes***
Sierra Leone	Britain	1808–1961	colony/ protectorate	British abolitionists established a settlement in Freetown for repatriated/rescued slaves. In 1808, Freetown became a British colony and in 1896 a British protectorate was established.
Somalia	Britain, Italy	1887–1960; 1889– 1960	colony/ protectorate	In 1887, Britain proclaimed this area a British protectorate. In 1888, an Anglo–French agreement defined the land area in Somalia that belonged to the respective colonial powers. Italy established a protectorate in central Somalia in 1889 and, in 1940, Italy occupied British Somaliland. The British took over Italian Somaliland in 1941
				and, in 1950, Italian Somaliland became a UN Trusteeship under Italian Control. Italian Somaliland was granted internal autonomy in 1956. The British and Italian parts of Somalia became independent in 1960 and merged to form modern Somalia.
Sudan	Egypt, Britain (Eastern Sudan); France (Western Sudan)	1899–1956	occupation	Sharia law was imposed in 1983.
Syria	The Ottomans; France	1500–1918; 1920–46	protectorate	The Ottoman empire ruled from 1500 to 1918. The British assisted in ousting the Ottomans and, in 1920 the San Remo conference established Syria as a French protectorate. The French employed a "divide and rule" approach to their government of Syria and agreed to independence in 1936, but maintained military and economic dominance until 1940 when Axis powers controlled the area after France fell to their control. Britain and France reclaimed control of
				Syria in 1941 and the French troops finally left in 1946.

Tajikistan	Russia (North) and Emirate of Bukhara (South); USSR	1860–1900; 1921–91	occupation and annexed territory	Islam was introduced to the area by Arab invaders in the eighth century. An increase in Islamist activity occurred in 1970 and seems to have endured.

Tanzania	Portugal; Germany; and Britain	1506–1699; 1884–86; 1886–16; 1916–61	direct; occupation; protectorate; trusteeship	The Portuguese control most of East African coast from 1506 to 1699 when they were ousted by Omani Arabs. In 1884, the Germans began to acquire control of the territory. Britain and Germany later divided control of the territory: Germans got control of most of mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar became a protectorate of Britain.
Togo	Denmark; Germany; Britain and France	18th century; 1884–1914; 1914–60	coastal occupation; protectorate	The Danes occupied coastal areas throughout the eighteenth century. In 1922, the League of Nations issued mandates to France and Britain to administer the Eastern and Western parts of Togo(land), respectively. In 1956, the Gold Coast (later renamed Ghana) was addedto the British territory of Togo(land).
Tunisia	The Ottomans; France	1600s–1881; 1881–1956	protectorate	Arabs conquered this area in the seventh century. The Ottoman Empire ruled from the 1600s to 1881. Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881 and an independent republic was formed in 1957.
Turkey	Ottoman Empire	1299–1922	occupation	Successfully resisted occupation after WWI.
Turkmenistan	Russia/ USSR	1881–1991	occupation	Arab conquerors introduced Islam in the seventh century.
United Arab Emirates	Britain	1892–1971	protectorate	In 1820, Britain was given permission to combat piracy along the Gulf Coast. Iran occupied associated islands in November 1971.
Uzbekistan	Russia/ USSR	1865–1991	occupation	Arab conquerors introduced Islam in the seventh century.
Western Sahara	Spain	1884–1976	direct; protectorate	Spain ruled this area directly until 1934; then, it became a Spanish province. Modern Western Sahara has been the subject of a decades-long dispute between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario Front, with most of the territory remaining under Moroccan control since 1976.
Yemen	n/a	n/a	n/a	Yemen, as a country, has remained unoccupied. Aden was occupied by Britain from 1830 to 1967, but was finally unified with Southern Yemen in 1970. Northern and Southern Yemen unified in 1990.

