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Sultan Abd Ul-Aziz and the Internal Affairs of
Turkey in his Reign

**SULTAN ABD UL-AZIZ
AND THE
INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF TURKEY
IN HIS REIGN**

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I Outline -----	a
II Introduction -- Importance of the Question -----	1
III Part I Under the Guidance of Fuad and Aali Pashas ---	1
IV Part II Period of Russian Influence -----	40
V Part III Revolution Led by Midhat Pasha -----	62
VI Conclusion -- Influence of the Reign of Abd ul-Aziz ---	73
VII Bibliography	
Primary Material -----	74
Secondary Material -----	76

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OUTLINE.

Introduction -- Importance of the Question

I Under the Guidance of Fuad and Aali Pashas

Accession of Abd ul-Aziz

The beyaat

Girding on the sword of Othman

Personal appearance of Abd ul-Aziz

His Position

Factors rendering it difficult

Extent of his empire

Various races and religions of his subjects

Backwardness of civilization in Turkey

Corruption of the government

The increasing national debt

The rising spirit of nationality

Hostile neighboring Powers

Disposition of the Great Powers to intervene in
the Near East

Factors favorable

The growing party of reform

The ministers, Fuad and Aali Pashas

The friendly disposition of England and France
after the Crimean War

Possibilities in Abd ul-Aziz

Hopes entertained concerning him

His parentage

His lack of training

His early acts as Sultan

Disappointment soon manifested in him

His Contact with the world outside of Turkey

Visit to Egypt

Visit to Paris, London, etc.

Route and party

Festivities in London

Probable effect on reform in Turkey

Famous Guests

Empress Eugénie

Emperor Francis Joseph

Other visitors from the West

Visitors from the East

Vigor of Administration shown

Revolt in Montenegro

Press Law

Closing of mission schools

Administration in Bulgaria

Revolt in Crete

Causes

From the Cretan viewpoint

From the Turkish viewpoint

Direct

Attitude of the Powers

Complications with Greece

Relations with larger vassal states
 Roumania
 Recognition of Union of provinces
 Recognition of Prince Charles as king

Serbia
 Withdrawal of Turkish garrisons
 Development of popular government

Egypt
 Progress compared with that in Turkey proper
 Aid in the Cretan insurrection
 The question of succession
 Trouble over the opening of the Suez canal
 Difficulties as to sovereign powers exercised
 by the Khedive

Efforts at progress and reform
 Speeches of Abd ul-Aziz indicating the reforms contemplated
 Administrative reforms
 The Council of State
 The Law of Vilayets
 Judicial reforms
 Civil and criminal codes
 Supreme Court
 The army and navy
 Education
 Railroads and telegraph lines
 Land tenure
 Effort to abolish vacouf lands
 Foreigners permitted to hold land
 The Imperial Ottoman Bank
 Weights and measures, etc.
 Dangers from the power and character of Abd ul-Aziz
 Exalted notion of himself
 Instance of ceremonial required
 His superstition
 His ignorance
 Deaths of Fuad and Aali Pashas

II Period of Russian Influence

Foreign interference in the internal affairs of Turkey
 Benevolent
 Pernicious

Attitude of Russia toward Turkey
 Effect of Franco-Prussian War
 General Ignatiev

Character of the government after 1871
 The ministry
 Relations of Sultan with his heir apparent
 Influence of the harem
 The provinces
 The courts
 Extravagance and avarice of the Sultan
 Means of raising money
 Loans
 Taxes

Bankruptcy
 Mental condition of the Sultan
 The Balkan rising
 Disturbances in Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Causes
 General
 Direct
 Consular and diplomatic interference
 Attempts at reform
 The Andrassy note
 Its provisions
 Attempts to carry out the provisions
 Baron Rodich's mission
 The Berlin Memorandum
 Attitude of Montenegro
 Attitude of Serbia
 Attitude of Bulgaria
 Previous to 1874
 1874-1876
 Attitude of England
 Attitude of Northern Powers
 Murder of the French and German consuls
 Aggravation of the disorder by financial depression

III Revolution Led by Midhat Pasha

The Young Turk Party
 Its formation
 Banishment and recall of leaders
 Its affiliation with the religious element
 Desire for a constitution
 Demonstration of the softas
 Deposition of Abd ul-Aziz
 Need for decisive action
 Demonstration planned
 Events of the night of May 30, 1876
 Crowning of Murad V
 Notifying of Abd ul-Aziz
 Ease with which this was carried thru
 The effect on the Northern Powers
 Death of Abd ul-Aziz
 Evidences of insanity
 Certainty of suicide
 Effect of his death upon the reform movement
 Assassination of two of his ministers
 Deposition of Murad V
 Trial and murder of Midhat Pasha

Conclusion -- Influence of the Reign of Abd ul-Aziz

ABD UL-AZIZ AND THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF TURKEY IN HIS REIGN.

Importance of the Question.

In the midst of the terrible conflagration of war which envelopes the world in this year of our Lord, 1917, it would seem that not only the peace of Europe but the safety of the whole world and of civilization itself is connected with the Balkan situation, little Serbia in the present instance having played some such part as that of Mrs. O'Leary's famous cow. Any study of modern Turkey must help one better to understand the rivalries and jealousies which have a controlling influence in Southeastern Europe, hence the reign of Abd ul-Aziz which followed the Crimean War and led up to the Congress of Berlin, so intimately related with present events, is of considerable historical interest.

I. UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MUAD AND AALI PASHAS.

Sultan Abd ul-Aziz, the thirty-second sovereign of the house of Osman, and the twenty-ninth after the capture of Constantinoole,¹ might well have said with Hamlet,

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right."

Surrounded with a sea of opportunities to be of service to his fatherland and to humanity he seemed unable to make effective use of any of them.

He was born February 9, 1830² and succeeded his brother Abd ul-Mejid on the death of the latter, June 25, 1861. Abd ul-Mejid died just before nine in the morning. The chief officials

1. American Annual Cyclopaedia, IV, 775.
2. Ibid., IV, 775.

of the government were at once summoned to meet Abd ul-Aziz at the Old Seraglio at the gateway under which imperial receptions took place at Bairam. Thither Abd ul-Aziz came at eleven o'clock amid salvos of artillery from ship and shore batteries. Seated on a divan he received the homage of all the Turkish civil and military dignitaries, each kissing, not his hand, but a pendant tassel which he wore, this typifying the hem of his garment. The Sheikh ul-Islam read a prayer and then the outcircling crowd of people were permitted to press in and kiss the tassel. Prayers were again read and a herald proceeded on horseback to the bazaars and proclaimed, "His majesty Sultan Abd ul-Mejid Khan, whose memory is revered, having passed to another and better world, his glorious, mighty, magnificent and merciful majesty, Sultan Abd ul-Aziz Khan, has been raised to the throne in his stead."¹

What corresponds to the coronation ceremony of a western monarch did not take place till July 14.² At that time the Chelebi of Konia, the Sheikh of the Mevlevee or whirling dervishes, according to ancient custom,³ girded on Abd ul-Aziz, in the mosque of Eyub, the sword of Osman. And then Abd ul-Aziz became indeed "by the grace of the Almighty Creator, Lord of Lords, Dominant Sovereign in Arabia, Persia, and Greece, Invincible and always Victorious, Emperor of Constantinople, Distributor of Crowns to the Great Princes of the Earth, Sovereign Master of the two seas and of the Sacred and August Cities of Mecca and Medina and of endless other countries and kingdoms, empires, isles and peoples -- Shadow of God, Refuge of the world, Slayer of Infidels, etc."⁴

1. The London Times, daily edition, 1861, 6 July, 12c.

2. Ibid, 1861, 15 July, 10b.

3. Eliot, Turkey in Europe, 183. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects I, 98.

4. Monroe, Turkey and the Turks, 133.

He is described¹ at that time as a man of determined features and manly bearing, strongly built, of not above medium height, with dark steadfast eyes and a fine black mustache, with a forehead of fair height and capacity, a nose slightly aquiline, a mouth and chin expressive of considerable determination, but with the mouth larger and lips thicker than ordinary, with two deep vertical lines at the point where the nose and forehead join, these giving to the face marks of apparent thought which it would not otherwise have possessed. In general, he gave the impression of being a man with whom it would be dangerous to trifle.

Perhaps the wish to see determination in the countenance of Abd ul-Aziz was father to the thought, for he faced no easy task if, as England wished, the Ottoman Empire was to be kept intact. At that time it included not only what it does today, but also Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Albania and held as dependencies Roumania, Montenegro, Serbia, Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, an area of nearly two millions of square miles.²

The population was about forty millions,³ more than half of these being in Europe and Asia, the remainder being in Africa.

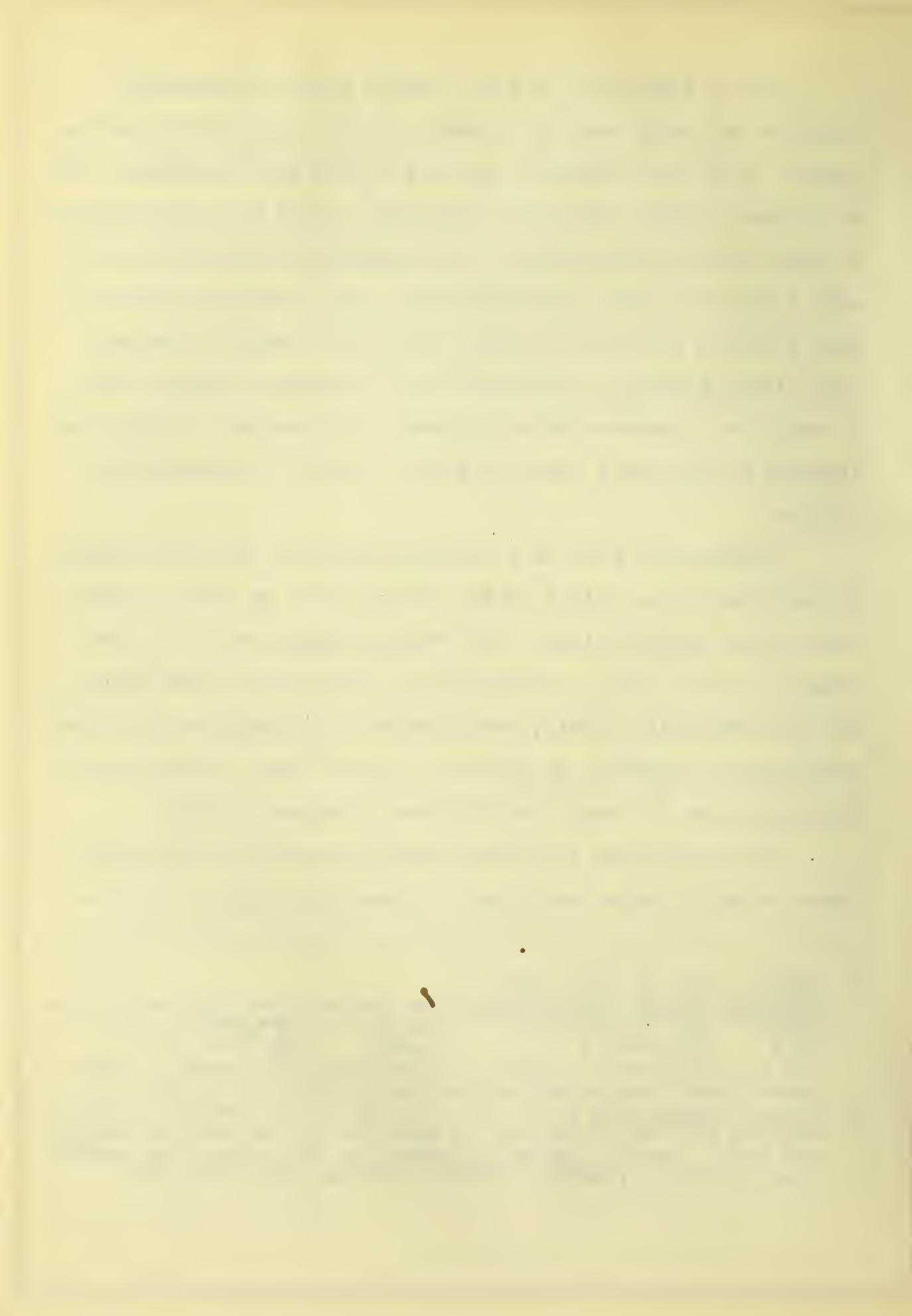
1. Times, 1861, 15 July, 10b.

2. American Annual Cyclopaedia gives the area in 1865 as follows:
Africa 943,740 sq. mi. Europe 207,438 Sq. mi.

Asia 660,870 " " Total 1,812,048 " "

and in 1875, after certain additions had been made to Egypt by expeditions into equatorial Africa, 2,212,203 sq. mi.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia gives the population for 1868 as 40,000,000 and for 1875 as 48,283,400 of whom 28,132,800 were in Europe and Asia. Baker, Turkey in Europe, p. 505, gives the population in 1876 (probably excluding Africa) as 28,553,000.



The people were of many nationalities -- Turkish, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Georgian, Hindu, Persian, Hebrew and Arabian -- and of many religions. Some eighteen and one-half millions of them were Mohammedans of the Sunnite division. There were also Shiite Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians of many sects -- Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jacobites, Nestorians, and those of the Graeco-Russian and Armenian churches.¹ These people, with the exception of perhaps only the Circassians and the Spanish Jews, had not come as immigrants to the Ottoman Empire, voluntarily seeking the protection of its laws. The Turks were in a position somewhat comparable to that of the English in India today, -- they were conquerors holding in subjection peoples of various races, tongues and religions, peoples who hated each other,² peoples, many of whom had had, when conquered, a civilization more ancient than that of the Ottomans. Difficulties were increased by the fact that the Sultan is not only the highest civil authority but is also regarded as the head of the Mohammedan faith. In this his position is comparable to that of the mediaeval popes, a position which history has shown to be altogether untenable. With some of his subjects the Sultan dealt directly thru officers whom he appointed, with some of them he dealt thru their princes or the heads of their churches.

Civilization in Turkey had advanced since the beginning of the century but was still very backward compared with that of western European countries. Western nations had pretty largely

1. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 505.

2. Congreve, England and Turkey, Fortnightly, 26:711.

passed thru the Industrial Revolution but Turkey had few industries. Agriculture was primitive. Grain was still threshed by being trampled by oxen and then winnowed.¹ Means of communication were poor. As late as 1869, eight years after the accession of Abd ul-Aziz, there were only 182 miles of railroad in Turkey in Europe, and 145 miles in Turkey in Asia.² There was a low standard of education, a rude system of finance, a loose method of collecting revenue and a debased coinage. The army was ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-paid.³

The government was a monarchy of the most absolute type and very corrupt. Mahmud II, the father of Abd ul-Aziz, who reigned from 1809 to 1839, had swept away the Janissaries and suppressed the almost independent power of the beylerbeys,⁴ thus concentrating power more largely in the hands of the Sultan, but at the same time preparing the way, not only for a reorganized army, but for many other reforms he tried to introduce. If Mahmud had not been kept so busy with wars, or if he had lived longer, there is no telling what advances Turkey might have made.⁵ He was followed by his son Abd ul-Mejid. Abd ul-Mejid issued the Hatti-sherif of Gul-Khaneh⁶ which announced the equality of all his subjects and promised reforms in the administrative and judicial systems. But this was ridiculed by Moslems⁷ and a period

1. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 467.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 722.

