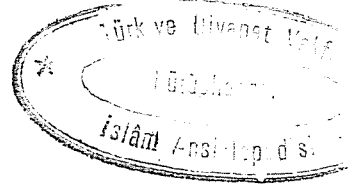


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OSMANLI ARAŞTIRMALARI

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GENESIS OF THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

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The opposition which gathered momentum after the closure of the Ottoman Parliament towards the despotic regime of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) is commonly known as the «Young Turk» movement. Studies concerning this movement, its leaders and their followers as well as its philosophy and political organisations are mostly based upon secondary material¹. This is not to say that general surveys dealing with the Young Turk movement never con-

1 The most creditable research in this field was undertaken by Şerif Mardin in his, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908*, (Ankara: 1964) and *Continuity and Change in the Ideas of Young Turks*, (Ankara: 1969). Like Mardin, Prof. Tarık Zafer Tunaya in his «Türkiyenin Siyasi Gelişme Seyri İçinde Jön Türk Hareketinin Fikri Esasları», *Prof. Tahir Taner'e Armağan*, (İstanbul: 1956), also treats the Young Turks without consulting the archival material. E.E. Ramsaur's book, *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908*, (Princeton: 1957) drew most of its material from European sources and the French supplement of the Young Turk organs. The voluminous accounts of Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *İnkılâp Tarihimiz ve İttihat ve Terakki*, (İstanbul: 1948) *İnkılâp Tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, (İstanbul: 1954), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İnkılâp Hareketleri ve Milli Mücadele* (İstanbul: 1956) and Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı Tarihi*, II-IV, (Ankara: 1952) contain the reiteration of two correspondance notebooks and some letters belonging the Young Turks with no interpretation or explanation. A more recent publication, Y.A. Petrosyan, *Sovyet Gözüyle Jön Türkler*, (Ankara: 1974), is fraught with mistakes and no academic value, and must only be considered as an effort to fit the Young Turk movement into certain ideological moulds.

sulted any memoirs or contemporary newspapers and magazines. Yet, they lack the precision and clarity which could only be obtained by a systematic investigation into the archives. In this article, an attempt is made to evaluate the Young Turk movement in the light of new archival sources along with the classical material such as the above-mentioned memoirs and journals. The author has not only explored the Ottoman archives for the concerned period but also complemented them with European documentary sources.

i. *İttihad-ı Osmanî Cemiyeti: small beginnings*

It is possible to take the genesis of the Young Turk movement back to 1889 when the first political grouping in the name of the Ottoman Union Committee (*İttihad-ı Osmanî Cemiyeti*) was formed in the Medical Academy, Istanbul. In contrast to earlier attempts against the establishment, such as the «incident of Çırağan» and deposition of Abdulaziz, this new organisation was not initiated by the members of the learned establishment (*ülema*) or the military, but was the brainchild of medical students whose institution of higher education was established as part of the efforts in the Europeanization of the Ottoman Empire since the second half of the nineteenth century.

Injecting European institutions and technology as a tonic to revitalize the decadent Ottoman Empire was a much-discussed topic among the Turkish intellectual circles since the Era of *Tanzimat*. To this end, the Ottoman leadership sent students abroad, brought in European instructors and established counterparts of many Western institutions in Turkey. Yet, these measures, especially sending students to the West, from the ruling élites point of view, brought with it the apparent danger of introducing European ideas and ideals in Turkey. The Government had envisaged that «whenever these youngsters who were sent to France were gathered together in a house, they would speak in Arabic or Turkish, and only converse with their French counterparts in technical matters, thus, remaining immune from the contaminating influence of European

morals and ideas»². In order to save the Ottoman students abroad from the «contaminating influence of European morals and ideas». Abdulhamid II had decided to bring European instructors to Turkey instead of sending students abroad for education³. Likewise, Abdulhamid II preferred to send students to Berlin where, he thought, compared with the French metropol they would be less affected by the ideas of liberalism and parliamentarism⁴. Despite the ongoing discussion of the adequacy of sending students abroad⁵, and the pressures for introducing new Westernized institutions in Turkey the Ottoman ruling élite during the reign of Abdulhamid II, more often than not, perceived Europeanization as a process limited to importing European technology to Turkey.

These factors, however, do not help us explain why the Young Turk movement started in the Medical Academy and not in other educational institutions which also sent students abroad since the second half of the nineteenth century⁶. The reason could be found in the appearance of a new type of intelligentsia among the student body. As the positivist ideas through the text-books⁷ and instructors⁸ brought biological materialism to the Ottoman Turkey, a new intelligentsia, alienated from the entire value system of a very much religiously oriented Turkish society emerged. We can clearly see

2 TSA. No. 1518-I/XIX Century.

3 [Abdulhamid II], *Sultan Abdulhamid'in Kime Hitaben Yazıldığı Anlaşılamayan Tezkere-i Serzeniş-âmizi*, IEMKI Manuscript Collection İÜK, C. 6-3310, p. 218-II. For the Government's same policies, see. *BVA-EMVM/* no. 86/21 Kânûn-isânî 1311.

4 From Mehmed Kâmil to the Ottoman Delegation in Paris, no. 81, 5 July 1897, *Paris Sefaret-i Seniyesiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defter*, 26 TS 96 BVA-YEE/36/2468/141/XII. On the complaints of the Young Turks, see, Fuad, «Le Rappel des étudiants Ottomans», *Mechveret Supplément Français*, No. 15, 15 July 1896, p. 2 and «Tabaka-i Bâlâdan», *Osmanlı* No. 9, 10 April 1898, pp. 6-7. *BVA-BEO/Hususî İrade-i Seniye*, 377-8/100/10682-57096.

5 [Kont Prokesch Osten], [*Devlet-i Aliyyenin Islahı Layihası*], TSA. No. 1541/d. 1256, chapters 11-12.

6 *Ibid*, chapter 12.

7 On the import of books see, *BVA-İrade-Şâra-yi Devlet*, Rebiy'ülevvel 1285/no. 399 and *BVA-Cevdet Sıhhiye*, 22 G 1244/no. 1225.

8 Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, (Princeton: 1962), p. 213.

this process taking roots by the publication of Bacon's method of observation in the medical school press⁹. Seeing the spread of positivism among the medical students, Abdulhamid II, tried to «Germanize» the Medical Academy which was initially set up according to the French standards¹⁰. The ideas of Ludwig Büchner¹¹, who like Félix Isnard¹² considered religion as an obstacle to social progress, became very popular among the medical students. These students from 1885 onwards formed the backbone of political opposition to the despotic regime of Abdulhamid II. It is interesting to note that these students considered Schopenhauer's teachings as the main ideological framework of their opposition¹³.

Another aspect of the Young Turk opposition was its «populist» nature. Hüseyinzâde Ali, after having finished his education in Petersburg University, came to Istanbul to organize the Young Turks in the Medical School¹⁴. It was by no means a coincidence

9 «Ulûm-u Hekimiye ve Fünûn-u Tıbbiye'de Usûl-ü Taharri», *Ceride-i Tıbbiye-i Askeriye*, No. 39, 31 May 1293 (1875), pp. 462-63.