Appendix: 5

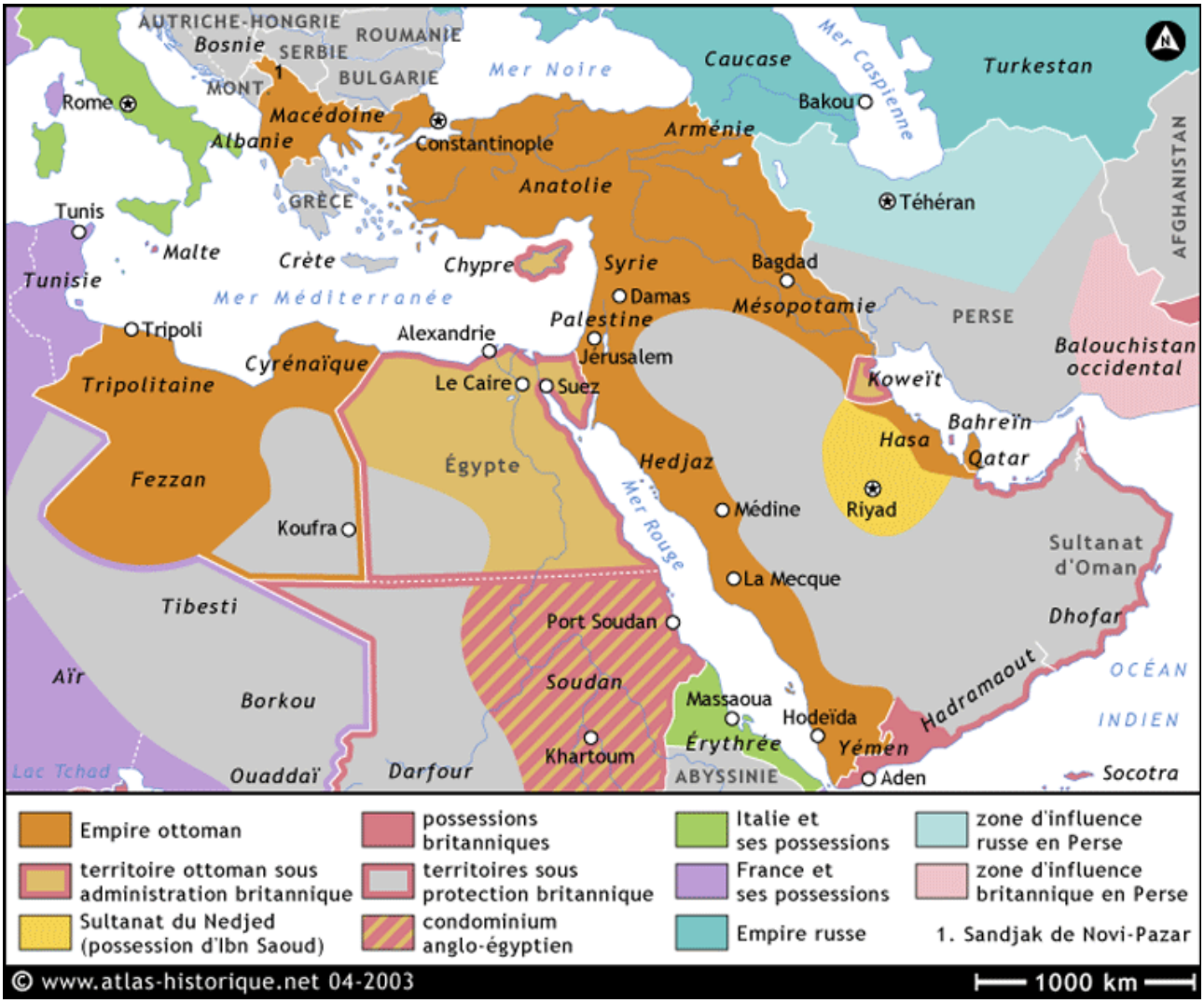
Ottoman State Map- 1878[528]



Appendix: 6

Ottoman State Map- 1908[529]

[528] http://www.atlas-historique.net/1815-1914/cartes/EmpireOttoman1878.html alıntılama 22 aralık 2010
[529] http://www.atlas-historique.net/1815-1914/cartes_popups/EmpireOttoman1908GF.html alıntılama 22 aralık 2010



Appendix: 7

Photo: Young Turk Revolution Decleration- Armenian Greek Muslim Leaders[530]

[530]http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Young_Turk_Revolution_-_Decleration_-_Armenian_Greek_Muslim_Leaders.png alıntılama 21 aralık 2010

Photo by] A "MANIFESTATION" IN THE STREETS OF PERA. *[L'Aigle.*

The procession is shown on its way to the British embassy, situated in Pera, to do honour to Great Britain in recognition of the support given to Young Turkey.

[To face page 113

Appendix: 8

Photo: Young Turk Revolution - Manifestation of freedom of rights[531]

Photo by] FRATERNITY. *[L'Aigle.*

A Turkish *mollah* (in the centre) is shown sitting at the voting-table with a Greek priest on his right and an Armenian priest on his left. Behind are two little girls bearing the emblem of the Constitution decorated with flowers; in front is the ballot-box. The wall at the back is the façade of a Greek church.

[To face page 172.

[531]http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Youg_turk_revolution_-_manifestation_of_freedom_of_rights.png alıntılama 23 aralık 2010

Appendix: 9

Hejaz Railway Map[532]

[532]http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Hedschasbahn_Uebersichtskarte.png&filetimestamp=20100822145908 8 18 January 2011
Map of the Hejaz railway (Damascus-Mecca pilgrim route); built at great expense by the Ottoman empire in the early 20th century, but quickly fell into disrepair after the Arab revolt of 1917.