3. Quarterly Review, 111:370-393.

4. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 344 Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, XXVII, 458.

5 and 6. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 350-353.

7. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXVII, 458.

of reaction followed. Thru the influence of Sir Stratford Canning who represented England in Turkey after 1842 the way was gradually prepared for the carrying out of reforms¹ and the Hatti-humayoun of 1856 confirmed the Hatti-sherif of Gul-Khaneh. But these documents were largely paper promises. As late as 1862 a correspondent writes² that "the Hatti-humayoun is only a screen for carrying on the old system" and "If the laws which are on paper were carried out Turkey would be the best governed country in the world. Turks have done nothing to build roads, advance self-government, justice, public security or commerce since 1854". Sir Stratford Canning left the Porte in 1858³ and Abd ul-Mejid, greatly changed in character, had sunk into the "state of a reckless and intemperate voluptuary, ready to sacrifice the dearest interests of his people to every fantastic whim of the moment and every wild suggestion of his flatterers and favorites".⁴ He had become more and more extravagant, more and more stubborn and wilful. "Favoritism, negligence, corruption and recklessness reigned supreme."⁵

During the Crimean War, Turkey had learned an entirely new art, that of accumulating a public debt. A loan of £3,000,000 to meet the expense of this war was contracted with Dent, Palmer, and Company of London on the security of the Egyptian tribute. This money was borrowed in 1854 and it was to be repaid by 1889. But another loan of £5,000,000 had been contracted in 1855, one of £5,000,000 again in 1858, and one of £2,070,000 in 1860.⁶ This money was mostly wasted.

1 and 3. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 350-353.

2. Times, 1862, 6 September, 8c.

4 and 5. Times, 1862, 14 October, 8c.

6. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 529.

Abd ul-Aziz was to feel the force of the rising spirit of nationality which seemed to seize the whole world about this time. It was during his reign that modern Japan stepped forth from feudalism, that modern Germany and Italy took form, and that France set up the Third Republic. And the various peoples of the Balkan peninsula felt the stir of all this. A correspondent writing to the London Times in August, 1862, says¹ that the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire were making an effort to get together, led by the population of the Ionian Islands, that their hatreds of four hundred years were being healed, that Garibaldi's name had become a household word, a promise, a hope, and again, in September,² that the treaty of 1856, instead of becoming the beginning of a reconciliation between the governing power and the subject population of Turkey, had been the starting point of an agitation among all subject races more general and more definite in aim than any that ever existed before, "the first dawning of that feeling of nationality which moves all the continent of Europe."

Added to these difficulties was the hostility of neighboring powers. Since the day when Suleiman the Magnificent had been forced to give up the siege of Vienna, Austria had endeavored again and again to beat the Turk back from Europe. Russia, in the 150 years preceding the accession of Abd ul-Aziz, had waged with the Ottoman Empire seven great wars, an average of about one every thirty years. Not only on the open field of battle were they

1. Times, 1862, 23 August, 10a.

2. Ibid, 13 September, 10e.

ready to make war upon Turkey but they used, more or less secretly, the influence which similarity of race or religion gave them to stir up the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire.¹

Since the days of Napoleon Bonaparte, powers farther west had been more and more inclined to interfere in Turkish internal affairs. Not only Russia but England and France had intervened in the Greek wars of the 20's.² In the troubles between Mahmud II and his vassal Mehemet Ali of Egypt in the 30's, England, France, and Prussia as well as Austria and Russia had all been more or less concerned,³ and England and France had insisted on helping to settle the Lebanon troubles in 1860,⁴ not to mention the Crimean War which arose because England and France resented the effort Russia was making to extend her influence over Greek Christians subject to the Porte.

To counterbalance the disadvantages under which Abd ul-Aziz must labor was, first, the possibility of the reform and rapid civilization of Turkey. Fortunately, the efforts of his father and brother had created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of Western ideas. The principles announced in the two famous documents of Abd ul-Mejid were bearing fruit. A formidable reform party had started in 1860.⁵

Then Abd ul-Aziz was wonderfully blessed in the men who were at the head of his government. Abd ul-Mejid had instituted

1. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 47,48. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey. The Life of Midhat Pasha, 40-42. Times 1863, 9 April, 7b. International Review, 3:677. Miller, The Balkans, 344.
2. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 346.
3. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, 522,526.
4. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 359.
5. Ahmed Emin, The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press, Columbia University Studies in History, etc., 59:35.

ministries and a council of ministers presided over by the Grand Vizier.¹ Two men who were almost constantly in the ministry of Abd ul-Aziz for the first ten years of his reign, one or the other of them holding the office of Grand Vizier, were Fuad Pasha² and Mehemet Aali Pasha.³ Fuad Pasha was the son of a poet and had served as an army surgeon. Aali Pasha, the son of a government official, had early entered diplomatic service. They had both represented their country abroad, and had both been connected with the embassy in England. During the Crimean War Fuad Pasha had commanded troops on the Greek frontier while Aali Pasha had had the portfolio of foreign affairs. They had both taken part in the Congress of Paris in 1856. Aali Pasha was a linguist and scholar, a match for western diplomats. Fuad Pasha was noted for his boldness and promptness of decision, his ready wit and many bon mots. Both were favorable to the introduction of Western reforms.

Besides this Turkey was fortunate in her friendships in 1861. England and France had been allies of Turkey from 1853 to 1856, they wished to uphold her integrity, they were willing to help her borrow money which she needed to reorganize industry, and they would defend her against the encroachments of her neighbors.⁴⁵

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXVII, 459.

2. Ibid., II, 271.

3. Ibid., I, 2.

4. Wilson, Financial Default of Turkey, MacMillan's Magazine, 33:88-96.

5. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 8.

Great hopes were entertained of Abd ul-Aziz. Little was really known about him because, before his accession, Turkish custom had required him to lead a life of seclusion. But he was said to bear a striking resemblance to his father and to have inherited his energy. He was known to be fond of horses, a bold and skillful rider, a passionate sportsman, shooting, fishing or yachting being daily avocations with him. He was reported as orderly and economical in the management of his household, temperate in his habits, never touching the pipe or wine cup, the model husband of one wife. He was supposed to be a good Moslem, anxious to revive the glory of the old empire.¹

If he had been all that he was thought to be it would have been little short of miraculous, considering his parentage and early lack of training. True, his father was the great reforming Sultan Mahmud II. But the father had died when Abd ul-Aziz was only nine years old. His mother was a Kurdish slave, the buxom bath woman, Besma.² She was a fanatical, ignorant person who exercised a most evil influence over him.³ One writer states, altho this evidently was not generally known in 1861, that she used to laugh when she saw him amuse himself in boyhood by plucking live birds and that she applauded when on one occasion he tore to pieces a tame dove belonging to Abd ul-Mejid.⁴

Abd ul-Aziz had had very little possibility of knowing men or gaining information on the many things of which he would

1. Times, 1862, 14 Oct. 8c.

2. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, I, 17.

3. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 212.

4. Count de Keratry, Four Last Sultans, Living Age, 138; 670.

have control.¹ Probably he had been instructed in the Koran and then had had French or Italian tutors from Peru. But the texts he used were carefully censored. In the history of Constantinople given him there was no mention of its siege by the Crusaders, and there was no reference to a defeat of the Turks in any part of the world. In the history of France the whole chapter about the French Revolution was omitted.² Very likely this made little difference, for he cared nothing for study. Reading and writing wearied him³ altho he had patience enough to learn something of music.⁴

However, his first acts as Sultan showed energy and seemed most hopeful for reform. To the regret of the Old Turkish party he confirmed the Hatti-sherif of Gul-Khaneh and the Hatti-humayoun of 1856 and thus bound himself to the execution of reforms depending on them.⁵ He made economic reforms in the palace. 300 of the 500 musicians of the imperial house were dismissed, 685 subordinate servants of every kind were turned off and enrolled in the army, 500 of the 700 caiquejees were turned over to the navy, 400 horses were sent from the imperial stables to the artillery barracks. Pensions were cut down to the extent of 1,500,000 piastres a year.⁶ He was reported to be determined to have but one wife⁷ and to have dismissed his brother's harem. He ordered the jewels and the gold and silver ornaments that had belonged to Abd ul-Mejid to be sold to pay his debts.⁸ He began

1. Times, 1862, 14 October, 8c.

2. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 10.

3. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:670.

4. London Times, 1861, 9 July, 10c.

5. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 1.

6. Times, 1861, 29 July, 1b.

7. Ibid., 1861, 31 July, 9a.

8. Ibid., 1861, 12 July, 9f.

making a tour of the public establishments. A pen picture is given of a visit he made to the Arsenal one boiling hot Sunday with the fat Mehemet Aali, who had a hard time to keep up. When he wished to cross the water he stepped into the first common caique he saw, without an umbrella. This news is said to have caused the kaime, the Turkish paper money, to rise three percent at Galata. At Tophane he asked for a piece of the soldiers' bread and when he found it not up to the grade contracted for he sent the contractor a vigorous message.¹ He showed great fondness for the army, increased the number of soldiers, and introduced new uniforms and armaments.² On two different occasions he contributed largely from his privy purse toward paying arrears due in the army and civil service,³ altho he afterwards asked for the amount to be returned. A commission including several respectable Europeans was appointed to examine the financial state of the Empire.⁴ They made unpleasant revelations as to robbery on the part of high officials and a tyrannical system of legal exactions from the poor. Riza Pasha, the Minister of War, was summarily dismissed.⁵ However, the inquiry into his accounts was soon given up and he was made governor of Aleppo.⁶

The accounts of Abd ul-Aziz's actions are not at all consistent. This is to be explained by the fact that he really was an ignorant man of ill-balanced mind, swayed now by one and then by another of those about him, and unable to pursue any line of

1. Ibid., 1861, 13 July, 5b.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 1.

3. Times, 1862, 12 February, 12a, 31 March, 9b.

4. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 188.

5. Times, 1861, 9 July, 10c.

6. Ibid., 1861, 22 July, 9e, 16 September, 6f.

action long. As early as December 1862, the London Times, so enthusiastic about Abd ul-Aziz the year before, began voicing dissatisfaction with him. The correspondent reported that the Sultan had given a considerable money present to each officer and soldier in the great barracks at Galata-Serai, that he was "making ducks and drakes of public money",¹ and in January, 1863, there was a cabinet crisis in which all of the ministers, the commander in chief of the troops, and the Sheikh ul-Islam resigned in a body because the Sultan had given peremptory orders to increase the military and naval armaments. Fuad Pasha argued with him that all the men were needed in agriculture, that prosperity could best be promoted by retrenchment in expense and the establishment of industrial undertakings, that the safety of Turkey lay not in armaments, but in its geographical position and in the support of western powers and in faith in treaties. But the army was with the Sultan. He had been profusely liberal with the troops on public occasions, he gave constant attention to the improvement of their condition and had a great love of military display,² making his visit to the mosque each Friday the occasion for this.³ The Times was now saying that Abd ul-Aziz had a headstrong disposition, was deficient in education, ignorant of political events, and of public opinion of Europe, and had a mania to build barracks.⁴

It was in this year (1863) that Abd ul-Aziz insisted on visiting Egypt.⁵ This was a most unusual thing. No Turkish

1. Times, 1863, 3 January, 8b.

2. and 4. Ibid., 1863, 20 January, 6a.

3. Ibid., 1863, 23 February, 10d.

5. Ibid., 1863, 9 April, 7b.

Sultan had been in Egypt since Selim I conquered it in 1517.¹ The British minister was opposed to the visit, not only because of the enormous sums it would cost both the Sultan and his host, but also for fear Abd ul-Aziz would assert his authority over the Viceroy of Egypt in such a way as to undermine the latter's influence with his own subjects. But Abd ul-Aziz's ministers did not dare to remonstrate. They exerted every effort to raise the money required for the trip altho the salaries of the army and civil employes both were now in arrears. He took with him the sons of his late brother, his own five year old son, Fuad Pasha, Mehemet Aali Pasha, and a suite of 700 attendants.² On departing from Constantinople his joy at breaking loose from his bonds and leaving the capital for the first time was startling.³ One's sympathy cannot but go out to this childlike man who had lived such a secluded existence and who was now at last going out to see a bit of the world. When his squadron was sighted from Alexandria at daybreak on April seventh, the Viceroy put out to sea to meet him. He was lodged in Alexandria in a palace which had been refitted in his honor at great expense. At night the city was illuminated and he drove about in a carriage drawn by four white horses, preceded by mounted police, attended by running footmen with torches, and followed by his own men dressed as Zouaves. The next day he left for Cairo on the first railway he had ever seen. Contrary to expectations he treated the Viceroy

1. Ibid., 1863, 22 April, 9c.

2. Ibid., 1863, 9 April, 7b.

3. Ibid., 1863, 20 April, 9d.

with respect.¹ During his whole visit he was very energetic and was much impressed with the forward state of the country.² On the return trip he stopped at Smyrna where he had a most enthusiastic reception. He gave the Latin archbishop here £500 toward a new cathedral. He went from Smyrna to Ephesus by rail.³ His altered disposition was commented on. He was described as "liberal, truthful, courteous",⁴ where a few weeks before he had been "ill-tempered, gloomy, bitter",⁵ and all this was ascribed to the influence of Fuad Pasha.⁶ Upon his return to Constantinople he devoted much time to considering reform projects conceived on his visit.⁷

His Egyptian visit must have inspired in him a love of travel for in 1867 he accomplished the unheard-of feat of making a western tour. No Turkish Sultan had ever before left his own dominions in time of peace.⁸ Abd ul-Aziz compromised with the traditions which forbade this by having the soles of his shoes powdered daily with dust from his own dominions.⁹ The English and French Mediterranean fleets accompanied his party from the Dardanelles to Toulon.¹⁰ He stopped at Messana,¹¹ came thru Marseilles to Paris where he visited the Paris Exposition¹² and was entertained by Emperor Napoleon III, thence went to London where he was made Knight of the Garter by Queen Victoria,¹³ thence to Liege where he met Leopold II of Belgium, to Coblenz where

1. Times, 1863, 22 April, 9c.
2. Ibid, 1863, 28 April, 7b.
3. 4. and 6. Ibid, 1863, 11 May, 6a.
5. Ibid, 1863, 9 April, 7b.
7. Ibid, 1863, 28 May, 12d.
8. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, 545.
9. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:682-683.
10. Times, 1867, 25 May, 12a.
11. Ibid, 1867, 26 June, 12a.
12. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, 461.
13. Freeman, The Ottoman Power in Europe, 261
14. Times, 1867, 29 July, 10a.