10 [Robert] Rieder, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şâhânenin Islahı ve Tensiki ve Memalik-i Mahruse-i Şâhâne'de Tedrisat-ı Tıbbiye'nin Terbit ve Ta'dili Hakkında Mekâtib-i Askeriye-i Şâhâne Nazarı Zeki Paşa Hazretlerinden Takdim Kılınan Lâyihadır*, Translated by: Raşid Tahsin, 1314, İÜK-Turkish Manuscript, No. D. 2-4718. In the second part of the manuscript the author compares the Ottoman Medical Academy with its counterparts in Germany, and in the last section gives a detailed account of a proposed plan for the establishment of an academy according to the German model. It is interesting to note that the manuscript is a summary of Robert Rieder Pasha's, *Für die Türkei*, V. I-II, (Leipzig: 1903-1904), with the omittance of some technical matters. On Rieder's suggestions, see. *BVA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 12 C 1316/ no. 848, Tefik Salim, «Gülhanenin Tarihçesinden Bir Kısım», *Askerî Tıbbiye Mecmuası Kongre Nüshası*, No. 9, September 1927, p. 260, 267.

11 On these features of Büchner, see. Frederic Albert Lange, *The History of Materialism*, vol. ii, (London: 1957), pp. 264-5.

12 Authors, *Spiritualisme et Matérialisme*, (Paris: 1879), had a deep impact upon the young medical students.

13 [Abdullah Cevdet], *İklil-i Matem*, [Vienna: 1901], p. 6. For a more detailed account see, Rifat Osman, *Hayatım ve Hatıratım*, CTF-Institute of the History of Medicine Manuscript Collection, No. 213/69, vol. i, pp. 47-50.

14 Abdullah Cevdet, «İhya-i Lâyemut: Hakîm-i Edîb Ali Bey Hüseyinzâde», *İctihad*, No. 4, September 1907, pp. 294-97, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf (Editor), *Türk Yılı 1928*, (Istanbul: 1928), p. 416.

that populism went hand in hand with biological materialism in supplying the Young Turk's ideological platform. When populism became popular in Russia, one of the first books that was translated into Russian was Büchner's *Force and Matter*¹⁵. In the same period, İbrahim Temo was well acquainted with the «narodniki» movement that Russophiles were trying to foster in the Balkans. We know that the *Tarla* a Turkish-language daily which in its columns followed a populist line, was in circulation in the Balkans as early as 1880¹⁶.

The first political organisation in the Medical Academy was found as the Ottoman Union Committee (*İttihad-ı Osmanî Cemiyeti*) on May, 21, 1305 [1889] by the joint efforts of İbrahim Temo and İshak Sükûti¹⁷, who were later joined by Abdullah Cevdet, Mehmed Reşid and Hikmet Emin¹⁸. In the beginning, the committee had the form of students' association. It was deeply affected by biological materialism and nationalism which was a very popular sentiment, especially in most of the military academies of the period.

ii. *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti: promise of victory*

After the founding of the Committee, İbrahim Temo established contacts with Ahmed Rıza in Paris, and Ahmed Verdani in Cairo, thus enabling the spread of opposition outside Turkey¹⁹. The

15. J.N. Westwood, *Endurance and Endeavour: Russian History*, (London: 1973), pp. 119, 147. In paralel with its expansion in Turkey populism and biological materialism a la Büchner also struck roots in Russia, showing that such a relationship was by no means coincidental. See, Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, (London: 1964), p. 288.

16. Ş. Mardin, *Jön Türklerin...*, P. 12.

17. «Tohum ve Semereleri», *Meşveret*, No. 6, 13 February 108 (The paper used a positivist calendar.), p. 3.

18. Cevri [Mehmed Reşid], *İnkılâb Niçin ve Nasıl Oldu?* (Mısır: 1909), pp. 26-7, Rıza Tahsin, *Mir'at-ı Mekteb-i Tıbbiye*, V. I, (İstanbul: 1328/1912), p. 128, [Feridun] Kandemir, *Jön Türklerin Zindan Hatıraları; 1848-1903 - Bir Devrin Siyasi ve Fikri Tarihi*, (İstanbul: 1932), pp. 99-100, K[arl]Süssheim, «Abd Allah Djewdet», *Encyclopaedia of Islam - Supplement*, (1938), p. 56.

19. Z.D. Imhoff, «Die entstehung und der zweck des comités für einheit und Fortschritt», *Die Welt des Islams*, B.I/H. 3-4, (1913), p. 172.

Committee was found according to the system of cells used by various underground organisations of the time. Its activities were very limited, and were confined to discussions among the members in the first five years of its existence²⁰. In 1894, the title of the Committee was changed to the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress (*Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*). This change was due to the suggestion of Ahmed Rıza who came under the spell of the teachings of Auguste Comte²¹.

The Government was soon to be informed of their activities. Subsequently, it arrested the leaders of the movement, only to free them after a short while²². One of the first open activities of the Young Turks was to distribute leaflets in Istanbul, protesting the Armenian Affairs of 1895²³. As a result, the Government undertook a thorough investigation and deported those who were involved in the distribution of the leaflets and also those who were in touch with the Ahmed Rıza group in Paris²⁴. These Young Turks were exiled to the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Turkey²⁵.

20 Several ideas are put forward for the organizational model of the Committee. On the claim that the Young Turks imitated the Carbonaris, see. A[hmed] R[efik], *Abdülhamid-i Sâni ve Devr-i Saltanatı: Hayat-ı Hususiye ve Siyasiyesi*, V. III, (Istanbul: 1327/1911), pp. 1068-69. On the adoption of the methods used by the Russian nihilists, see. Hüseyin Zade Ali, «İttihat ve Terakki Nasıl Kuruldu? Ubeydullah Efendinin Oynadığı Roller», *Tan*, 4 March 1938. Like the carbonaries and nihilists founders of the Committee aimed to perform their activities in utmost secrecy, but it was not a matter of being ideologically influenced by these movements.

21 [Ahmed Rıza], «İlk Meclisi Mebusan Reisi Ahmet Rıza Beyin Hatıraları», *Cumhuriyet*, 26 January 1950, Cevri, *İnkılâb...*, 30.

22 For a brief account of the arrest, see. *BVA-Yıldız Perâkende*, c. 1317/no. 955-II. On the escapes and arrests, see *BVA/BEO/Mekâtib-i Askeriye Giden*, 770-2-41/2/39-64383, *BVA/BEO/Zaptiye Gelen*, 656-21/7/no. 358. For the Royal Amnesty, see. Cevri, *İnkılâb...*, pp. 39-40, Rifat Osman, *Hayatım...*, p. 55.

23 For the draft declaration, see. İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Teşekkülü ve Hizmeti Vataniye ve İnkılâbı Milliye Dair Hatıratım*, (Mecidiye: 1939), pp. 48-49.

24 *BVA-İrade-Hususi*, Safer 1313/no. 18-422, *BVA-BEO/Zaptiye Giden*, 661-21/14, 234/76104, *BVA-BEO/Hususi İrade-i Seniye*, 377-8/100-464/5029.

25 *BVA-BEO/Harbiye Giden*, 250-6/64-1579/55364-53871, *BVA-BEO/Zaptiye Giden*, 661-21/13-475/31-53871, *BVA-Yıldız Perâkende*, c. 1317/no. 955-II.