William I of the North German Confederation entertained him with a review of 7,000 troops,¹ and to Vienna where he was the guest of Emperor Francis Joseph, and thence down the Danube and on to Constantinople.² He was accompanied by Fuad Pasha, his nephews who afterwards became Sultan Murad IV and Sultan Abd ul-Hamid II, his son Youssouf Izz ed-Deen Effendi and a suite of Arabs, circassians, and Albanians.³

In England he was most magnificently entertained. The festivities included a naval review,⁴ a dinner given by the Duke of Cambridge at Gloucester House,⁵ a concert at the Crystal Palace⁶, a reception at the Horticultural Gardens,⁷ a great ball given by the City of London at Guildhall to 3,000 guests, including the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII, and Lord Disraeli,⁸ and a state reception at the India office.⁹ On the last occasion the decorations were very brilliant and gold plate had been sent from all the royal palaces. The Sultan is seen at the supper set for 2,500, leading in Princess Alice and looking on gravely at a quadrille for which the Coldstream Guards band played. He was most liberal in showing his appreciation of his entertainment. He sent £2,500 to the Lord Mayor of London to be distributed among the poor,¹⁰ he gave £500 to the two train crews which took him to London from Dover and back,¹¹ he sent thirteen Arab horses to Emperor Napoleon IV,¹² and eleven to Emperor Francis Joseph.

1. Ibid., 1867, 25 July, 9b.

2. Ibid., 1867, 24 July, 11d.

3. Ibid., 1867, 13 July, 11d.

4. Ibid., 1867, 10 July, 9 d.

5. Ibid., 1867, 20 July, 12b.

6. Ibid., 1867, 17 July, 9c.

7. Ibid., 1867, 23 July, 11b.

8. Ibid., 1867, 19 July, 9b.

9. Ibid., 1867, 20 July, 5a.

10. Ibid., 1867, 24 July, 11b.

11. Ibid., 1867, 24 July, 11d.

12. Ibid., 1867, 19 August, 10b.

Enthusiasts had looked upon this journey as an event of great importance in the history of civilization.¹ Western progress did make some impression on Abd ul-Aziz and on his return home he announced that he would make it his chief aim to develop means of communication, the public credit, and education.² Promises are easily made. His visit strengthened diplomatic relations with foreign states. But an extraordinary impost had had to be levied on all produce to meet the expense of the trip,³ and the burden of increased taxes is ascribed as the cause of the troubles in Bosnia and Herzegovina, late in his reign, thru which these provinces were lost to Turkey.⁴

Abd ul-Aziz came into contact with western culture in another way, thru the guests whom he entertained. In 1869 when the Suez Canal was opened notables travelling thither stopped at Constantinople. Among them was the Empress Eugénie of France. On October thirteenth her yacht, the Aigle, accompanied by the Sultan's yacht and by English, Russian, French, and Italian dispatch boats conveying ambassadors, and followed by the Turkish ironclad squadron, entered the Bosphorus. Girls from the Roman Catholic School in Constantinople, who were on a steamer, sang a hymn of praise. At the palace of Beylerbey the Sultan was waiting and on Eugénie's landing he gave her his arm and escorted her up the avenue to the palace while royal salutes were fired from

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 1.

2. Times, 1867, 23 August, 6f.

3. MacColl, The Christian Subjects of the Porte, Contemporary Review, 28:974-5.

4. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:672.

both sides of the Bosphorus.¹ One wonders what feelings were excited in the hearts of Turkish women at this sight. Abd ul-Aziz is said to have looked twelve years older than he really was and Eugénie fifteen years younger.² The two figures seem pathetic enough now that we look back at them with a knowledge of the terrible fall of pride which was so soon to come them both. After misfortunes overtook Eugénie, Abd ul-Aziz never entered Beylerbey Palace for fear of the evil eye.³ But all was joyous in 1869 and he came from Dolma Baghcheh Palace every day to visit her,⁴ he presented her with everything she admired,⁵ she dined with him⁶ and his chief ministers at Dolma Baghcheh Palace, and she went in his yacht in a sort of triumphal progress to the Sweet Waters of Asia.⁷

On October twenty-fifth the Grand Vizier Aali Pasha with Omar Pasha went via Varna to Rustchuk to meet Emperor Francis Joseph.⁸ He was lodged in Dolma Baghcheh Palace and was entertained by visits to the bazaars, mosques and palaces, a state dinner, a review of troops, and illuminations. On Sunday he went to Pera to hear mass, passing over a new road which the Sultan had had cut for his use.⁹

That same year came the Crown Prince of Prussia and Prince Louis of Hesse¹⁰ and Prince Amodeus of Italy.¹¹ The year before the Count de Chambord and the young Duke of Parma had been in Constantinople.¹² In 1872 came Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, IX, 687.

2. Times, 1869, 1 November, 6a.

3. Brassey, Sunshine and Storm in the East, 108.

4. Ibid., 109.

5. Ibid., 61.

6. Times, 1869, 16 October, 5a.

7. Ibid., 1869, 18 October, 7d.

8. Ibid., 1869, 25 October, 10a.

9. Ibid., 1869, 4 November, 8a.

10. Ibid., 1869, 27 October, 7d.

11. Annual Cyclopaedia, IX, 687.

12. Times, 1868, 22 April, 12a.

and the Duke of Mecklenburg,¹ General Sherman and a son of President Grant,² the Queen of Wurtemburg,³ and the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia.⁴ All of these received more or less attention from the Sultan.

Visitors came from the East also. The Viceroy of Egypt came often. The Shah of Persia came in 1873. In 1872 and 1873 ambassadors came from Southwest China, from the Khan of East Turkistan, and from the Sultan of Acheen to recognize the sovereignty and ask the protection of Abd ul-Aziz as the head of Islam.⁵

But the reign of Abd ul-Aziz was not filled entirely with making and receiving visits. Up to 1870 his administration showed considerable vigor and independence. In 1852 Abd ul-Mejid had sent Omar Pasha to try to subdue Montenegro, a Slavonic Christian state which had never been wholly conquered by the Turks. The people of the province of Herzegovina had aided the Montenegrins. In 1853 Austria and Russia had intervened and stopped hostilities. Montenegro had been neutral during the Crimean War, but her prince had tried to get the Congress of Paris to acknowledge his independence and extend his lands to the sea.⁶ He tried this again in 1857 when Herzegovina asked to be annexed to Montenegro.⁷ In 1861 the Herzegovinians revolted against the Porte, but by the advice of the Powers Prince Nicholas, who had succeeded to the Montenegrin throne in 1860, was neutral. Nevertheless after Omar Pasha put

1. Ibid., 1872, 19 April, 5b.

2. Ibid., 1872, 20 April, 5b.

3. Ibid., 1872, 8 May, 14a.

4. Ibid., 1872, 11 October, 3b.

5. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIII, 744.

6. Freeman, The Ottoman Power in Europe, 213-214.

7. Miller, The Balkans, 258, 259.

down the insurrection in Herzegovina, in 1862, he invaded Montenegro on the pretext of restoring order. France and Russia protested against this.¹ Russia was not in a position to act effectively and besides, France and England had undertaken to stand sponsor for Turkish good behaviour after the Crimean War. But Napoleon III was busy with Mexican affairs, and Lord Palmerston² regarded the Montenegrins as rebels. They fought bravely but were compelled to make a humiliating treaty³ in which they promised to abstain from frontier raids, from support of insurrections, and from the erection of frontier forts. One of their brave generals was to be exiled and the Turks were to fortify points on the route between Scutari and Herzegovina but these last two provisions were annulled by mutual consent.⁴

The press in Turkey had begun as a government institution and had so continued till 1860. It had its golden age in the hands of independent reformers from 1860 till 1876. Unfortunately the reformers directed their attacks against Aali and Fuad Pashas who had the best of intentions for their country and who were having, without this, a hard enough time "to cope with the caprices of Abd ul-Aziz, the intrigues of Russia, the inertia of many sections of the natives, and the endless difficulties of an ignorant country with primitive economic equipment."⁵ In December, 1864, it was found necessary to pass a stringent press law which provided

1. Times, 1862, 30 April, 12a.

2. Miller, The Balkans, 258, 259.

3. Miller, The Balkans, 260.

4. Ibid., 304.

5. Ahmed Emin, Columbia University Studies, 59:16-36.

that every paper must be authorized by the government, which protected friendly and allied sovereigns from attack, and which prohibited entrance into the empire of publications hostile to the government.¹ This law failed to check attacks on those in power. Hence the government began acting thru administrative channels, regardless of the law, following a program of warning, suspension, and suppression.²

In 1844, Sir Stratford Canning had induced Abd ul-Mejid to promise that thereafter no one who was converted from Islam to Christianity should be executed, and the Hatti-humayoun of 1856 had guaranteed religious freedom. Nevertheless, when in 1864 the spirit of inquiry was extending so that the government felt that many Moslems wished to reform their faith, spies were set to watch the missionaries,³ for a time all Protestant missionary establishments were closed,⁴ and the government dared to arrest a Turkish evangelist and twenty Turks as they came from church and sent them without trial into exile. The United States and Great Britain investigated this arrest and on the demand of Great Britain the exiles were returned.⁵

What enlightened Turkish administration was capable of in the provinces was shown by Midhat Pasha's governorship of Bulgaria, or the Vilayet of the Danube, in the years 1865 and 1868. He divided and subdivided his province and organized a local council

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, IV, 776.

2. Ahmed Emin, Columbia University Studies, 59:16-36.

3. and 5. Barton, Daybreak in Turkey, 234-250.

4. Annual Cyclopaedia, IV, 776.

of administration in each subdivision. Forced labor was abolished, brigandage was suppressed, and a local gendarmerie started. 1400 bridges were built and 200 kilometers of good roads¹, and the second railway line in Bulgaria² started. Agricultural banks were established, public and waste lands cultivated. A postal service was instituted. An orphan asylum was founded at Sofia, a school at Shumla, a hospital at Plevna. Equitable valuation of property was made³, and taxes were levied without complaint, the revenue yielding a surplus.⁴ There had been, ever since the Crimean War, an organization working for the independence of Bulgaria.⁵ But when, in 1867, two bands of agitators crossed the Danube into Bulgaria, the peasants showed little sympathy with them,⁶ and Midhat Pasha suppressed the movement with great severity. He shot two passengers on an Austrian boat who were accused of complicity in the disturbance. The Powers protested and he was recalled.

Between 1866 and 1869 the Turkish government faced and subdued a serious rebellion in Crete. In the spring of 1866 the Christians of Crete sent a petition to the Porte in which they complained of exorbitant taxes upon food and upon the sale of wine, salt, and tobacco, of vexatious farming of taxes, of interference by the governor in their elections, and of the lack of roads and bridges. They asked for a bank to protect them from the usury of oil merchants and a reform of the courts. They had no schools. Any Moslem who should apostatize from his faith must leave the

1. and 4. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 38.

2, 3, 5. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 344, 45.

6. Midhat Pasha, Past, Present, and Future of Turkey, Nineteenth Century, 985.

¹ island. The two chief causes for discontent seem to have been the courts and the tax system. The courts were presided over by the Moslem judges who applied the Koran to all disputes brought before them. These men were administrators for minors and were said to be very corrupt in matters of inheritance. The Moslem judge was the only notary public thru whom Christians could execute deeds of sale, bonds, and contracts. He received five per cent of all property listed in a document submitted to his signature. The cost of a suit was imposed upon the defendant if he won, and his adversary could bring the same charge against him a second time, the judge again pocketing five percent of the amount submitted to his decision besides a summons fee and other fees.² Orders of the courts were issued in Turkish, evidence of Christians was not availin^g against Moslems, imprisonment was indefinitely protracted, and a relative of an escaped convict could be held as hostage.³ The Turkish government collected as taxes one-tenth of all agricultural produce. The taxes were farmed out to the highest bidder. A farmer was not allowed to remove his crop from the field till the tax collector had come to get his share. The latter often kept him waiting till his grain was ruined or he allowed himself to be bribed to permit the farmer to remove the grain. In case of a harvest which could not be collected all at once, as with olives, the tax collector fixed the average amount of the harvest and the proportion the farmer must pay. It often

1. and 3. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 307, 308.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 99.

haopened the farmer had hardly enough to pay the tax.¹

What the Turks themselves thought of the causes of the revolt is shown by a report which Aali Pasha made to the Sultan in February, 1868, after he had been in Crete. He attributes the maintenance of the revolt to (1) discontent attributed to the population, which he says was a mere pretext, (2) Panhellenism, "a ramification of that subterranean work which is destroying most European governments by the aid of a new principle, that of nationality, a principle which Turkey will never admit", (3) pressure upon cabinets friendly to Turkey by public opinion misled by falsehoods propagated by the press.²

The Cretans addressed confidential letters to France, Russia, and Great Britain.³ Their petition to the Porte was not answered till 22,000 troops had been concentrated on the island. Then, after three months, the Grand Vizier wrote the Governor refusing the petition, and ordering the Governor to break up assemblies and to imprison the chiefs of the people. Thereupon the Cretans issued a manifesto to European Powers and later applied to the United States.⁴ The Turks committed great atrocities.⁵ The Cretans proclaimed their independence and annexation to Greece.⁶

Since foreign consulates were attacked many nations sent war vessels to Cretan waters.⁷ The Turks allowed these vessels to carry away from Crete any people who wished to go. Many women and children left.⁸ 315 went on the British ship Assurance. This

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 99-100. The causes are dealt with here somewhat in detail because they are the same wrongs complained of by the Herzegovinians later in the period.

2. Ibid. VIII, 89.

3. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 308, Annual Cyclopaedia, VI, 87.

4.5.6.7. &8. Annual Cyclopaedia, VI, 87-90.

5. 6. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 309-312.

caused a pro-British demonstration in Greece¹ and the English Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Derby, forbade a repetition of such rescues, saying it encouraged the people of Greece to think that England sympathized with the insurgents.² The Russian emperor and his family sent subscriptions for the relief of suffering. Victor Hugo and Garibaldi made stirring appeals for the Cretans, and the liberals throughout Europe sympathized with them.³ France and England supported the Turkish government in 1866 but offered to join other powers in urging Turkey to give guarantees for reform. In January, 1867, delegates were sent from Crete, by order of the Sultan, to Constantinople to confer with him, but upon arriving there they appealed to the Powers.⁵ In March the French ambassador suggested a plébiscite to let the islanders decide for themselves what they wished.⁶ Russia advised creating an autonomous state like Roumania or annexing Crete to Greece.⁷ The Turkish government replied that only another Navarino could force Turkey to give Crete to Greece.⁸ In June, 1867, a collective note from France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy asked the Porte for a suspension of hostilities and an inquiry by a commission appointed by the Powers and the Porte. The Porte refused. In October the same Powers addressed another note urging the same steps. This time Austria and England addressed separate notes urging liberal concessions to the insurgents.⁹ That month Aali Pasha went to Crete,

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 309-312. Freeman, The Ottoman Power in Europe, 208.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, VI, 87-90.

4. Annual Cyclopaedia, VI, 89-90.

5. 6. 8. &9. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 100-101.

6. Miller, (The Ottoman Empire, 312-13) says all the Powers except England supported this.

5. 7. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 312-314.

9. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 259, gives this statement. "In a note of May 17, 1867, Austria, France, Prussia, Italy and Russia demanded the appointment of a commission to examine into the wishes of the popula-

proclaimed amnesty, and tried to get deputies from each district to confer with him, but the chiefs wished an international commission. However, his work there led to the Organic Statute of 1868 by which Crete was afterwards governed for ten years.¹ At last Austria, supported by England, recommended that the Porte accept the inquiry proposed by the four other Powers, but by this time France's attitude had changed to that of support of Turkey.²

The Greek government had been afraid to give help to the insurgents officially but it had allowed large numbers of volunteers to go to Crete.³ There were sympathetic insurrections in the then Turkish provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. These, the Turks claimed, were stirred up by bands recruited and equipped with the knowledge of the Hellenic government.⁴ Throughout 1868 Greek steamers continued to make trips to Crete with cargoes of provisions and munitions. Delegates sent from Crete to sit in the parliament at Athens were ardently received by the Greek people, but protests of the Turkish and other ministers caused the Greek government to refuse to seat them.⁵ In December, 1868, an ultimatum was served on Greece by Turkey. It gave Greece five days in which to disperse bands of volunteers, disarm three corsairs or close Greek ports to them, and grant Cretan emigrants a right to return home. The

tion. The Sultan, encouraged by England, refused to allow any interference." This does not exactly agree with statement in VIII, 737 and VII, 100-101.

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 312-314.

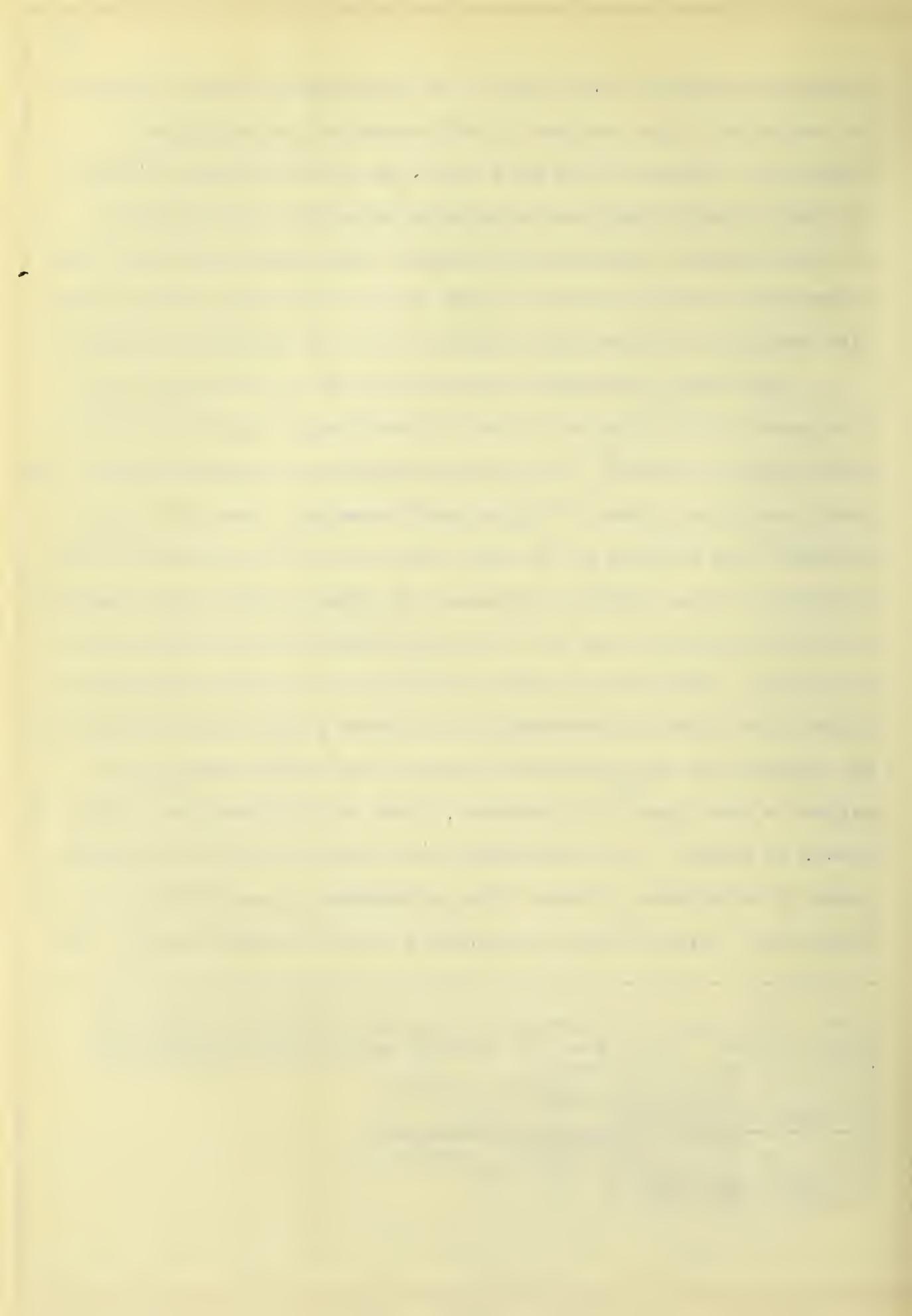
2. Annual Cyclopaedia, VIII, 737.

3. and 4. Annual Cyclopaedia, VIII, 777.

3. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 310-11.

4. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 101.

5. Ibid., VIII, 88.



Turkish government was now ironically maintaining the attitude of a benevolent power whose subjects had been kidnapped by a robber nation. The Greeks refused and Turkey prepared for war.¹ But the Powers held a conference in Paris in January, 1869, and advised Greece to settle the trouble peacefully. The Greek government did so, and the Cretan Revolution died. A more liberal governor was sent to Crete and the beginning of a constitutional autonomous government for the island was instituted.² However, it was a government which proved "costly and unworkable."³ Such as it was it had been attained at terrible sacrifice. The whole wretched affair could probably have been prevented if the Powers had stood together in the first place and had insisted that the provisions of the Hatti-humayoun of 1856 be enforced. The Cretans refused to be reasonable because they looked for foreign intervention and the Turkish government skillfully used the lack of harmony of the Powers to prevent action while the revolutionists were being crushed.

While Abd ul-Aziz's administration was at first able to crush Montenegro and Crete and to prevent agitations in Bulgaria the larger dependencies - Roumania, Serbia, Egypt - progressed rapidly toward a more democratic form of government and toward independence, helped greatly by the disturbances in Crete. By the treaty of Paris Wallachia and Moldavia were to remain distinct principalities under the supremacy of the Turk.⁴ But in 1859 both states elected the same prince, Alexander Couza. He gained

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, VIII, 737.

2. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, 544, Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 314-18.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, VII, 427-8.

4. Freeman, The Ottoman Power in Europe, 210-11.

the recognition of the Porte and the Powers. In 1863 the church lands were secularized and in 1864 a land law was passed which created peasant proprietorship and abolished forced labor and the tithe.¹

In 1866 Couza was forced to abdicate. A provisional government offered the crown to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. A conference of the Powers and Turkey was deliberating on the question in Paris and they objected to his becoming the ruler. The Sultan sent an army to the Danube. But Bismarck had advised Prince Charles to take the throne, a plébiscite in Roumania was favorable to him, and so he went into the country. Then came Königgrätz, which enhanced Prussia's influence, and the Cretan Revolution. The Sultan yielded. On October 24, 1866, Charles received the firman of investiture as hereditary prince with the right of separate coinage but not the right to make separate treaties.² However, in 1873, Roumania, in spite of protests of the Porte, asserted her right to make a separate treaty and to maintain ambassadors in foreign courts.³ The autumn maneuvers of the Roumanian army in 1874 were held near Bucharest in the presence of representatives of foreign powers. Then the Austrian and Russian governments informed the Porte that they would make treaties directly with the Roumanian government, and that they could not afford to have their interests on the Danube interfered with by "pretended sovereignty".⁴

Michael Obrenovitch succeeded to the throne of Serbia the year before Abd ul-Aziz became Sultan.⁵ The Turkish government

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 319-22.

2. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 322-328.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIII, 745.

4. Ibid., XIV, 792. 5. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 253.

had insisted on maintaining garrisons at several Serbian fortresses. This the Serbians resented. In June, 1862, a scuffle began at a well in Belgrade between some Serbians and some Turkish soldiers. The excitement arising from this grew so high that the Turks bombarded Belgrade for five hours. An Ottoman commissioner came to Belgrade to investigate and a conference of the Powers convened at Constantinople. The Turkish government withdrew its troops from some of the forts and abandoned the Turkish quarter of Belgrade.¹ Prince Michael devoted his energies to getting a withdrawal of all the troops. His wife went to London to influence public opinion there. When the Cretan Revolution came on there was some correspondence regarding a Serbo-Greek alliance. The prospect of a general Balkan rising so alarmed France and Russia that they persuaded England and Austria to support Michael's request for the evacuation of the forts. The Porte consented on condition that the Turkish and Serbian colors wave together over Belgrade. On May 6, 1867, the last Turkish soldier quitted
 2 Serbia.

On June 10, 1868, Michael was assassinated. A national assembly, or Skuptschina, was called, which elected Milan, a nephew of Michael, as prince. It appointed a regency and resolved that the Skuptschina should meet annually till Milan was of age.³ In 1869, it prepared a new constitution for Serbia which guaranteed equality before the law, ministerial responsibility, liberty of the press, independence of judges, autonomy of communities, and

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 254-255.

2. Ibid., 332,333.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, 738-739.

a popular assembly to be elected triennially.¹ Turkey proper did not get even the promise of a constitution till 1876.

In 1841 Mehemet Ali had succeeded in securing that the office of Viceroy of Egypt be hereditary in his family. Under him Egypt had made great material progress. Ismail Pasha succeeded to the office of Viceroy in 1863. He had vast schemes of reform and made a great show of introducing European innovations into Egypt.² In 1866 the Council of Ministers determined on the basis and organization of a council of representatives.³ In 1869 a scholar was called from Berlin to establish a university at Cairo.⁴ In 1870 a conference of representatives of the Powers was requested by the Viceroy in order that it might report on a system of courts for the trial of foreigners.⁵ Telegraph lines, railroads, bridges, aqueducts, lighthouses, and the famous Suez canal were built - the last only partly with Egyptian capital. But Ismail, like his master, was borrowing money heavily and taxing his poverty-stricken people remorselessly. His extravagance finally led to European intervention in Egypt.⁶

The Viceroy was anxious to have his office descend from father to son instead of to the oldest male of the family as it went by Ottoman custom. Abd ul-Aziz consented to this change in the succession to the Viceroyalty in 1866, hoping to set a precedent for action with regard to the Sultanate later. Egyptian troops were sent to aid in suppressing the Cretan uprising and for this the Viceroy was given the title Khedive, altho in view

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, IX, 689-690.

2. and 6. Encyclopaedia Britannica, IX, 113.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, VI, 277.

4. Ibid., IX, 234.

5. Ibid., X, 267.

of this and other concessions the Egyptian tribute (£360,000 yearly) was doubled.¹ This title was made hereditary in 1872.²

When the Suez canal was to be opened Abd ul-Aziz took great offense because Ismail Pasha personally invited the sovereigns of Europe to attend the exercises instead of having the invitations issued thru the Porte.³ He threatened to go to Egypt and preside over the ceremonies in person but was dissuaded, perhaps by Emperor Francis Joseph.⁴ There were many occasions of difficulty between Abd ul-Aziz and Ismail Pasha due to Ismail's growing military power and his tendency to open direct negotiations with foreign governments. When they met in London in 1867 the Sultan treated the Viceroy with marked coolness.⁵ But Ismail Pasha visited Constantinople often and carried large bribes with him.⁶ In the end Abd ul-Aziz always gave him what he wished.

It was the custom for the Sultan at the beginning of each year to hear the reports of his ministers. In 1869, for the first time in the history of Turkey, the Sultan after receiving the reports made a speech, which was very favorably commented on at the time.⁷ This speech, as well as the one which he had made the year previous at the opening of the Council of State,⁸ and the one which he made at the beginning of the year in 1870⁹ were probably written for him by his ministers, but they show, at least, what his ministry hoped to accomplish. There are expressions looking forward to attaining rank among civilized nations, and promises to

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, IX, 113, Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 1.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, XII, 278.

3. Ibid, IX, 234.

7. Annual Cyclopaedia, IX, 688.

4. Times, 1869, 4 November, 8a.

8. Ibid, VIII, 735.

5. Times, 1867, 13 July, 11d.

9. Ibid, X, 723.

6. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIII, 744, Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, 461, Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:671.

reform civil polity, to develop education, to foster trade, and to improve highways. There is emphasis on the doctrine that a state's strength depends on its encouragement of agriculture and commerce, its honesty of administration, and its fullness of religious toleration.

What was this ministry accomplishing in the way of reform? For one thing, in 1868 it instituted a Council of State. This was composed of fifty members, Moslems, Jews, and the chief Christian sects being represented. It was supposed to prepare drafts of laws, to discuss the budget, to decide matters in dispute between the administrative and judicial departments, and to try functionaries who should be committed to it by imperial order.¹ This was at least a start toward giving the people a voice in their government.

In 1864 there was promulgated a scheme for local government which had been worked out by Midhat, Aali, and Fuad Pashas.² All Turkey, except Constantinople and the Lebanon district, was to be divided into twenty-seven vilayets, and these in turn into 123 livas or sanjaks. The sanjaks were to be divided into cazas and the cazas into nahiehs, or communes. The head of the vilayet was to be a governor appointed by the Porte and assisted by other officers, also appointed by the Porte. But there would be an administrative council made up partly of members elected by the people. The administration of the smaller divisions was similar.³

1. Ibid., VIII, 735, Baker, Turkey in Europe, 521.

2. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 164. Ali Haydar Midhat, English and Russian Policies in the East, Nineteenth Century, 53:69. The date is given as 1861 in Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXVII, 441.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXVII, 441.

This looks like an excellent scheme but later under Abd ul-Hamid it was an instrument of great corruption. It purported to give the people in the districts self-government. It really centralized authority in the hands of the Sultan. Thru ex-officio members there was always a Moslem majority on the Council.¹

Turkish law was based upon the Koran but after 1859 elaborate civil and criminal codes based on the Code Napoleon were drawn up and used with the old system.² In 1868 a Supreme Court of Justice was instituted at Constantinople. It was to pass final sentence in all civil and criminal cases, but death sentences were to be approved by the Sultan.³ One object Turkish reformers had in wishing to revise the legal and judicial systems was, no doubt, to induce foreign governments to give up the capitulations Turkey had granted them. These gave foreign residents a position of independence of the laws of Turkey and made it unwise for the Porte to grant mining or other concessions, since to do so was to render the land so conceded a part of the country of which the concessionaire was a citizen. This hindered industrial development in Turkey.⁴

In 1869 a plan was started for reorganizing the army. It was hoped this might be completed by 1878.⁵ It was expected that the number of men in the army would reach 700,000.⁶ All Moslem men were liable for service from the age of twenty and if drawn by lot, they were to remain in active service four years.

1. and 2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXVII, 441.

3. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 514.

4. Annual Cyclopaedia, IX, 689.

5. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIII, 743.

6. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 722.

After they had served this length of time, or had drawn blanks for six years, they were to be in the first reserve two years, then in the second reserve for three years, and finally in the sedentary army for three years. This plan did not work out altogether satisfactorily. It obliged men to travel far to the drawings, it kept them unsettled as to their future, and there was corruption in the buying of discharges from service.¹

The navy was constantly built up during Abd ul-Aziz's reign till at his death Turkey could be regarded as the third naval power in the world.²

Some reforms in education were realized, especially in the period of French influence which extended from 1867 to 1870. French became part of the regular curriculum of the public schools. With French aid the Turks worked out - on paper - an elaborate scheme for education³ consisting of primary, secondary, and superior schools. Primary schools multiplied under Abd ul-Aziz's government and a few secondary schools were started -- in 1862 a School of Administration with a two year's course for prospective governors, in 1868 an Imperial Lyceum conducted by French teachers and having an eight years' course (three years of preparatory and five of college grade) and in 1869 a bureaucratic school for scholars who were to be copyists⁴. Foreign missionaries were also founding institutions which have had great influence in the education of the nations subject to the Turks. Cyrus Hamlin began the famous Robert College in 1861 and laid the cornerstone for

1. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 306.

2. Ibid, 316, The Annual Cyclopaedia, vol. VI to XVI, gives the additions that were made to the navy.

3. Ahmed Emin, Columbia University Studies, 59:38.

4. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 523.

the first college building July 4, 1869.¹ The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was established in 1866. What became later the American College for Women at Scutari and is now Constantinople College at Arnaoutkeui was opened as a secondary school for girls in 1871.²

Soon after Cyrus Hamlin went to Turkey he performed an experiment to show Abd ul-Mejid the practicability of the electric telegraph.³ By the end of Abd ul-Aziz's life the telegraph had been extended to all the principal towns of Turkey.⁴

In August 1867 Abd ul-Aziz had his first railroad ride in his European dominions over the 120 miles from Rustchuk to Varna. 700 people went with him and he bestowed a decoration on the Englishmen who had charge of the train.⁵ Ali and Fuad Pashas encouraged railroad building. In 1869 concessions had been granted for 1,260 miles.⁶ But in 1875 there were only 952 miles of line in Europe and 171 miles in Asia.⁷ There was much corruption in the construction of these lines.⁸ The trunk line between Constantinople and Belgrade was so opposed by the Serbians that at last the contractors, having finished only short lines of unconnected railway,⁹ gave up the work.

A great deal of land in Turkey belonged to mosques as in mediaeval Europe it had belonged to monasteries. It is asserted

1. Hamlin, Among the Turks, 287.
2. Monroe, Turkey and the Turks, 175-176.
3. Barton, Daybreak in Turkey, 234.
4. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 323.
5. Times, 1867, 27 August, 9f.
6. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 722
7. Ibid., XV, 732.
8. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 66.
9. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:671

that Mahmud II had intended to seize all such land and convert it to the use of the state,¹ and Fuad and Ali Pashas suggested similar action.² In 1865 a law for its seizure was passed and put partly into execution.³ Another decree was issued in 1873,⁴ but as late as 1897 one-third of the entire land of Turkey was said to be in the possession of the mosques and much of it was not kept in cultivation.⁵

In 1867 foreigners were for the first time permitted to hold landed property in Turkey. This was on condition that they give up their rights to the protection of their home government as far as the land was concerned.⁶ Turkey even promised thru her ambassadors at London and Paris, in 1870, free grants of land and exemption from taxation for ten years to western settlers.⁷

The work of the commission appointed to examine into the financial state of the empire at the beginning of Abd ul-Aziz's reign resulted in the establishment in 1863, of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, with a capital of £2,700,000, increased by 1875 to £10,000,000. It acted as banker to the Ottoman government until 1914. Its advisory committee was nominated by committees in London and Paris. It was an Anglo-French concern with a concession from the Ottoman Government.⁸

1. and 4. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIII, 745.

2. and 5. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 110-112.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, V, 792.

6. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, 461. Baker, Among the Turks, 541-542.

7. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 723.

8. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 187-188. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIII, 441.

A uniform decimal system of weights and measures was established by law in January, 1870.¹ The first diplomatic publication issued by the Turkish foreign office was distributed in March, 1868. This Red Book dealt largely with the Cretan situation.²

The position of sovereign of a theocratic absolutism such as Turkey was in Abd ul-Aziz's day is one offering great power either for good or for evil. This power had been enhanced by Mahmud II's destruction of the authority of the beylerbeys and by the reorganization of local government under the law of vilayets. It was a matter of grave concern for Turkey and the world that such a position should be held by such a man as Abd ul-Aziz. The hopes which attended his accession were all disappointed.³ He showed himself to be weak and capricious. He was apt to be sullen and abusive and was given to savage outbursts of anger which made him greatly feared.⁴ Once when Fuad Pasha ventured to disagree with him, he flew into a rage and pommelled the minister with his fists.⁵ He was impatient of contradiction or advice of any kind. He had a most inflated notion of his own power and importance, and his subjects assumed a very servile attitude toward him.⁶ He changed the etiquette of the court, imposing an "anti-quated ceremonial accompanied by unwonted prostrations to be observed on entering the imperial presence." He commanded that he

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 722.

2. Ibid., VII, 728.

3. Times, 1876, 8 June, 5a.

4. Times, 1863, 9 April, 7b; 1863, 15 August, 8e; 1876, 31 March, 11a. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:674.

5. Barker, Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans, I, 14.

6. Times, 1863, 9 April, 7b; 1876, 17 March 4e; 1876, 31 March, 11a. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 29.

be addressed in "inflated language strange even to the forms of Oriental adulation."¹

Mrs. Brassey tells of seeing his regular Friday procession to the mosque. Five caiques carried his party. His own was white lined with red velvet and gold and having a gold canopy. The cushions were embroidered in gold and precious stones. Facing those on which the Sultan sat knelt two of his chief ministers their heads bowed down and their arms folded abjectly across their breasts. Behind stood the steersman gorgeous in green and gold. Twenty-four oarsmen dressed in full white shirts and trousers, purple and gold jackets, and scarlet fezzes manned the boat. Prior to each stroke they knelt and touched the bottom of the boat with their foreheads, then rose to standing position, and sent the oar with a terrific sweep. The caique went with great speed, but such exertion on the part of the oarsmen was said to break them down in two years' time.² Mrs. Brassey describes the Sultan at this time as a "fine, intelligent-looking man", but having grown grey since she saw him in Paris in 1867 and looking more nearly seventy than forty-four.³ Her description of him as intelligent-looking does not comport well with the accounts she gives of his freakish actions.

He was extremely superstitious. One day as he came into a room in Dolma Baghche Palace where repairs were being made his head touched a beam and his fez fell off backwards. He sent for Aali Pasha and told him the palace must be torn down to counteract the omen. The minister was able to prevent this by saying,

1. Life of Midhat Pasha, 62-63.

2. Brassey, Sunshine and Storm in the East, 84.

3. Ibid., 67.

"Your Majesty by this act will indispose all Europe against you and you will not obtain any more money in loans."¹

He was intensely ignorant concerning the needs of his country and, in his later years, no one dared inform him.² He paid less and less attention to matters of state, spending much time in bed or at his private theater.³ His indiscriminate promotions often threatened to disorganize the administration. One day when he had been out on the water he was so pleased with his chief sailor that he sent word to the Grand Vizier that he willed to make the sailor a pasha. Fuad and Aali came together to the palace and tendered their resignations which had the effect desired.⁴ The command of one of his largest ironclads was given to a common sailor who presented him with a cat which he had taught to perform tricks.⁵

As long as Fuad and Aali Pashas lived they held over him a constant check by the ascendancy which the strong mind has over the weak.⁶ But Fuad Pasha died in 1869 and Aali Pasha in September, 1871. Fuad died at Nice whither he had gone for his health. The day before his death he addressed to his sovereign a document remarkable for its clear-sighted, statesmanlike view. He told Abd ul-Aziz in this that his empire was in danger, that it was forced to have, "under pain of death, as much money as England, as much intelligence as France, as many soldiers as Russia", that

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1. Barker, Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans, I, 14.
 2. Times, 1876, 17 March, 4e.
 3. Times, 1876, 6 April, 8b. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 357. Abd ul-Aziz and his Successors, International Review, 3: 680.
 4. Barker, Syria and Egypt under the Last Five Sultans, I, 13-14.
 5. Brassey, Sunshine and Storm in the East, 81
 6. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:670.

the empire was more enlightened and had more means at its disposal than ever in its history but, he says, "it is no longer a question of making rapid progress, it is simply and entirely a question of making as great progress as other nations of Europe. All our political, all our civil institutions must be changed." He argued that this change is consistent with Islam, pleading almost pathetically that he had kept the faith of his fathers. He urged maintenance of friendship with England and France and warned against the growth of Russia. He advised the Sultan to keep the Christians of his empire separated, to organize justice, construct roads, and pay the utmost attention to the development of education. He showed the evil of small states. The religion of any subject, he said, might be disregarded but he must believe "in the unity of the fatherland based on the equality of all men".¹

II. THE PERIOD OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE.

The ministers accredited to the Porte by other nations interfered with the working of the Turkish government many times during the reign of Abd ul-Aziz in a way which would not have been tolerated by a western state.² Sometimes this was very helpful to peace and order in Turkey. The troubles in the Lebanon which led to English and French intervention in the last years of Abd ul-Mejid's reign were settled finally in a statute drawn up and signed by Turkey and the five Powers, September 6, 1864. This provided for an autonomous government of the district in which all religious sects should be properly represented, for taxation to be

1. Political Testament of Muad Pasha, Nineteenth Century, 53:190-97
 2. Times, 1876, 8 June, 5a. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 40-42.

devoted to local needs and for adequate policing of the district. It later served as a model for the government of Crete.¹ A new insurrection in 1867 was of short duration² and there was no more trouble in the Lebanon till the last disordered years of Abd ul-Aziz's reign.³ The European Danube Commission established by the Treaty of Paris and exercising sovereign power over the lower Danube was extended for twelve years from 1871.⁴

But on the other hand the inability of the Powers to agree as to a policy, coupled with their well-known tendency to interfere, had held out false hope to the Greeks and prolonged/suffering. Their It is said that Napoleon III suggested Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen as ruler of Roumania, and it was in accordance with Bismarck's advice and in opposition to the wishes of Turkey that Charles assumed the throne. This proved a good thing for Roumania, but it was a long step toward causing Turkey to lose sovereignty over the district. English gossip had it that French influence was exerted in the effort to replace in the position of Seraskier Riza Pasha who had been dismissed and threatened with punishment for misappropriation of funds at the beginning of Abd-ul-Aziz's reign.⁵ At the time of the cabinet crisis in February, 1863, Sir Henry Bulwer, who had just returned from Egypt, patched matters up⁶ so as to keep Fuad Pasha in power. This was the best thing that could have happened for Turkey, but if the charges Cyrus

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 304-305.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 728.

3. Ibid., XV, 740.

4. Ibid., XVI, 753.

5. Times, 1861, 19 August, of.

6. Ibid., 1863, 7 February, 12c.

Hamlin makes against Sir Henry Bulwer are true.¹ and if he is a fair type of the men European governments often sent to Turkey, it was indeed dangerous for the Ottoman government that diplomatic representatives had the power of interference which they seemed to possess.

French influence, causing intense reform activity, from 1867 to 1870, caused great alarm and displeasure to Russia. Russia's continuous push to reach the sea, since the time of Peter the Great, the sympathy of Russians with their co-religionists in Turkey,² and the support Russia has given in the erection of weak, semi-independent states in Turkish territory-states which might look to her with gratitude - are well known.³ Her influence in Turkey had been seriously crippled by the Treaty of Paris that closed the Crimean War. This forbade Russian armaments in and around the Black Sea.⁴ But Russia asserted her independence of this when in 1870 France was engaged in the Franco-Prussian War. In October of that year Prince Gortchakoff addressed a note to the Russian ambassadors to the Great Powers in which he claimed that the treaty had already been broken by allowing Wallachia and Moldavia to unite and to choose a foreign prince, and that, moreover, it was manifestly unjust to Russia, since Turkey was permitted unlimited naval forces in the Archipelago and the Straits, and France and England had the power of concentrating forces in

1. Hamlin, Among the Turks, 293. Dr. Hamlin asserts that the Viceroy of Egypt had given "presents" to Sir Henry Bulwer and one of the latter's mistresses in order to secure Sir Henry's influence with the Turkish government for some step the Vice-roy contemplated.
2. Harrison, Cross and Crescent, Förnightly Review, 26; 720.
3. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 729; X, 722.
4. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, 545-7.

the Mediterranean. War seemed imminent. A Turkish army under Omar Pasha was gathered along the Danube and a smaller force was ordered to the Greek frontier. The Turkish fleet was kept ready for immediate service.¹ But in January, 1871, a conference attended by representatives of Turkey, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, and England was held in London, and a new treaty was signed by which Turkey and Russia obtained full liberty as regards their naval forces in the Black Sea.² From this time on until 1876 Russian influence was exceedingly strong in Turkey.

In 1864, there had come as Russian ambassador to Constantinople the wily General Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatiev. He had attended, as military attaché, the Congress of Paris at which both Fuad Pasha and Aali Pasha were present. In 1858 he had gone on a dangerous mission to Khiva and Bokhara. Then he had been sent as minister plenipotentiary to Pekin where he took advantage of the consternation of the Chinese following their war with England and France to obtain territory for Russia on the Amur River. He was in Constantinople from 1864 till 1877.³ For many years the Russian consulships had been the center of agencies which filled the subject Christians in Turkey with the idea of coming liberation,⁴ and now General Ignatiev gained an influence over the weak Sultan which threatened to rend Turkey asunder.⁵ For example, Midhat Pasha insisted that General Ignatiev induced Abd ul-Aziz

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, X, 260-262, 722.

2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, 461.

3. Ibid., XIV, 292.

4. Abd ul-Aziz and his Successors, International Review, 3:677.

5. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 63. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 29.

to recall Midhat from the vilayet of the Danube because Midhat wished to found there schools and universities so that Bulgarian youths would not go to Russia to be educated.¹

Abd ul-Aziz made no secret of his joy that death relieved him of the restraining guidance of Fuad and Aali Pashas.² He appointed as Grand Vizier Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, a man bent on increasing his own wealth by every means in his power, a man who became such a tool of General Ignatiev, so favorable in every way to Russian policy, that he was nicknamed by the people Mahmoudoff.³ From 1871 to the end of the reign there were eight changes of ministry. Midhat Pasha was so convinced of Mahmoud Nedim's dishonesty that, after eleven months of the latter's leadership, Midhat, in a personal interview with Abd ul-Aziz, daringly demanded a change, and the Sultan appointed him in Mahmoud Nedim's place. Midhat tried to force Mahmoud Nedim to return £100,000 which he had disbursed without accounting for it. Midhat astonished the Khedive of Egypt by refusing a "present" offered on one of the Khedive's visits to Constantinople and then he found that the Sultan himself had received bribes from the managers of the Baron Hirsh railway scheme (whose contract was such that work in the plains was paid for at the same rate as work in the hills) and ordered the Sultan to return the money.⁴ Abd ul-Aziz did this and then dismissed Midhat Pasha. After four

1. Life of Midhat Pasha, 40-42.

2. Sir Henry Elliot, The Death of Abd ul-Aziz and of Turkish Reform, Nineteenth Century, 23:277.

3. Ahmed Emin, Columbia University Studies, 59:39. Count de Keratry Living Age, 138:673. Ali Haydar Midhat, Nineteenth Century, 53:69.