In the meantime, the Young Turk movement which looked like a mosaic of uncoordinated associations gradually developed into a coherent opposition organisation. The Young Turk groups in continental Europe gathered around Ahmed Rıza in Paris²⁶. Their counterparts in England followed suit under the leadership of Ali Şefkati²⁷. The contact Ahmed Rıza established with Ali Şefkati²⁸ and the departure of Murad Bey for London²⁹ indicated that the Young Turks had London in mind as the centre of their movement. But with the death of Ali Şefkati Bey, Ahmed Rıza decided to assemble the majority of the Young Turks in Paris, while Murad Bey went to the British-ruled Egypt to organize the Young Turk movement there³⁰. Murad Bey, since he could not continue his activities unhampered in Egypt, thanks to pressures of the place; headed first to Paris, then to Geneva³¹. In Geneva he started to continue printing his review, the *Mizan*. This, the committee had two branches, and two leaders of the entire Young Turk movement. In the beginning the opposition, thanks to the favorable climate of cooperation between the two branches, flourished rapidly. And, with the possession of their own printing press, the Committee was able to send propaganda leaflets and handbooks into Turkey, protesting the Hamidian regime³².

26 On the early initiative and activities of Ahmed Rıza, From Süreyya to the Ottoman Delegation in Paris, 19 May 1308/1892-3033, *PBA. D.* 176, From the Ottoman Delegation in Paris to the Palace, 29 Zilkade 309/July 1892/6651, *PBA. D.* 176.

27 On Ali Şefkati's activities, see, From Rüstem Pasha to Said Pasha cyptiered telegram and enclosures, 11 October 1895/214-20239, From Rüstem Pasha to Turhan Pasha, with enclosures, 17 November 1895/213-20165, *LBA.K.* 303-3/214.

28 *Ibid*, From Allen (agent of the Ottoman Embassy) to the Ottoman Ambassador, 15 June 1895/73, *LBA.*

29 «14 Kânûn-i evvel 1311 (1895) Tarihiyle Mabeyn-i Hümayûn Başkita-bet-i Celilesine Yazılan Mektubun Suretidir», *LBA.K.* 303-3/102-(3).

30 From Anthopulos Pasha to Tahsin Pasha, 14 January 1896/104, *LBA.K.* 303-3/104-105.

31 BVA-YEE/15/74-31/74/15, BVA-İrade-Dahiliye, 29 Şa'ban 1313/no. 29-1951.

32 *BVA-BEO/Zaptiye Gelen*, 657-21/8, no. 80.

The Palace, however, increased its pressure on the *Meşveret*, the principal organ of the movement. As a result of its efforts the French Government closed the Turkish edition of the *Meşveret* which was considered to be «the most dangerous publication» of the Young Turks by the Palace³³. Yet, the violent reaction of the French press, the French Government relaxed its orders and the *Mechveret Supplément Français* continued its publication³⁴. Nevertheless, the Committee was still robbed of its major organ. Ahmed Rıza had no choice but to go to Belgium in the hope of establishing an agreement with the leftist parliamentarian Lorand who finally accepted to publish the *Meşveret* under his responsibility³⁵. Yıldız lost no time in applying pressure upon the Belgian Government³⁶. In return for the freeing by the Palace of some Armenian revolutionary leaders³⁷, the Belgian Government expelled Ahmed Rıza from the country³⁸. In the meantime, the French Government, taking into account the protests made to the French court, allowed Ahmed Rıza to publish the Turkish edition of *Meşveret* in Paris. Thus, the Committee, once again, had the opportunity to propagandate freely. Despite the dual leadership position, the Young Turk group around Ahmed Rıza had more weight in the decision-making structure of the Committee. Ahmed Rıza's dominance in the movement won the antipathy of Murad who with his followers tried, though in vain, to expel the former from the movement.

33 «La Politique Extérieure: Un Acte de Défense», *Le Journal*, 18 April 1896.

34 For the reaction see. «Un Expulse», *Le Courrier du Soir*, 20 April 1896, «La Politique», *l'Éclair*, 17 April 1896, BVA-BEO/Hariciye Gelen, 162-5/18, no. 2728.

35 BVA-Yıldız *Günlük Ma'rûzat*, 17 B 1315/no. 2129, From Münir Pasha to the Palace, 19 November 1313 (1897)/137, *Paris Sefaretiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defter*, 42/2, BVA-YEE, 36/2468/141/XII.

36 For the efforts of the Palace to blockade the publication of *Meşveret*, see. From Tevfik Bey to the Sultan, a memorandum, BVA-YEE/15/74-19-ç/74/15. The transfer of the investigation concerning Ahmed Rıza from the police to the Government substantiates this observation see, *l'Administration Publique-Police des Etrangers-Dossiers Individuels*, no. 61976/*Archives Générales du Royaume-Belgique*.

37 BVA-BEO/Hususî İrade-i Seniye, 378-8/100, 675/8169-78201.

38 BVA-Y/Sadaret Hususî Ma'rûzâtı, 1 Ca 1315/no. 1124.

It must be stressed, however, that the committee lacked cohesion. The Paris and Geneva centres of the movement should not, in fact, be considered as the two branches of the same organisation, but as two different organisations altogether. In addition to the Geneva group's opposition to Ahmed Rıza; Şerafeddin Mağmumî and his followers who were placed in the editorial board of *Meşveret* to control the activities of Ahmed Rıza composed another source of friction within the Paris Young Turk conglomeration³⁹. Such a situation was a cause for pleasure for the Palace which was continuously trying to hamper the activities of the Young Turk⁴⁰. Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha, the special agent of the Sultan, came to Europe, and after a short negotiation with Murad, convinced him in return for the introduction of reforms in Turkey to go back to Istanbul⁴¹. With the announcement of the Paris Embassy to the effect that all those who were involved in the opposition press would be pardoned by the Sultan⁴², the Young Turk movement faced an acute crisis. Soon, the Geneva branch was dissolved⁴³. The group led by Mağmumî within the Paris branch was for a long time disturbed by the extreme positivist mould into which Ahmed Rıza wanted to structure the Young Turk movement⁴⁴ seceded from the movement⁴⁵.

It is the conventional wisdom to regard these disagreements as a tug of war between the traditionals and positivists. Yet, this interpretation reflects only part of the problem, and therefore, could easily be challenged. In the first place, the Young Turks who ceded

39 From Münir Pasha to the Palace, 2 July 1897/77, *Paris Sefaret-i Seniyesiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defterdir*, 26 TS 96, BVA-YEE/36/2468/141/XII-2, «Fransa'da Müceddidin-i Osmaniyenin Hakikat-i Halli», *Hürriyet*, No. 67, 1. February 1897, p. 1.

40 BVA-BEO/İsti'zan İrade-i Seniye, 307-8/30/8164-1643/55098, BVA-BEO/Hususî İrade-i Seniye, 377-8/100-898/10793.

41 Mehmed Murad, *Mücahede-i Milliye: Gurbet ve Avdet Devirleri*, (Dersaadet: 1324/1908), pp. 231-36.

42 *TİTEA*, 82-19875.

43 BVA-BEO/Hususî İrade-i Seniye, 377-8/100-898/10793.

44 On this dispute, see, the *jurnal* of Ali Kemal Bey dated 6 October 1897, in BVA-YEE/15/74-32/74/16, Şerafeddin Mağmumî, *Hakikat-i Hal*, 2nd edition, (konstantiniyye: 1330/1914), especially pp. 16, 29, Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux Derniers Jours d'Abdul-Hamid*, (Paris: 1907), p. 344.

45 «Doktor Şerafeddin Mağmumî», *CTF-TTDEA-İTD*.

from the movement were by no means «traditionals» in the conventional sense of the word⁴⁶. Moreover even if they were, the same observation could not be applied to Kadri Hodja and other members of the *ûlema* who came to Paris from Egypt to collaborate with Ahmed Rıza. In the second place, it is also claimed that the publication of Aristidi's article⁴⁷ brought the movement to the brink of dissolution. Arisitidi was an Ottoman citizen of Greek descent, and published a pro-Greek article during the 1897 Ottoman-Greek war. To attribute the secessions to this single event is a unwarranted exaggeration.