4. Sir Henry Elliot, Nineteenth Century, 23:278
Ali Haydar Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 65-66.

others had been tried Mahmoud Nedim Pasha again became Grand Vizier in 1875.¹

One reason for the frequent change of ministry was Abd ul-Aziz's desire to change the succession to the throne.² He had six children at the time of his death³, but the law in Turkey is that the oldest male in the whole house of Osman ascends the throne.⁴ The heir was Murad, the son of Abd ul-Aziz's brother, Abd ul-Mejid. Youssouf Izz ed-Deen whom Abd ul-Aziz wished to have follow him was ineligible, not only because Murad was older than he but also, some held, because he had been born before his father became Sultan.⁵ Abd ul-Aziz had astonished the people soon after his accession by producing a son four or five years old. It was customary to kill infant children of the reigning house except those born to the Sultan himself and no one knew how Youssouf Izz ed-Deen had escaped.⁶ His father was very fond of him and tried to impress the western courts he visited in 1867 with the possibility of Youssouf Izz ed-Deen's becoming his successor.⁷ But the Old Moslem party regarded this as a departure from the teachings of the Koran, and there was grave danger to the state, for a Moslem is bound to obey a ruler only so far as he keeps the Koran. Moreover, the princes of Serbia and Roumania, the Khedive of Egypt, and the Bey of Tunis could easily seize a chance to become independent if a Sultan were seated who was not legally

1. The succession of ministers was traced in Schulthess' Europäische Geschichtskalender, 1861-1876.
2. Annual Cyclopaedia, XII, 768.
3. Ibid., X, 685.
4. Sir Charles Eliot, Turkey in Europe, 113.
5. and 7. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:670.
6. Times, 1861, 13 July, 5b.

heir at the time when they did homage at Constantinople.¹ It is easy to see why General Ignatiev agreed with the Sultan and Mahmoud Nedim in this case.² But, in 1874, thru the efforts of the Sheikh ul-Islam and Sir Henry Elliot, the Sultan became reconciled to his nephew and swore to respect his rights.³

Abd ul-Aziz had allowed it to be supposed when he became ruler that he would be content with one wife, but he soon filled a harem with Circassian slaves. He lavished great sums on his harem,⁴ and became inordinately fond of its relaxations.⁵ At the head of this establishment, according to Turkish custom, was his mother, who bore the title Valideh Sultan. Her influence became enormous. All sorts of transactions were carried on thru her. She virtually made the appointments of governors of vilayets. Toward the end these men were shifted every few weeks because of the presents they gave her upon receiving appointment. If one wished a firman to start a factory or a concession to work a mine,^{or} if he were in difficulty in a lawsuit, he went to Constantinople and, if he finally offered the Valideh Sultan backshish enough he got what he desired.⁶ Mahmoud Nedim said that the £100,000 he had not accounted for had been spent by the harem and the Valideh Sultan and General Ignatiev shielded him from prosecution.

The provinces became terribly misruled. When sums set aside for various purposes by the central government had been wasted in the palace, recourse was had to the provinces. Funds

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XII, 768.

2. Living Age, 138:672.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIV, 795.

4. Times, 1876, 8 June, 5a; 6 April, 8b.

5. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 189.

6. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 212. Elliot, The Death of Abd ul-Aziz, and of Turkish Reform, Nineteenth Century, 23:278.

needed for the completion of works of public utility there were sent to the capital. Incompetent favorites came out to the governors, bearing orders that they be provided with lucrative posts. Because of such conditions Midhat Pasha resigned the governorship of Bagdad, where he had been fully as efficient as in Bulgaria, and came to Constantinople to denounce Mahmoud Nedim with the result that has been seen.¹

Sir Edwin Pears says that in 1873 the government was honey-combed with corruption. Every official was regarded as having his price. Even in courts of law at Constantinople judges had confidential men who went to the lawyers in any case to tell them at what price a verdict could be obtained.²

The reputation for economy which Abd ul-Aziz had in 1861 was soon lost. His favorite saying was that he could not see what was the use of his ministers unless it was to procure him money.³ Building became a hobby with him. He lavished treasure in completing Dolma Baghcheh Palace and erecting Cheragan.⁴ His personal expense reached almost \$10,000,000 a year. He employed 6,000 servants and officials. There were special officers to attend to his pipe and to his perfumed washing basin. He had 600 horses in his stables and spent more than a million dollars annually on pictures and jewelry.⁵ Even so, he would not have been considered luxurious, for a Sultan of Turkey, had he reigned in an earlier century. But such expenditure did not comport with modern notions of royalty.

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1. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 63.
 2. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 5 and 6.
 3. Times, 1876, 17 March, 4e.
 4. Pears, 102. Times, 1876, 6 April, 8b.
 5. Lane-Poole, The Story of Turkey, 293.

Coupled with his extravagance was an astonishing avarice.
¹
 He soon learned civilized ways of using the stock exchange. In March, 1876, he was said to have three millions of pounds of gold hidden in his cellar and to hold eight millions worth of his own government bonds.² He got full interest on these when other stock holders were getting only one-half. He was first shareholder in the Azizieh Steam Navigation Company which was supposed to do coastwise trade. Really its vessels were owned by the Turkish admiralty, but Abd ul-Aziz received his dividends in this company regularly. He is said to have profited by "bear" sales from default on the Turkish debt in 1875 and the consequent rise ³ in prices.

Money to supply the whims of Abd ul-Aziz was obtained first by increase in the public debt. Ten loans were contracted during his reign, amounting in all to \$783,476,478.⁴ The loans were negotiated thru the Imperial Ottoman Bank and London and Paris banking firms.

Taxation grew to be little more than legalized plunder. The tithe on field products, which was always farmed out to the highest bidder, was raised to one-eighth or one-seventh. There was a property tax which varied from province to province, being either house, income, or poll tax. There were taxes on sheep and goats, in some places on cattle, and on bee hives. There were both import and export duties. There were license taxes and a

1. Living Age, 138:671.

2. Times, 1876, 31 March, 11a.

3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, I, 35.

4. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 529.

stamp tax. Non-Moslems paid a tax to escape military service while military conscription was a tax on Moslems.¹ There was compulsory work on roads and there was horse service for conveyance of troops.² A writer in April, 1876, says the peasants of Asiatic Turkey had in twenty years, thru poor government and excessive taxation, lost their carpets, good bedding, and copper kettles and were using rush mats, straw for beds, and earthen pans; their children were in rags and their flocks diminished.³

⁴ Expenditures exceeded income every year. Bankruptcy was bound to come. In October, 1875, the government announced that, beginning with the following January, for five years, the interest on the public debt and any part of the principal that fell due would be paid one-half in cash and one-half in \circ/\circ bonds.⁵ This caused a great outcry throughout Europe. The bonds held abroad were owned largely by small investors, such as widows of clergymen and other professional men. They felt the loss of their income keenly.⁶ Meetings of bondholders were held in every large city in Europe.⁷ The worst feature of the situation was that there was a feeling that the step had not been taken hastily, and that the Sultan and his chief officers were making money by it.⁸ Mr. Foster, the director-general of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, hearing rumors that the government was about to repudiate, had called on Mahmoud Nedim, the Grand Vizier. He was assured that

1. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 434-446.

2. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 360.

3. Times, 1876, 20 April, 10f.

4. Based on examination of statements in Annual Cyclopaedia from 1864 to 1876.

5. Annual Cyclopaedia, XV, 732.

6. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 52.

7. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 69. 33:88.

8. Wilson, Financial Default of Turkey in 1875, Macmillan's Magazine, /

nothing of the kind was contemplated. The very next day the decree of repudiation was issued and Mr. Foster learned that the Grand Vizier had signed it before Mr. Foster visited him. The Turk had been held up in England and France as the soul of honor and truthfulness.¹ for twenty years the British public had believed that the duty of England was to keep Turkey intact at whatever cost, for twenty years every loan issued had been believed to be for the regeneration of Turkey, and suggestions as to the growing poverty of the country had been met with arguments concerning its vast natural resources. Now all this was changed.² It is strange what a difference in vision is caused by the presence or absence of a dollar before the eyes.

There was no help to be hoped for from the Sultan even if he had been supposed to be honest, for the papers were discussing his insanity.³ Even as early as August, 1863, the London Times had called attention to a "disquietude of mind in the Sultan which has more than once given occasion to circulation of rumor as to the balance of his intellect,"⁴ and in 1872 it was authority for the statement that he had "given more than one sign of a mind diseased."⁵ Sir Henry Elliot says he knew Abd ul-Aziz to be out of his mind several times, first in 1863. At one time he would not look at anything written with black ink and his ministers were kept waiting to proceed to foreign posts because their credentials could not very appropriately be written in red ink.⁶

1. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 52.

2. Wilson, Financial Default of Turkey in 1875, Macmillan's Magazine, 33:88.

3. Times, 1876, 31 March, 11a.

4. Ibid., 1863, 15 August, 8e.

5. Ibid., 1872, 1 November, 10a.

6. Elliot, The Death of Abd ul-Aziz and of Turkish Reform, Nineteenth Century, 23:287.

His dread of fire grew so great that no candle or lamp could be lighted in his palace except in his own apartments, and he had the beautiful furniture of Dolma Baghcheh Palace destroyed and replaced with iron furniture.¹

The direct cause of financial difficulties in 1875 was a condition of revolt in the provinces. The trouble began in Herzegovina which was part of the vilayet of Bosnia.² This province, it will be remembered, had aided in the Montenegrin rising of 1852, it had asked to be united with Montenegro in 1857, and it had been in revolt in 1860. It had suffered with the rest of Turkey under Abd ul-Aziz's administration. To make matters worse in Bosnia, while the people were all of the same race, the landlords were those who had in early days become Moslems to secure the land and they looked with great contempt on their Christian tenants. The only Turks were officials sent from Constantinople and usually changed before they had had time to study the language or learn the needs of the people. Christians were virtually barred from giving evidence in courts, and could obtain justice from Moslem judges only by enormous bribes.³ No Christians were employed in administrative offices. The police bought their places and reimbursed themselves by extorting money from the people they were supposed to protect.

1. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:671.

2. Annual Cyclopaedia, XV, 733-734.

3. In view of the frequent criticism of Turkish courts in this article it is only just to say that Col. Baker, who described the Turkish system of courts in some detail (Turkey in Europe, 511-14), was inclined to praise the system. He characterized the laws based on the Code Napoleon as admirable, very extensive and exact. He described the practice in the courts as simple, expeditious, and usually just. He insisted that abuses in the legal and judicial system were greatly exaggerated by the enemies of Turkey. But even he admitted that backshish often influenced decisions and that the practice varied widely from district to district, the laws being well or poorly executed according to the attitude of the governor in power.

The crops failed in the district of Nevesinje in 1874. Nevertheless the tax farmers, as usual, valued the crops above their real value and, instead of collecting the tax just after harvest, did not come to do this till January, 1875. In the meantime some of the peasants, in order to live, sold part of the crop. Others refused to pay the tax. Violence ensued. 164 of the peasants fled to Montenegro in February. In March there was trouble in the district of Bilek over forced labor. The chiefs of the clans refused to work. Some fled to the mountains. Others joined those of Nevesinje who had gone to Montenegro. The Austrian Emperor came to visit his Dalmatian subjects and the refugees began to have hopes of help from him. In May, the Governor invited them back, promising amnesty, but some who returned were murdered. Then the peasants got arms, probably from Montenegro. When the Governor, who was inclined to favor the insurgents, refused to give the Moslems arms they broke into the government store-house and took what they wished. The Porte sent Wassa Effendi, an Albanian Roman Catholic, to inquire into the matter, but he found no money to carry out reforms. Besides this, he could initiate nothing, for he was under the governor, who was not in agreement with the commander of the troops in the district as to measures to be taken.¹ Active fighting began in July. The revolt spread rapidly. Croatia, in the north of Bosnia, became disturbed in August.

The Porte, on recommendation of the six Powers, appointed Server Pasha a special commissioner to redress grievances. Foreign

1. Rutson, Turkey in Europe in 1876, Fortnightly Review, 26:276-306.

consuls were to advise insurgents ^{that} they could count on no foreign aid. The consuls met at Mostar and set out on a journey thru Herzegovina to meet the rebel leaders, and counsel submission. They were not successful.¹ This was a plan made by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. England at first refused to take part, saying that it was not compatible with the independent authority of the Porte.²

In October an imperial irade promised reforms and in November the south part of Herzegovina was organized into a separate district and Constant Erfendi, an Armenian, appointed governor. The Herzegovinians did not like him, and went on fighting. On December 12, a firman was issued, promising great reforms in the courts, in taxation, in the police system, in land-holding, and in forced labor. This was for loyal subjects only. No more telling indictment of Turkish misrule could be found than this firman. It is unthinkable that any European government should have failed to give its subjects in 1875 the ordinary justice which the Porte was promising in this firman it would give. On December 20, a commission was appointed to carry out the reforms.

But on December 30, Count Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, sent a circular note to the Powers saying that the Christian subjects of the Porte had no faith in its promises, that the courts of Russia, Germany, and Austria had united to employ common efforts for pacification in which he was sure other governments would join, that they were to recommend to the Porte that

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XI, 733-734.

2. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 273.

- (1) Full and entire religious liberty be guaranteed;
- (2) The system of farming taxes be abolished;
- (3) A law be passed pledging that the produce of direct taxes be employed in the interest of the province;
- (4) A special commission of an equal number of Christians and Moslems be appointed to control the execution of the reforms;
- (5) That improvement be made in agrarian conditions, so that Christians might be allowed to hold land.

England at first refused to support this program but after the Turkish government had expressed a wish, as it had in the case of the consular commission, that England accede, she did so.

On February 11, an irade' was issued promising that all the reforms would be carried out except as to spending the entire amount of the direct taxes in the province. Two sets of commissioners were appointed, one for Herzegovina, and one for the remainder of Bosnia. The European consuls at Mostar were instructed by their governments to recommend to the rebels that they accept the provisions of the Andrassy note. They refused, saying ^{that} they could not trust the Porte's promises and that their Moslem landlords would prevent the carrying out of the reforms.

Baron Rodich, the Austrian governor of Dalmatia, was then authorized by the Porte to negotiate with the leaders on both sides for a suspension of hostilities. In April, 1876, he met the Turkish generals at Ragusa and the rebel chiefs at Cettinje and Castelnuovo. The insurgents demanded even greater concessions on the part of the Turkish government. Fighting continued.¹ From

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XV, 734-757.