Without disregarding the importance of the above two factors, we can interpret the crisis in the Young Turk movement as a struggle of leadership within the Committee. The crisis in the Young Turk movement also affected the military which the Young Turks drew most of its support from⁴⁸. The triumph of the Ottoman army in the Greco-Turkish war, and the Palace's effective use of this card⁴⁹ increased the lack of sympathy to the Young Turks among the military⁵⁰. The only favourable development in this period was İbrahim Temo's successful attempts to establish similar branches

46 Although Şerafeddin Mağmumî was by no means a biological materialist he considered such views with understanding. For the impact of these views in his thoughts, see. Şerafeddin Mağmumî, «Kalb ve Dimâğ», *Maarif*, No. 32, 12 March 1307 (1891), p. 83, Şerafeddin Mağmumî, *Vücûd-i Beşer*, (İstanbul: 1310/1894), p. 8, Şerafeddin Mağmumî, *Başlangıç* (İstanbul: 1306-1307 (1890), p. 76. For the accusations levied on the Young Turks who both belonged to the editorial board of the *Mizan* and *Meşveret* by the traditionals, see, [Mehmed Ubeydullah], «Kuduz Köpek Cami Duvarına Siyermiş», *Sada*, No. 26/50, 29 May 1897, p. 1.

47 G. Umid [Aristidi Bey], «Illusions et Réalités», *Mechveret Supplément Français*, 15 May 1897, p. 2.

48 Up to the point the number of the military cadres who joined the movement was quite high. see, *BVA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 5 Ra 1315/no. 385. For the decrease in the military converts, see. Ahmed Niyazi, *Hatırat-ı Niyazi : Yahud Tarihçe-i İnkılâb-ı Kebir-i Osmaniden Bir Sahife*, (İstanbul: 1326/1910), p. 21.

49 On propaganda through publications, see. İsmet, *Muvaffakiyet-i Osmaniye Yahud Yedigâr-ı Zafer*, (Dersaadet: 1315/1898), Vecihi, *Musavver Tarih-i Harb*, (Dersaadet: 1315/1898).

50 Ahmed Niyazi, op. cit., p. 21.

in the Balkans, thus organising the opposition there against the Sultan⁵¹.

iii. *The Sultan's efforts to undermine the movement*

Despite the ongoing secessions from the movement Ahmed Rıza was determined to continue the opposition⁵². In the meantime, Abdullah Cevdet fled from Tripoli where he was sent to exile, and through Marseilles came to Paris to join Ahmed Rıza⁵³. İshak Sükûti, with the help of the Committee, escaped from Rhodes and also joined the Young Turks in Europe⁵⁴. Abdullah Cevdet and İshak Sükûti promised Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha that they would not be engaged in the opposition for another three months provided the Palace agreed to the introduction of reforms and the freeing of seventy-eight conspirators⁵⁵ who designed an unsuccessful attempt on the Sultan's life. These were the conditions which the Young Turks asked from the Government at Contraxeville in the summer of 1897⁵⁶.

Five months later⁵⁷, Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sükûti and Tunalı Hilmi headed to Geneva and organised the disunited collection of Young Turk clubs there⁵⁸. On December 1, 1897 the same trium-

51 İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki...*, p. 112 and «Sarbatoreia d-lui Dr. İbrahim Temo», *Jobrogea Juna*, 13 April 1935.

52 Ahmed Rıza, «İfade-i Mahsusa», *Meşveret*, No. 24, 23 September 1897, p. 1.

53 «Die Schicksale eines Übersetzer», *Pester Lloyd*, 23 February 1899 and *BVA-Yıldız Muhtelif Marûzat*, 5 Ca 1315/no. 586-3074.

54 «Tebşir», *Meşveret*, No. 22, 8 November 1896, p. 1.

55 For more information see, Ali Fahri, *Emel Yolunda*, (İstanbul: 1328/1912), Ali Fahri, *Elvah-ı Siyah*, (İstanbul: 1324/1908), Reşid, *Taşkıyla Divan-ı Harbi Mukarreratına Dair Hakaik-i Mühimme*, (İstanbul: 1324/1908), *Fortresse de Tripoli*, *Osmanlı Supplément Français*, No. 12-13, 1 June 1899.

56 Abdullah Cevdet, *Hadd-ı Te'dib: Ahmed Rıza Bey'e Açık Mektub*, 2nd edition (İstanbul: 1912), pp. 37-38.

57 «Teessüf mü edelim, İftihar mı?», *Osmanlı*, No. 24, 15 November 1898, p. 1.

58 From Münir Pasha to the Palace, 4 July 1897/79 and 11 July 1897/82, *Paris Seferet-i Seniyesiyle...*, 26 TS 96.

virate started to publish a review, the *Osmanlı*, thanks to the funds obtained from Abdulhamid II under the students' allotment scheme⁵⁹. Yıldız, in turn, claimed that the Young Turks had broken their promise, and protested the publication of the *Osmanlı*⁶⁰. Despite the protests of Abdulhamid II, the Young Turks in turn accused the Sultan for his duplicity and kept *Osmanlı* in circulation⁶¹.

Ahmed Rıza, under the circumstances, was compelled to accept the *Osmanlı* as the main organ of the Young Turk movement⁶². He decided to close down the Turkish edition of the *Meşveret*, but left *Mechveret Supplément Français* untouched⁶³. Yet, the gradual disappearing of his articles in the *Osmanlı* indicated that Ahmed Rıza had difficulties in getting along with the new group in Geneva⁶⁴. Since the editorial board of *Osmanlı* was composed of biological materialists, the reason for the disagreement among the Young Turk circles must again be attributed to the struggle for leadership. Especially, after the beginning of 1899 Geneva emerged as the main centre of the Young Turk movement. In the meantime, two newspapers were published, one in Cairo (the *Kanun-u Esasî*)⁶⁵ and the other in Bucharest (*Sada-yı Millet*)⁶⁶, both supporting the Geneva faction.

59 *Ibid*, From Münir Pasha to the Palace, 7 December 1897/139 [Edmond Lardy], «Un Agent Turc à Genève», *Journal de Genève*, 20 March 1898, «Avant-Propos», *Osmanlı Supplément Français*, No. 1, 5 December 1897, pp. 1-2, ITA-82-18343.

60 From Mehmed Kâmil Bey to the Porte, 29 August 1898/37, *Paris ve Viyana Sefaret-i Seniyeleriiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defter*, BBA-YEE, 36/2468/11/XII/I; Mehmed Kâmil Bey to the Porte, 29 August 1898.

61 8 January 1898-vom Genf, no. 12-98/2, Bundesarchiv-Bern, E. 21/14 248.

62 «Osmanlı ve Kanun-u Esasî Gazeteleri», *Meşveret*, no. 29, 14 K. sanî 1897, p. 3.

63 Ahmed Rıza, «İhtar», *Meşveret*, no. 30, 6 Mayıs 1898, p. 1.

64 Diran Kelekian's *Jurnal* of 19 June 1314, BBA-Yıldız Esas Evrakı, 15/74-26 c/74/15; cf. [Tunah Hilmi], «Hakka Taaddî», *Hakk-ı Sarîh*, no. 3, 9 August 1900, p. 4; A. Cevdet, *Hadd-ı Te'dîb...*, p. 45.

65 BBA-BEO/Hususi İrade-i Seniye, 377-8/100-925/11720-80888; BBA-BEO/Mısır Fevkalâde Komiseri Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşadan Vürûd Eden, 747-36/5; BBA-BEO/Hususi İrade-i Seniye, 378-8/101-1136/13453/82368.

66 BBA-Yıldız Perâkende, 17 L 131, no. 1199.

After a month of its circulation, the *Osmanlı* had to face serious obstacles⁶⁷. In the first place, Abdullah Cevdet, İshak Sükûti and Tunalı Hilmi, having made an agreement with the Palace in return for a life-long pension ceded from the opposition⁶⁸. Within a short while, however, the Palace, found out that these Young Turk leaders were still continuing their opposition to the Sultan⁶⁹. Subsequently, new negotiations opened between the Palace and the triumvirate⁷⁰. During the 1898 negotiations, the Palace hesitated to accept both the pardoning of the exiles⁷¹ and the payment the Young Turks demanded to cease from the opposition⁷². The Young Turks in turn, refused the Sultan's offer to appoint them to the Ottoman embassies in Europe⁷³. Hence, no agreement was reached. The Palace now determined to cut back stipends of the Young Turks who used these funds to finance the opposition against the Sultan⁷⁴. Having faced serious financial difficulties, Tunalı Hilmi Bey toured the European capitals in the hope of obtaining some donations for the crippled Young Turk movement. But both his and Sükûti's efforts in Germany were unsuccessful⁷⁵. The Cairo branch was also,

67 The Ottoman Government was also determined to exert pressure upon the European governments to blockade the publication of the *Osmanlı*. *BBA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 11 Safer 1315, no. 267. For the campaign against the *Osmanlı*, see «Hariciye Nezareti Celilesine 28 Şubat 314 tarihiyle Varid Olan Tezkere-i Dahiliye Sureti», *Dışişleri Bakanlığın Hazine-i Evrak Arşivi - İstanbul*, hereafter HEA, Siyasi: 178.

68 *BBA-İrade-Hususi*, Rebiy'ülâhir 316, no. 24-272.

69 Münir Pasha to the Palace, 21/12 Teşrin-i sâni /18/99, *Paris Sefaretiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defterdir*, 15 August 1899, BBA-YEE, 36/2468/141/XII-3.

70 For the details of the bargaining, see; *Paris Büyükelçiliği Arşivi*, D. 287 and also, Salih Münir to the Paris Consulate General of Switzerland, 439/99-8 April 1899; *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 21/14'248.

71 Negotiations led to the relaxation of the conditions of the interns. This also reflects the use of interns against the Young Turks during the negotiations; German Vice-Consul in Tripoli to Auswärtiges Amt, 4 July 1898/204-a. 8359-17 July 1898, *Politisches Archiv d. Auswärtiges Amt-Acten: b. die Jungtürken-Türkei*: 198) 732-3, hereafter Bonn AA.

72 *Paris Büyükelçiliği Arşivi*, D. 287.

73 *BBA-BEO/Hariciye Gelen-Giden*, 378-796/88428.

74 *BBA-BEO/Dahiliye Gelen*, 99-3/48-1789/115255; *BBA-İrade-Hususi*, Safer 1319, no. 38-104; *BBA-BEO Hariciye Gelen*, 185-5/41-1299/121182.

75 For the activities of Tunalı Hilmi Bey, see; Tevfik Bey to the Palace, 213/7 March 1899, 218/19 March 1899, *Roma, Berlin Sefaret-i Seniyelerile*

due to financial problems, at the brink of dissolution⁷⁶. On top of these adverse developments, the Swiss Government, warned the Young Turk leaders to moderate their attacks on the Palace. Otherwise, it made it clear to them that they would be deported⁷⁷. As a final effort to obtain some funds from the Sultan, Abdullah Cevdet, accompanied with his adventurous friend Mustafa Rahmi, tried to blackmail Yıldız by letting the Palace believe that a Committee was established with them aim of replacing Abdulhamid II in favour of his brother Reşad. Yet, Abdullah Cevdet's efforts were in vain, and the *Reşadiye Komitesi* (Committee of Reshadiye) as he called it, became a dead letter.

The Young Turks in Geneva decided to renegotiate with the Sultan⁷⁸. After some bargaining, the Palace agreed to distribute offices to the Young Turks as a way of buying them off from the opposition. Abdullah Cevdet was sent to Vienna as the embassy doctor, while Ishak Sükûti headed for Rome⁷⁹. The rest of Geneva

Muhaberata Mahsus Defter, 27 May 1895-15 May 1311, *BBA-YEE* 36/139-52/139/XXIII, Stockholm Embassy (Ottoman) to the Palace, 80-11 February 1314, 81-23 February 314, 93-25 March 1315, *Tahran, Petersburg, Stockholm Sefaret-i Seniyyeleriyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defterdir*, 10 July 1898, *BBA-YEE*, 36/139-44/139/XVIII. İshak Sükûti's activities could be found in, A. 11769/13 October 1898, A. 11769/8907-15089/18 October 1898, *Bonn AA, die Jungtürken-Türkei*: 198/732-3.

76 To Mehmed. Kâmil Bey (telegram), 16 June 1315, *BBA-BEO/MFK Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa'dan Vürâd Eden*, 747-36/5.

77 «Auszug Aus dem Protokol der Sizung des Sch. Bund, 18 Mai 1900-Eid. Justiz und P.D. 21 Mai 1900/P.P. 85», *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 21/14'250; *ibid.*, E. 21/14'248. Müller to Baron Charles de Richtofen, 30 November 1899. For more information on the Committee, and the apprehension it caused at the Turkish capital, see; *ibid.*, E. 21/14'249. Bd. 1; *Bonn AA, die Jungtürken Türkei*: 198, A. 3808/30.31899; A. 3720/30 March 1899-131.

78 On more further developments, see; Ahmed Celâleddin Pasha to Kâmil Bey, 1/27 July 1899, Paris'de Feridun Bey, Ahmed Celâleddin Paşa, Roma'da Tahir Paşa ve Ferid Paşa... ile Muhaberat Defteri, 21 March 1316, *BBA-YEE*, 36/2328-4/145/XV, *BBA-İrade-Hariciye*, Cemaziy'ül evvel 1317, no. 14-1145; *BBA-BEO*, *Re'sen İrade-i Seniye*, 358-8/76-103306, *BBA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 7 C 1317, no. 958-11.

79 *BBA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 9 C 1317, no. 1026. On the appointments, see; *Sâlnâme-i Nezaret-i Hariciye*, İstanbul, 1318 pp. 231-32.

group including Tunalı Hilmi and Halil Muvaffak were also appointed to Ottoman delegations abroad⁸⁰. With this final entente, the Young Turks agreed not to publish anything of a political exiles in Fezzan and Tripoli⁸². Although the delay in the realization of the last requirement nearly upset the honeymoon between the Palace and the Young Turks; with the eventual freeing of the exiles⁸³, started their new jobs at the embassies⁸⁴.

With this agreement, the Young Turks accepted the closing of the Osmanlı. The review, however, continued to be printed under the editorship of Albert Karlen⁸⁵. In fact, the Osmanlı was being published upon the instructions of Abdullah Cevdet by Edhem Ruhi, an old medic and an exile from Tripoli⁸⁷. It must be remembered, however, those who remained active in Geneva were only the Young Turks, like Akil Muhtar⁸⁸, Burhan Bahaeddin, Lieutenant Fevzi and Abdurrahman Bedirhan⁸⁹ who were never involved at the decision-making levels of the Young Turk movement.