August 1875 till the end of 1876 the Turkish government sent 30,000 troops into the field. At the end of this time only one-half of them were fit for duty and they suffered from want of money, transportation, and medical supplies.¹

On May 13, 1876, Prince Bismarck invited the representatives of the Powers in Berlin to meet him and he read to them the Berlin Memorandum. This stated that Russia, Austria, and Prussia proposed to insist with the Porte on a suspension of hostilities for two months to open negotiations on a basis of the wishes the insurgents had formulated, viz.

- (1) Materials for rebuilding the houses of the rebels were to be furnished by the Turkish government.
- (2) A mixed commission to superintend the execution of the reforms was to be appointed.
- (3) Turkish forces were to be concentrated at some points to be agreed upon.
- (4) Both Christians and Moslems were to retain their arms.
- (5) Consuls of the Powers were to watch over the application ² of the reforms.

Montenegro and Serbia were not slow to show sympathy with the rebellion. In 1875 Prince Nicholas of Montenegro sent a wily old warrior, Peko Pavlovitch, to quiet the rebels, and then allowed him to become one of their most active leaders. Numbers of the Montenegrins crossed the frontier to aid in the insurrection. In

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 754.

2. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 279.

3. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 363.

January, 1876, Prince Nicholas expressed to the Czar of Russia a wish to begin war, but the Czar advised against it. However, it was reported that the Montenegrins had negotiated a loan and had bought arms. On January 9, 3,000 Montenegrin troops were sent to the frontier. A council of senators and military leaders, called by the Prince, decided that if the Turks concentrated troops on the Montenegrin frontier so as to blockade Montenegro it would be a cause for war.¹ Prince Nicholas had pointed out to Lord Derby the "intolerable position" in which the insurrection had placed him. Great Britain advised the Turkish government to cede a port to Montenegro and Little Zvornik to Serbia as a price of peace but the advice came too late.²

The Skuptschina in Serbia had been violently anti-Turkish for some time. In May, 1874, Prince Milan visited the Sultan at Constantinople. This act of homage was so resented by the Serbians that in the fall a very warlike address against Turkey was brought into the Skuptschina. The ministry demanded its rejection but finally was compelled to resign.³ The Radicals won in the elections in 1875. All thru 1875 and the first five months of 1876 the ministry was for peace and was thus opposed to the Radical Skuptschina. In August 1875 Prince Milan sent a note to the Powers begging them to inform him as to what they would do about the insurrection in Herzegovina. He urged the chiefs of the various districts of Serbia not to let volunteers go to the

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 754.

2. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 364.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, XIV, 793.

affected districts, and not to export arms or ammunition. But 24,000 Serbian troops were called to protect the border from the Turks.¹ In October, 1875, Prince Milan married the daughter of a Russian nobleman.² In January, 1876, war estimates were voted. In February all the men between twenty and fifty years were called out.³ In May the peace ministry fell and Tchernaieff, a Russian general who had come to Serbia nominally as a correspondent of a Panslavist journal, was made a general in the Serbian army.⁴ A treaty offensive and defensive was made with Montenegro May 29. Serbia suggested to the Powers that Herzegovina be entrusted to Montenegro for administration and the rest of Bosnia to Serbia.⁵

In the meantime terrible events occurred in Bulgaria. The feeling of nationality in Bulgaria had first manifested itself in the introduction of the native language and literature into the schools and churches. A passion for education had seized the people. By private subscription schools were maintained. Teachers were imported from Austria and Russia.⁶ The Greek officials of the Orthodox Church had greatly oppressed the Bulgarians and the latter had just asserted their independence by demanding from the Sultan the right to have native bishops. General Ignatiev had advocated founding a separate Bulgarian church in the interests of Pan-Slavism, and Aali Pasha had felt it would be a good thing to follow Fuad Pasha's advice to isolate separate communities of

1. Annual Cyclopaedia, XV, 739-40.

2. Ibid., XV, 733.

3. and 5. Ibid., XVI, 761-762.

4. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 364.

6. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 35.

Christians. Hence a Bulgarian National church had arisen in 1870. For a number of years Slav committees with headquarters at Moscow and Bucharest worked in Bulgaria to organize a revolution. Midhat Pasha's energy had prevented the culmination of this in 1867. But during the six years following his recall there were five successive governors, of whom only one tried to continue his work.¹

In 1874 unrest began again in certain districts. The leaders were arrested but General Ignatiev secured their release. This irritated the Moslems of Bulgaria. In October, 1875, a planned revolution led by schoolmasters and priests seems to have started prematurely at Eski-Zagra. The provincial governor asked for regular troops to be sent, but General Ignatiev persuaded Mahmouli Nedim Pasha that these would only increase the excitement.² Moslems and Christians in the district became afraid of each other.³ Moslem authorities decided to raise irregular troops, the notorious Bashi Bazouks.⁴ In the month of May, 1876, these troops killed 12,000 of the revolutionists in Bulgaria and destroyed sixty villages. At Batak the villagers surrendered under promise of protection but they were then "butchered like sheep". Many took refuge in a church, but the roof was torn off and burning wood and rags dipped in oil thrown in. Most of those in the church were women. 5,000 out of 7,000 in the town perished. The account of this, first published in the London Daily News, roused all Europe.⁵

1. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 345-346.

2. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 285-289, 259.

3. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 256.

4. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 287.

5. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 14-19.

The British government had endeavored ever since the rising in Herzegovina began to maintain its usual attitude of supporting the Turkish government.¹ England refused to sign the Berlin Memorandum altho France and Italy adhered to it.² But the news of the Batak horror caused the Foreign Secretary to telegraph to Constantinople that any repetition of it would cost Turkey more than a battle and he admitted that any sympathy for Turkey previously felt in Great Britain had been completely destroyed.³

Austria and Russia had been desirous all along for the dissolution of Turkey altho each was jealous of the other. It is true that Austria tried to keep Serbia quiet in the spring of 1876 with the result that two members of the Austrian consulate were insulted,⁴ but it was generally understood that Austria offered to use her services to help Montenegro procure more land if Montenegro began war. The British diplomatic correspondence of the period again and again mentions the bands of armed men that came from Austrian territory into Bosnia and the export of munitions of war across the Austrian frontier with no effort of the Austrian government to stop it. Sir Henry Elliot wrote Lord Derby that the Russian consulate at Ragusa was the open resort of insurgent chiefs and that the wounded insurgents when asked why they fought, when the Porte would give all they asked, said they must fight as long as Russia said to do so.⁵

1. Freeman, The Ottoman Power in Europe, 232-233.

2. Life of Midhat Pasha, 281.

3. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 366.

4. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 761.

5. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 276-283.

Matters were further complicated by an unfortunate occurrence at Saloniki, May 6, 1876. A young Bulgarian girl came to Saloniki by railway. She was dressed as a Turkish woman and is said to have been abducted by a Turk in a high position. Her mother followed her and they met at the station at Saloniki and embraced, weeping. A crowd of Greeks and Bulgarians seized the girl, saying she was a Christian, tore off her veil, placed her in a carriage and took her to the American consulate.¹ The next day a mob of Moslems gathered, demanding the girl and threatening a massacre. They went into a mosque and the French and German consuls who went thither, presumably to try to quiet the mob, were cruelly murdered. The English consul forced his way to the governor and then sent to the American consulate to beg that the girl be given up. But the consuls were killed before she could be brought out. This caused terrible excitement. General Ignatiev hired 300 Montenegrin workmen as a personal body guard. France, Germany, Austria, and Italy sent vessels of war to Saloniki, while the British squadron anchored at Besika Bay at the south end of the Dardanelles.² The Turkish government promptly executed six of the

1. So far I have followed the account as given in Annual Cyclopædia XVI, 758 and 760. It is no doubt highly colored by the emotions of the time. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey in Life of Midhat Pasha (72) says the girl had come to declare her conversion to Islam before the Grand Council of Saloniki previous to her marriage to a young Moslem of her native village and that the brother of the American Vice-Consul, a Bulgarian, arranged for her to be seized at the station. Miller in The Ottoman Empire, (367), says the girl was "of dubious antecedents".

2. Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 14.

murderers but the excitement could not be allayed.

It was impossible to maintain order in Turkey. The government could not raise sufficient funds with which to carry on an effective administration. The period was one of general financial distress throughout the world. There had been a panic in the United States in 1873. Egypt was to go into the bonds of receivers in 1876. Times were exceedingly bad in Turkey. Every year but three since Abd ul-Aziz became Sultan a loan had been contracted. These had been secured on the tribute from Egypt, the Constantinople customs, the tobacco and salt taxes, the sheep tax, the tithes, and various other taxes.¹ The country had been drained of capital to pay the interest. Moreover, there had been an actual decrease in revenue, for Turkish capitalists were neglecting productive investments in their own country. The large foreign loans had induced gambling on the Stock Exchange. Many old Turkish estates were sacrificed in order that their owners might engage in speculation.² Now it was impossible to borrow any more money. The effect of the act of October, 1875, by which one-half the interest and principal of the public debt were to be paid in bonds, was intensified when in April, 1876, the government failed to pay any dividends at all.³ Without funds the war in Bosnia could not be prosecuted. Salaries of government officials were unpaid. Abd ul-Aziz's great ironclads were in want of ammunition and men.⁴ Such incompetence and disorder would be apt to lead to an attempt on the part of foreign governments to intervene in order to protect their citizens who were holders of Turkish bonds.

1. Wilson, The Financial Default of Turkey, 1875, Macmillan's Magazine, 33:88.

2. Baker, Turkey in Europe, 450.

3. Times, 1876, 6 April, 8b. 4. Ibid, 1876, 26 May, 8a.

III. THE REVOLUTION LED BY MIDHAT PASHA.

It is not to be supposed that the Turkish people would view the stirring events of 1875-1876 with indifference. Such fanatical outbreaks as that at Saloniki were merely indicative of the general dissatisfaction with the government.¹ Wealthier Turks had been influenced as foreign investors had by the repudiation of the public debt.² Turkish patriots bitterly resented foreign interference of any kind. They felt it a disgrace that the government should not be able to suppress insurrection. A young Turk party had been started in 1860.³ Their original object was not reform but the government of Turkey by the Turks. They hoped indeed to govern in European fashion, but without foreign advice or interference. They bitterly attacked ruad and Aali Pashas, doubtless because these two paid so much attention to the wishes of England and France. The press law of 1864 was directed against the Young Turks. They hoped that Abd ul-Aziz would be impressed by his western visit and place himself at their head, but he was interested only in rearranging courts and palaces after models he had seen abroad.⁴ An important document of the party was a letter of Mustapha Fazil Pasha to the Sultan when the Cretan insurrection was at its height in 1867. Mustapha Fazil wrote that the government had been outgrown and could produce only tyranny, ignorance,

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica, I, 35.

2. Pears, Forty Years in Contantinoole, 52.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, VII, 730.

4. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 189.

misery, and corruption, that the Moslems were suffering under it even more than the Christians, and he asked for a constitution granting perfect equality of rights between Moslems and Christians. He said this would prevent outside interference.¹

In 1868 the government claimed to find a widespread conspiracy of the Young Turk party and exiled twenty. But the leaders kept up agitation from London and Paris. Zia Bey, ex-secretary to the Sultan, edited in London the Hurriet, printed on thin paper so that it would go into an envelope and evade mail inspection.² After the death of Aali Pasha the Young Turks were invited back to Turkey but they became bitter opponents of the corrupt administration. Many newspapers were now started in Constantinople by these men. Some papers were financial failures, some were suppressed by the government, and sometimes the journalists were disposed of by appointing them to offices in the provinces.³

The fanatical religious element became opposed to Abd ul-Aziz because of western customs he favored, such as the change in the law of succession.⁴ This man, somewhat feared in 1862 because he was thought to be about to become a fanatical leader of Islam,⁵ had never made any effort, as Abd ul-Hamid so craftily did in later years, to win the support of the religious faction. They attacked the easy life at the palace. At last common hostility to the

1. Annual Cyclonaedia, VII. 730.

2. Ibid., VIII, 737.

3. Ahmed Emin, Columbia University Studies, 59:39,40,46.

4. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:674.

5. Times, 1862, 14 October, 8c.

Sultan led to a joint effort on the part of the two very diverse parties, the theological students and the Young Turks, to get rid of him. And at their head was a man who did not belong to either group, Midhat Pasha.

After his retirement from the office of Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha had still been in the cabinet for a time and had served as president of the Council of State, but he found that he could not, as he had hoped, control Mahmud Nedim Pasha, and finally he declared he would hold office no longer. He retired to his farm near Constantinople and there the plans of the reforming party were matured. In the winter of 1875-6 he called upon Sir Henry Elliot and discussed with him the miserable condition of Turkey. Midhat Pasha said the only remedy was (1) to get control of the Sultan by establishing ministerial responsibility to a general assembly, especially in matters of finance, (2) to make this assembly truly national by removing distinctions between classes and religions, and (3) to decentralize the government, establishing provincial control over the governors. In attempting such a reform Midhat Pasha depended upon British sympathy and support.¹

A demonstration of the theological students, the softas, of whom there were from 30,000 to 40,000 connected with the Constantinople mosques, was first scheduled by the reformers.² On May 10 several thousand of them stopped Prince Youssouf Izz ed-Deen on his way to the war office and told him to inform his father that the Grand Vizier and the Sheikh ul-Islam must be dismissed.³

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1. Sir Henry Elliot, Nineteenth Century, 23:279-80.
 2. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:674.
 3. Life of Midhat Pasha, 81.