While the Geneva faction was managing to continue its existence Ahmed Rıza with his followers in Paris, continued the publication of *Mechveret Supplément Français*. It was expected that Ahmed Rıza who heavily criticized those Young Turks who negotia-

80 On Halil Muvaffak, see; *BBA-Hususi İrade-i Seniye*, 378-8/101-659-7572/91270. On Tunalı Hilmi, see, *Salname-i Nezaret-i Hariciye*, p. 234.

81 «Geht als Beilage 1 zum Dossier Djevdet Abdullah», no. 343, *Archives de Justice et Police-Genève*.

82 «Forteresse de Tripoli», *Osmanlı Supplément Français*, no. 12-13, 1 June 1899.

83 *BBA-İrade-Hususi*, Safer 1316, no. 34-167, *BBA-İrade-Hususi*, Safer 1316, no. 69-308.

84 *BBA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 3 Za 1317, no. 1963-1.

85 *Archives d'Etat-Genève/Chancellerie*, B. 8, s. 47; 97/7-73-21 Dez. 1897-vom Genf-20 Dez. 1897. no. 653, *Bundesarchiv, Bern*, E. 21/14'248.

86 *İTA*-82-18293.

87 For the participation of this person to the Young Turk movement, see; *BBA-YEE*, 15/74-184/74/15.

88 For the role of this person in the Young Turk movement see; A. Süheyl Ünver, «Mekteb-i Tıbbiye Talebesi Arasında Hürriyet ve Serbest Düşünüş Cereyanları», *İstanbul Klinik Dersleri Aylık Tıp Dergisi*, Vol. VIII/40, March 1953.

89 Baron de Richtofen to Diran Kelekian, 6 July 1900, *İTA* 82-20097.

ted and agreed with the terms of the Palace⁹⁰, would rise into prominence in the movement. Yet, an unexpected development prohibited such an outcome. Mahmud Pasha who was married to the Sultan's sister, accompanied with his two sons, Lutfullah and Sabahaddin, arrived in Europe and expressed his desire to join the Young Turks⁹¹. While the Palace viewed with apprehension the taking up of arms of the royalty against the Sultan by joining the ranks of the Young Turk opposition⁹², Mahmud Pasha and those who joined the movement with him⁹³ decided to support the Young Turk organs both with their articles and financial means. As a result, the *Osmanlı* assumed, with full rigour, its publication.

iv. *New faces, new committees in opposition*

Mahmud Pasha and his sons, upon their arrival to Europe, remained aloof from taking sides in the struggle for leadership in the Young Turk movement between the Geneva and Paris branches. Within a short while, Ahmed Rıza fell in dispute again with the Geneva group which had managed to get organized for the third

90 Paris, 2 June 1906, Dr. Nazım-Bahaeddin (signed), *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti Merkezinin 1906-1907 Senelerinin Muhaberat Kopyası*, hereafter *ITMK*, Vol. I, p. 49.

91 *BBA-YEE*, 19/39/143/56, Ottoman Delegation to Paris to the Palace, 41/24 Kanun-i sâni 1900.

92 The Ottoman Government was so worried that the cost of the telegrams despatched from the Embassy, concerning Mahmud Pasha's activities in Marseilles, was more than the ambassadorial budget could afford: Seyfeddin Bey to the Ottoman Delegation to Paris, 779-15/22 Kânun-ı sâni 1900, Paris Büyükelçiliği Arşivi D. 220. Government's apprehension could be attributed to the European press' interest in the joining of a royalty to the Young Turk movement: Seyfeddin Bey to the Ottoman Delegation to Paris, 928/90/6 Kânun-ı evvel 1899, Paris Büyükelçiliği Arşivi, D. 237; *Le Genevois*, 27-29 March 1900, *Journal de Genève*, 24-25 March 1900, *Tribune de Genève*, 25-27-28 March 1900, *Basler Nachrichten*, 28 March 1900 and Karatodory Bey to Tevfik Pasha, 30 March 1900, *HEA-Siyasi*, 178.

93 Hüseyin Siret and others who joined the Young Turks were the supporters of Mahmud Pasha: *Bonn AA die Jungtürken: Türkei*: 198-733/3. A. 304/7 January 1902.

time since 1896⁹⁴. This third faction was composed of the discontented members of the Paris centre and their new converts to the movement⁹⁵, the latter was compelled, yet again, to warn the Young Turk opposition in Switzerland that they would be expelled from the country unless they moderated their attacks on the Sultan⁹⁷. Having been barred from functioning properly⁹⁸, the Young Turks in Geneva decided to move to London⁹⁹ and the 62nd copy of the *Osmanlı*, was published in London on June 15, 1900¹⁰⁰. After its short printing life in London, the Young Turks took the *Osmanlı* to Folkestone¹⁰¹. During its publication in Folkestone, the *Osmanlı* assu-

94 Ottoman Delegation to Paris to the Palace, 7 Kânun-ı sâni 1900, *BBA-YEE*, 19/39/143/56. For the interpretation of this incident by the Geneva branch, see; Edhem Ruhi, «Bir Hatve Daha»; *Osmanlı*, no. 156, 15 July 1904, p. 1 «... After the departure of Murad, the Geneva and Paris branches were never able to obtain a common stand in their activities Mahmud Pasha's arrival, in this respect, had no effect.»

95 Those Young Turks who accepted occupations with the 1899 Agreement acted with this group: A. Cevdet, «Mekâtib: Osmanlı İdaresine», *Osmanlı*, no. 141, 15 Teşrin-i sâni 1904, p. 3, «Pek Büyük Bir Ziya», *Osmanlı*, no. 103, 1 March 1902, p. 2.

96 *BBA-BEO/Hariciye Gelen*, 160-5/16-125783, *BBA-İrade-Hususi*, Rébiy' ülevvel 1319, no. 7-121, Ottoman Delegation to Paris to the Palace, 143/1 May 1899, *Paris ve Viyana Sefaret-i Seniyesiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defter*, *BBA-YEE*, 36/2468/141/XII-1, 19 March 1900, *BBA-YEE*, 19/39/143/56.

97 «Auszug Aus dem Protokoll der Sitzung des Sch. Bund. 18 Mai 1900,» *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 21/14'250.

98 For these, we could say the pressures applied by the Ottoman authorities on printers in order to stop the publication of the Young Turk organs. As a result of the Young Turk organs. As a result of the Palace's efforts, the Young Turks couldn't find any printing house to continue their propaganda: 28.11.1900, 17 wom Genf 26. III/no. 142, *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 21/14-250.

99 İTA-82-18330, 82-18269, 82-18315, Asım Bey to the Ottoman Delegation to London, 32/15 Kânun-ı sâni 1901, *Londra Sefaret-i Seniyesiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Defter*, 15 TS 99, *BBA-YEE*, 36/2468/141-63/XII, *BBA-BEO*, *Hariciye Gelen*, 160-5/15-3217/135146.

100 The *Osmanlı* was published in London under the editorship of Nuri Ahmed Bey, see; Mai 1901/P.P.-130/78, *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 21/14'251, *Bonn AA die Jungtürken: Türkei*, 198/733-1. A. 6009-45/10 May 1900. For the apprehension of the Palace; see: the Ottoman Delegation to Berlin to the Palace, no. 89, *Berlin Sefaret-i Seniyesiyle Muhaberata Mahsus Kayd Defteridir*, 8 March 1900, *BBA-YEE*, 36/2586/148/XVI.

101 «İhtar-ı Mühim», *Osmanlı*, no. 68, 15 September 1900. p. 1.

med a more moderate and traditional line in its opposition to Abdulhamid II. Within a short while, the role of the medics in the editorial board of the paper diminished. Hüseyin Siret became the chief columnist and held in his hands the reins of management of the paper. Edhem Ruhi, disillusioned as he was, fell into disrepute among the Young Turk circles in England¹⁰². The Ottoman Government continued its efforts to close down the *Osmanlı*¹⁰³, but, despite its efforts, the Young Turks found a very conducive atmosphere in England to pursue their activities¹⁰⁴.

The Committee continued its existence by publishing the paper until 1902. In 1902, there was an attempt to assemble the disunited collection of the Young Turks in Europe at a Congress, and having done that, decide the future course of their opposition to the Hamidian regime¹⁰⁵. Tunah Hilmi, once in 1899 had wanted to set up such a congress, but it never materialized since Ahmed Rıza and his followers did not recognize the Young Turks who did not belong to the Paris centre¹⁰⁶.

When the congress was held in Paris, all the opposition had hoped that Mahmud Pasha would rise into undisputed prominence within the Young Turk movement, by gathering all the Young Turk factions around his exalted status¹⁰⁷. However, the issue of

102 The omittance of Ethem Ruhi in the report prepared by Diran Kelekian about the Young Turks proves this point: *İTA*-82-18021, cf. *İTA*-82-18077.

103 Antopulos Pasha to Sir Thomas, 6 March 1901, *Public Record Office-Foreign Office*, hereafter *PRO, FO*, 78/5140-XC/A, 001696, «Home Office Conf. 1/27 April 1901». *PRO, FO*, 78/5141-XC/H. 1834.

104 Compared with the Swiss Government's efforts, London's attitude was more lenient and tolerant concerning the Young Turk publications: C.S. Nurdoch to *FO*, 2 May 1901, *PRO, FO*. 78/5141-XC-A. 1894.

105 A. Lütfullah - M. Sabahaddin, «Umum Osmanlı Vatandaşlarımız», *Osmanlı*, no. 81, 1 April 1901, pp. 2-5.

106 On the congress as envisaged by Tunah Hilmi Bey to be held in Corfu and Brindisi, see; Tevfik Pasha to Rifat Bey, 35265-225/20.9.1899, *HBA-Siyasi*, 424, Léon Bey to Tevfik Pasha, 992-1/7.10.1899, *HBA-Siyasi*, 424, *BBA-BEO/Hariciye Gelen*, 159-5/15, 2194, «Congresso di Giovani Turchi a Brindizi», *Il Courriere di Catania*, 6 October 1899.

107 *BBA-İrade-Hususî*, Zilhicce 1318, no. 8-872, *BBA-Yıldız Perâkende*, 17 Za. 1319, no. 1500 and 1527.

inviting foreign intervention for the introduction of a constitutional regime divided the Young Turks and brought the Congress to an impasse. Moreover the (demands of the Armenian) revolutionaries with respect to the introduction of reforms in eastern Turkey according to the 61 st paragraph of the Berlin Congress became another point of division¹⁰⁹.

At the election which took place at the Congress, Mahmud Pasha and his followers obtained the majority, and secured the ownership of the Young Turk's principal organ, the *Osmanlı*¹¹⁰. The *Mechveret Supplément Français* remained as the organ of minority¹¹¹. After a short while, those Young Turk groups who had once published, the *İsdirdad*, *İntikam*¹¹², and *Sancak* joined Ahmed Rıza and, they all started to publish a new review in Turkish called the *Şûra-yi Ümmet*¹¹³.

Those Young Turks who commanded a majority in the Congress got more formally organised under the name of the Committee of Ottoman Freedomlovers (*Osmanlı Hürriyetperverân Cemiyeti*)¹¹⁴. This group, at the suggestion of İsmail Kemâl, designed a coup against the Sultan with the active participation of Recep Pasha of Tripoli¹¹⁵. The project of invading Yıldız was too much of a fantasy to be implemented. It must also be mentioned that the majority of Mahmud Pasha lacked cohesion and was in fact, composed of loosely united groups of widely varying ideas and strategies. This was a

108 On the arguments, see; «Mülâhaza : Yeni Osmanlılar Kongresi», *İntikam* (Geneva), no. 50, 1 March 1902, pp. 2-3.

109 «Les Congrès des Libéraux Ottomans», *Pro Arménia*, no. 7, 25 February 1902, p. 54.

110 «Sebeb-i Tehir», *Osmanlı*, no. 120, 15 August 1903, p. 1.

111 «Compte-Rendu du Congrès», *Mechveret Supplément Français*, no. 126, 15 February 1902, p. 4.

112 For the activities of these two organs, see; 3 May 1901, Bern-130-78/P.P. *Bundesarchiv-Bern*, E. 24¹⁴/251.

113 «İhtar», *Şûra-yi Ümmet*, no. 1, 1 April 1902, p. 4.

114 «Osmanlı Hürriyetperverân Cemiyetinin Nizamnâmesi», *Osmanlı*, no. 104, 16 April 1902, pp. 7-8.

115 İsmail Kemal, *The Memoirs of İsmail Kemal Bey*, ed. by Somerville Story, London, 1920, pp. 308-19; *Bonn AA die Jungtürken: Türkei*: 198-733/3.

very important factor for the failure of the Young Turks to obtain a consensus with respect to their aims. As a result the Armenians withdrew their support from the movement¹¹⁶. Greek revolutionaries were too weak to be counted as a source of real support. It was only the Albanian revolutionaries who, through İsmail Kemal Bey, continued to support Mahmud Pasha group of the Young Turks¹¹⁷. Having considered all these, we can say that the minority surrounding Ahmed Rıza was a more homogenous group and had more weight and influence than Mahmud Pasha faction.

After the unsuccessful attempt of coup, the influence of the Mahmud Pasha group further declined. Its newspaper ceased to be published under the auspices of the Committee of Ottoman Freedomlovers and reverted back to the old title the Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress, and, with the death of Mahmud Pasha, Edhem Ruhi, having an argument with Mahmut's son, Sabahaddin, moved the paper to Cairo¹¹⁸.

Having been denied of its main propaganda instrument, the Geneva branch of the Young Turks gradually fell into oblivion. The only remaining opposition group in Geneva was the Ottoman Union and Reform Committee (*Osmanlı İttihad ve İnkılab Cemiyeti*), set up by Cevdet and Ruhi. Abdullah Cevdet, after having a serious discussion which ended at the police headquarters with Münir Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador in Vienna, where the former worked as the Embassy's physician, decided to rejoin the ranks of opposition¹¹⁹. The Ottoman Union and Reform Committee, had more in common with the anarchists and less with the Young Turks. While Abdullah Cevdet established contacts with the Russian nihilists, Edhem Ruhi was determined to «seek refuge in terrorism» to overthrow the Sultan¹²⁰. This Committee also participated in the

116 İTA-82-18330.

117 BBA-BEO/Hariciye Giden, 186-5/42-106/136297.

118 BBA-BEO/Mısır Hıdiviyet-i Celilesinin Muharrerat Defteri, 1032-68/4, 77-504/102-8 T. evvel 1319.

119 For the incident, see; *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines Verwaltungarchiv/K. Innenministerium Präsidiale*, 21, 6842/1903 and 21.7304/1903, BBA-Yıldız Hususi Maruzat, 2B 1321, no. 2433.