Abd ul-Aziz yielded. Hassan Hairullah Effendi, a sympathizer with the reformers, became Sheikh ul-Islam. Mehemet Rushdi Pasha became Grand Vizier. He was an old man, less unacceptable to Abd ul-Aziz than Midhat Pasha, and yet one who would follow the current of popular opinion. The real chiefs were Midhat Pasha, who went into the cabinet without a portfolio, and Hussein Avni Pasha who became Minister of War. The latter, a very energetic man, had been educated in the Turkish military academy and had remained there as student and subprofessor for about sixteen years. He had translated several French books on tactics, he had been distinguished in the Crimean War, he had served as Grand Vizier for a few months in 1874, but had refused to favor Russia. Following his dismissal from this office he had spent some time in England.¹

It was a time for patriotic Turks to act quickly, to act very decidedly, if the fatherland was to be saved. A mere transformation of the cabinet was not felt to be sufficient. Times were very troublous indeed. As has been stated before, in January, 1875, had come the disturbance over tax collection in Herzegovina growing gradually worse till active fighting began in July. In October there had been the first trouble in Bulgaria and the announcement of the bankruptcy of the nation, in December the Andrassy note. In January and February, 1876, Serbian and Montenegrin troops had mobilized. After the First of May events had moved very rapidly. Between May 2 and 10 had occurred the Bulgar-

1. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:675.

ian revolt culminating in the horrors at Batak, May 9. On May 6 the French and German consuls had been assassinated at Saloniki. On May 10 the softas had demanded a change in the cabinet. Bismarck had presented the Berlin Note to the Powers May 13. On May 25, Lord Derby telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot that he had told the Turkish ambassador in London that the Porte could "count on no more than moral support of Her Majesty's government if a satisfactory solution of present difficulties could not be found".¹ Abd ul-Aziz looking from his palace window could see anchored close to the Tophane shore, within musket shot of where he stood, a double row of foreign men of war -- the Sokol of Russia, the Gladiateur of France, the Freundsberg of Austria, the Scylla of Italy, the Bittern of England.²

Texts from the Koran were circulated freely in Constantinople to prove that the Koran sanctioned a democratic form of government, and that allegiance was not due to a ruler who neglected the interests of the state,³ and the cabinet leaders arranged a plan for the deposition of Abd ul-Aziz. The details of its execution were left to Midhat Pasha and Hussein Avni Pasha. It was planned to have on May 31 another demonstration of the softas when they should demand such a government as Midhat Pasha had outlined to Sir Henry Elliot. In case Abd ul-Aziz refused he was to be deposed and Prince Murad was to take his place. In order that this might be legally done the Sheikh ul-Islam had prepared a

1. Life of Midhat Pasha, 259.

2. Times, 1876, 26 May, 8a.

3. Sir Henry Elliot, Nineteenth Century, 23:281.

Istva in these words: "Question. If the Chief of Believers gives proofs of derangement or of ignorance in public affairs, if he employs the public revenues to his own personal ends to an extent ruinous to the state, if he causes confusion between things spiritual and things temporal, or if his continuance in power is hurtful to the nation, may he be deposed? Answer. The law of the Prophet says: Yes. Written by the humble Hassan Hairullah to whom may God be merciful."¹

But on the evening before May 31² a woman of the palace sent word to Midhat that the Sultan had gotten wind of the affair. This necessitated a change in the plans. Prince Murad had been kept in seclusion by the Sultan for weeks, and altho he knew of the intended revolution it was not found possible to inform him of the change in the arrangements. Hussein Avni Pasha and Midhat Pasha passed the early part of the night of May 30-31 at Hussein Avni's konak at Beyler Bey. After midnight, in a drenching rain, they crossed over to Constantinople in a caique each attended by one servant. Midhat went to the war office, Hussein Avni, to the barracks near Dolma Baghcheh Palace, to meet Suleiman Pasha, the director in chief of a school for military cadets, who took a picked force of them to disarm the palace guards. Troops had been

1. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:675.
2. There is a disagreement as to the time. The London Times (1876 1 June, 8a) and Sir Henry Elliot (Nineteenth Century, 23:280) say this deposition took place the night of May 29-30. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey (Life of Midhat Pasha, 88) and Count de Keratry (Living Age, 138:675) say that it occurred twenty-four hours later on the night of May 30-31.

gotten ready under the impression that they were about to march into Bulgaria and they had now already been posted about the palace. Turkish ironclads guarded the water side. Suleiman went into Prince Murad's room and wakened him. Murad, terrified, was persuaded by Suleiman to go with him to meet Hussein Avni who was waiting at the palace gates. Hussein Avni and Prince Murad crossed over to Constantinople and went to the war office.¹ The members of the cabinet were there. The act of deposition was read and Murad V proclaimed Sultan. Then a salute of 101 guns was fired by the ironclads.

Suleiman Pasha had already gone to read to Abd ul-Aziz a copy of the fetva ordering his deposition, and the booming of the cannon re-enforced his words. Murad at the war office was made to sign a decree ordering Abd ul-Aziz to leave Dolma Baghcheh Palace and go to Top Capou. An aide took this order to Redif Pasha, commander of the corps d'armée of Constantinople, who was in command of the troops about the palace, and Redif Pasha bore it to Abd ul-Aziz.² The ex-Sultan flew into a violent rage, but when he saw the guards posted about the palace he exclaimed, "Great is Allah!" and became "stolidly desparate". Accompanied by his mother, his sons and eleven of his wives he was taken to Top Capou.³

The most remarkable thing about the revolution was the ease with which it was carried thru. It was as truly a bloodless revol-

1. I have followed the account given by Ali Haydar Midhat Bey. Count de Keratry states that Hussein Avni himself went to Prince Murad's room.

2. Times, 1876, 8 June, 10d.

3. Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 760.

ution as the "Glorious Revolution" in England in 1688. Abd ul-Aziz on his way from Dolma Baghcheh Palace reproached the nineteen year old Youssouf Izz ed-Deen, saying, "I made you commandant of the Imperial Guard. Yet you have not known how to defend me." He blamed Mahmud Djemil ed-Deen, his ten year old son, whom he had made an admiral, for the failure of the fleet to protect him.¹ No one had struck a blow in his defense. There was perfect order and general rejoicing in Constantinople the next day.² Murad V issued a proclamation promising reform. Abd ul-Aziz wrote a letter, in red ink, to his successor congratulating him and doing homage.³ Sultan Murad's reply assured his uncle of his good will and affection.⁴

The conservative paper, the Bassirett, a few hours after the dethronement distributed without charge a number announcing that the nation had at last gotten rid of the tyrant and of General Ignatiev.⁵ The revolution was regarded as a triumph for English diplomacy.⁶ England had since 1856 endeavored to maintain the unity of Turkey, had believed in the possibility of reform, and had opposed the idea of Prince Youssouf Izz ed-Deen's succeeding his father because this might mean loss of territory to the Porte. Russia and Austria, on the other hand, were desirous of dismemberment. Russia had supported the proposed change in the law of succession and was opposed to Murad, who was believed to be favorable to reforms which would strengthen the government. Russia had per-

1. Times, 1876, 8 June, 10d.

2. Ibid., 1876, 1 June, 5a. Sir Henry Elliot, Nineteenth Century 23:285.

3. and 6. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:674-677.

4. Times, 1876, 3 June, 7c.

5. Ahmed Emid, Columbia Studies, 59:45.

suaded Austria and Prussia to allow Turkey to be worn out by the revolts of her subject peoples, neither Austria nor Prussia being desirous of entering war at that time.¹ The French were said to be glad of the stand England had taken² but France, who had formerly supported England, had lost influence since 1870. Moreover her desire for friendship with Russia was even then known.³ The work of the revolutionists was well timed. Abd ul-Aziz was dethroned only a few hours before the Berlin Memorandum was to be presented to the Porte. Now the Turkish government informed the Powers that it could not approve any propositions contained in the Memorandum.³ When the Czar heard of the revolution he was speechless for ten minutes.⁴

Abd ul-Aziz had asked, in his letter to Murad V, that he be assigned a better palace than Top Capou. Accordingly he was taken to Cheragan. Here he was closely guarded by troops. He had frequent fits of frenzy followed by prostration. On June 3 he was walking about excitedly on the quay with which the gates of the palace communicated. The sentry reported this to an officer who gently suggested to Abd ul-Aziz that he re-enter the palace. Abd ul-Aziz drew a revolver and fired at him. By Murad's orders the ex-Sultan's revolver and sword were, albeit very politely, taken from him.⁵ That night he became greatly agitated. Once he turned even against his mother saying, "It is you, you, you vile creature.

1. and 3. Times, 1876, 3 June, 7c.

2. Ibid., 1876, 1 June, 5d. 3. Ibid., 1876, 2 June, 5a.

4. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:675. Times, 1876, 3 June, 7c.

5. I have followed the Times account (1876, 12 June, 12c) Count de Keratry (Living Age, 138:678-79) says the officer was fired at June 2 and the weapons were removed the next day, Saturday, June 3.

who are the cause of my misfortunes."¹

On Sunday morning, June 4, he sent for his reader to read Turkish papers to him.² After half an hour he asked for a mirror and for a pair of scissors with which to trim his beard and then asked to be left alone. The women of the household coming in presently found that he had severed the veins and arteries in both arms. Seventeen physicians of Constantinople, including some attached to the embassies, were called. They examined the body carefully and, altho some of them had been inclined to suspect murder, they were convinced that Abd ul-Aziz had committed suicide.³

Abd ul-Aziz, like Samson, wrought as much havoc by his death as by his life. For ^{the} fate of each of the chief figures in the conspiracy against him was closely connected with his departure. His favorite wife was very low with tuberculosis and the news of Abd ul-Aziz's death hastened her own. Her brother, Tcherkess Hassan, a young Circassian military officer who had been an adjutant to Youssouf Izz ed-Deen, resolved to have revenge on Hussein Avni Pasha, whom rumor accused of having caused Abd ul-Aziz to be murdered. On June 15, a cabinet meeting was held at the home of Midhat Pasha. Tcherkess Hassan, heavily armed, secured entrance to the house and burst into the room where the ministers were sitting. He fired repeatedly at Hussein Avni Pasha and then dispatched him with a knife. He shot and killed Reshid Pasha, the minister of Foreign Affairs. He shot Kaisserli Ahmed Pasha, the commander of the fleet, in the shoulder and then stabbed him. He

1. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:678.

2. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 89.

3. Dr. Dickson, physician in the English embassy wrote an article for the Lancet saying he was sure it was a case of suicide. (Pears, Forty Years in Constantinople, 55).

killed one of Midhat Pasha's servants and an aide de camp to Kaisserli Ahmed Pasha who tried to seize him. A detachment of troops finally secured the murderer.¹ But he had succeeded in removing one of the strongest leaders in the revolutionary conspiracy, Hussein Avni Pasha.

More than that, Murad V believed the gossip concerning the supposed murder of his uncle. Murad had been drinking heavily previous to his accession,² and had shown great nervousness the night that he was proclaimed Sultan.³ He had promised Abd ul-Aziz that his life should be spared.⁴ Now he began to worry over his apparent inability to protect his uncle. His mind became unsettled and in three months time it was felt wisest to secure a fetva authorizing his deposition. With him perished the hope of a constitutional government. Abd ul-Hamid II, his successor, did indeed grant a constitution as the price of his accession. But he was a reactionary, a very strong, crafty man. He bided his time till he could withdraw the constitution and dispose of the chief liberal leaders. In 1881 he caused Midhat Pasha to be arrested on the charge of having aided in the murder of Abd ul-Aziz.⁴ Altho there was no doubt whatever that Abd ul-Aziz had committed suicide, still a farcical trial of Midhat Pasha and other leaders was held. Midhat Pasha and Hassan Hairullah Effendi were sentenced to life imprisonment at Taif, Arabia. On April 26, 1883, Midhat Pasha was strangled to death by Turkish officials.⁵

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1. Ali Haydar Midhat Bey, Life of Midhat Pasha, 92-93.
Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 761.
 2. and 4. Count de Keratry, Living Age, 138:675!
 3. Life of Midhat Pasha, 88.
 4. Davey, The Sultan and his Subjects, 192.-
 5. Life of Midhat Pasha, 203-40.

Influence of the Reign of Abd ul-Aziz.

Abd ul-Aziz goes off the stage, having unwittingly prepared by the manner of his own death for the deposition of the liberal minded prince who followed him and of five of the strongest men in the plot against him. He left his country bankrupt and its creditors clamorous, the government disorganized, Serbia and Montenegro about to declare war,¹ and those Bulgarian horrors already committed the recital of which Gladstone was to use that very summer to turn Great Britain completely against Turkey². Austria and Prussia, if not wishing war themselves, were at least not inclined to hinder Russia when she should descend with terrible vengeance the next year. By his very ineffectiveness Abd ul-Aziz prepared for the Berlin Congress of 1878, which in turn extended its baleful influence down to help kindle the holocaust in our day.

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1. The ultimatum of these two countries was delivered at Constantinople, June 29 (Annual Cyclopaedia, XVI, 762.)
 2. Miller, The Ottoman Empire, 366.

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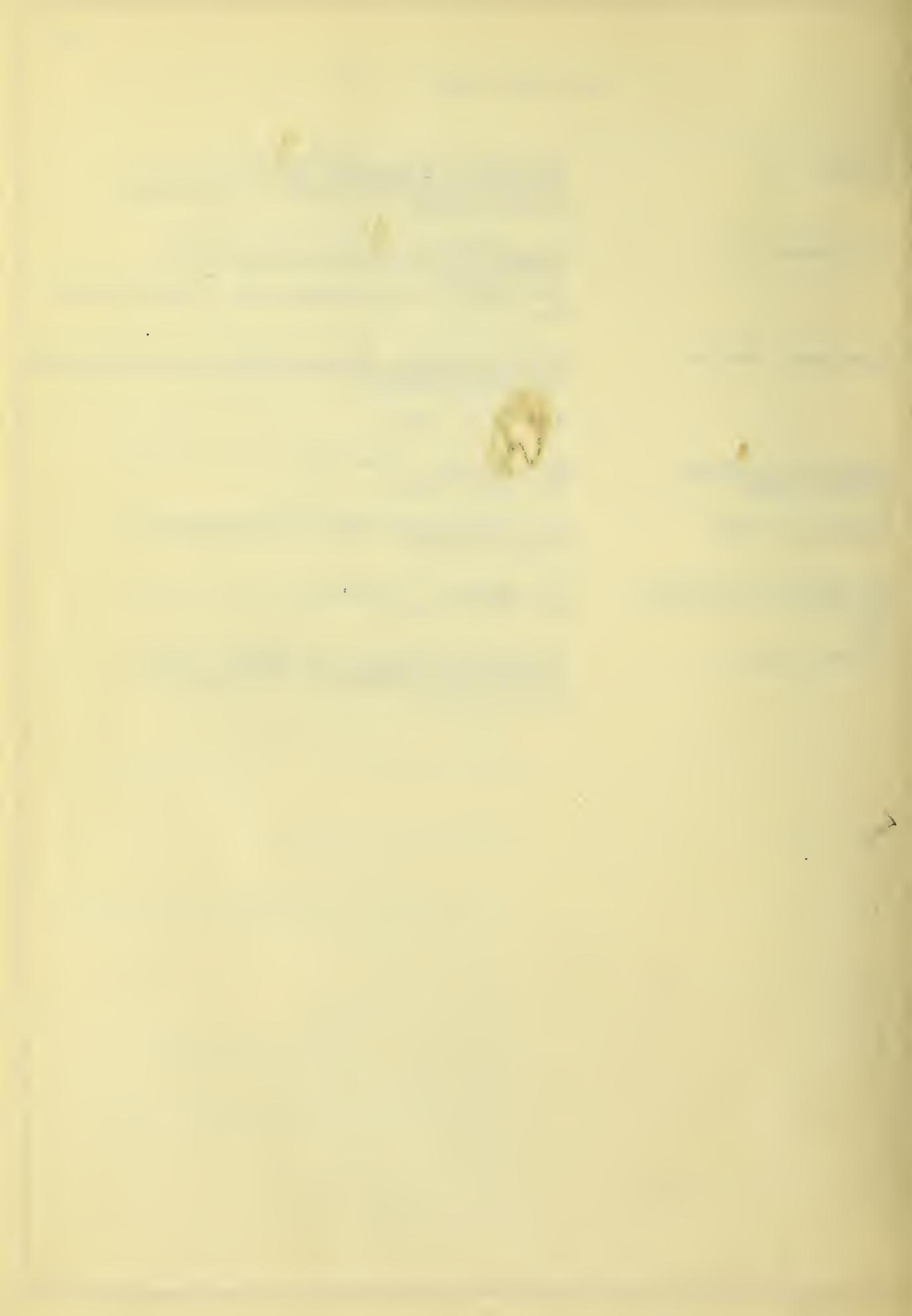
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