120 *Ethem Ruhi Balkan Hatıraları - Canlı Tarihler* IV, İstanbul, 1947, pp. 29-30.

bombing of the *selâmlık*, when the Armenians attempted to assassinate the Sultan after the traditional Friday prayer at the Yıldız Mosque¹²¹. In short, the Committee represented a small nucleus in the Young Turk movement. Due to its radical stand, the Swiss Government in line with the Porte's approaches¹²², deported Abdullah Cevdet¹²³. With his deportation, the *Osmanlı*, the only remaining paper ceased from circulation¹²⁴.

v. *Infiltrating the military in Macedonia*

In the meantime, Ahmed Rıza and his followers reassumed the leadership of the Young Turk movement. They not only formed a new committee under the name of the Committee of Ottoman Progress and Union (*Osmanlı Terakki ve İttihad Cemiyeti*), but also gathered a lot of support from the Young Turk groups within the Ottoman Empire¹²⁵. In 1907, this Committee joined forces with the Ottoman Freedom Committee (*Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti*) an organisation founded by the Young military leaders in Macedonia¹²⁶. This amalgamation, in turn, resulted in the domination of the military cadres in the Young Turk movement. As Halil Halid rightly claimed «It is a gross mistake to characterise the forces upholding the cause of the Constitution as the army of the Committee... because [it was the Committee which came] under the patronage of the army»¹²⁷.

Faced with these new developments, Prince Sabahaddin tried to reorganize his followers in Paris during 1906 and started the

121 *Ibid.*

122 İTA-82-18329, 2 T. sani 1904, Nihad Reşad Bey (signed).

123 BBA-Yıldız Hususi Maruzat, 6 R 1322, no. 2159, «Dernieres Nouvelles: Confédération-Arrête d'Expulsion», *Journal de Genève*, 2 November 1904.

124 We see that the opposition supplied Abdullah Cevdet's *İctihad* with articles during this period. For the date of its publication, see; *Archives d'Etat Genève/Chancellerie*, B. 8, s. 95.

125 İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin...*, pp. 200-2.

126 Bahaddin Şakir (signed), no. 386, İTMK-I, p. 37.

127 Halil Halid, «The Origin of Revolt in Turkey», *The Nineteenth Century and After*, CCCLXXXVII, May 1906, p. 755.

publication of *Terakki*. The Prince's ideas on decentralization (*adem-i merkeziyet*) were an anathema to the Macedonian Young Turks who believed that the preservation of the centralized administration of the provinces was a necessity to maintain the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the military favoured Ahmed Rıza over the Prince¹²⁸. The only futile attempts of Sabahaddin who now set up a new Committee for Decentralization and Private Initiative (*Adem-i Merkeziyet ve Teşebbüs-ü Şahsî Cemiyeti*) to overthrow the Sultan was to initiate first an unsuccessful revolt in Kastamonu¹²⁹ and second in Erzurum. Hüseyin Tosun Bey, with instructions from the Prince and aided by the Armenian revolutionaries tried in vain to escalate a local grievance, caused by the levying of taxes on husbandry, into a major uprising¹³⁰.

Frustrated with these two unsuccessful attempts, Sabahaddin, as a last effort, tried again to organize another Congress in Paris¹³¹. This Congress, under the presidency of Ahmed Rıza, Sabahaddin and Malumyan of the Armenian revolutionary committee of Tashnaksutyon, finally managed to reach a concensus. The Congress, agreed to overthrow the Sultan, to reintroduce the 1876 Constitution and reopen both chambers of the Parliament¹³².

In 1908, the opposition to the Hamidian regime gained considerable momentum in Macedonia. Although the Macedonian military leaders professed allegiance to the Paris Committee of Progress and Union, they by no means followed the latter's instructions, but made up their own policies to overthrow Abdulhamid II. The Salonica

128 Ahmed Niyazi, *Hatırat-ı Niyazi...*, p. 32.

129 The relation of this movement with the Young Turks has not been cultivated. Yet, it seems that this uprising was initiated by the inspiration which the smuggled *Terakki* provided the revolutionaries. *HEA-İdari*: 198.

130 Ali Haydar Mithat, «Mithat Paşa'nın Oğlunun Hatıraları», *Tan*, 9 January 1938; On the revolt, see; Shipley to O'Connor, 10-40/5 March 1907, *PRO/FO*. 424-212, p. 47; O'Connor to Grey, 40/169/18 March 1907, *PRO/FO*. 424-2121, p. 40 same to same, 35/5/15 February 1907, *PRO/FO* 424-212, pp. 44.

131 On the Congress, see; *İTA*-82-18435 and 82-18437.

132 On the resolutions, see; «Muvaffakiyetle Neticelendiğini Tebşir Ettiğimiz Osmanlı Muhalifin Fırkaları Kongresinin Beyânnâmesi», *Terakki*, no. 18, 1908, pp. 1-4; «Le Congrès», *Meçhveret Supplément Français*, no. 195, 1 January 1908, pp. 153-7.

Young Turks came out of underground in May, handing out leaflets to the European consulates in Macedonia¹³³. In these leaflets, the Young Turks voiced their grievances against the Hamidian despotism. The meeting of the Russian Tsar with the British King in Reval was interpreted of the European leaders to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. Panicked as they were, the military leaders, headed by Niyazi and Enver, mutinied and took up arms against the Government. They even assassinated in broad daylight Şemsi Pasha whom Abdulhamid II had sent against the rebels to crush the mutiny. Another faithful agent of the Palace, Osman Pasha, was kidnapped and escorted to the hills where the revolutionaries were hiding. The populace in Macedonia was jubilant and bombarded Yıldız with telegrams, demanding the immediate reintroduction of Constitution¹³⁴. The Palace had no choice but to give in. On July 24, 1908, an *irade* of the Sultan announced the granting of the Constitution¹³⁵. With it, the 32 years old dream of the Young Turks was fulfilled.

As a last word, it could be said that the fundamental reason which provoked the Young Turks to fill the cadres of opposition against the Hamidian regime was not political but philosophical. The Young Turks thought, as the intellectuals of the country, it was their self-appointed task to create the milieu for the replacement of religion in favour of positivism and biological materialism in the Turkish society. It was only after some time that they forsaked the teaching of biological materialism in their organs, and, instead, engaged in direct political criticism towards the establishment¹³⁶. With the transformation of the Young Turks from a philosophical school to a political opposition party, the opposition emerged as a very heterogeneous body, composed of the members of the learned institution (ulema), ethnic separatists, positivists, biological materialist, extreme nationalist and humanists. It is evident, therefore, to con-

133 Ahmed Niyazi, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-61.

134 *Said Paşa'nın Hatıratı*, Vol. II, part. 2, İstanbul, 1329, pp. 442-71; Ahmed Refik, *İnkılâb-ı Azim*, İstanbul, 1324.

135 *Düstûr*, Tertib-i Sanî, İstanbul, 1329, pp. 1-2.

136 Ahmed Rıza, «Les Positivistes et Politique Internationale», *Mechveret Supplément Français*, no. 19, 15 September 1896, p. 6.

sider these people under one title as the «Young Turks». Their only common platform was the immediate overthrow of the Sultan Abdulhamid II, though they offered no far-reaching programs as to what to do when this aim was reached¹³⁷.

137 The only exception is Tunali Hilmi; he offered a state model: *Un Projet d'Organisation de la Souveraineté du Peuple En Turquie*, Genève, 1902.