OSMANLI ARAŞTIRMALARI
XXI

THE JOURNAL OF OTTOMAN STUDIES
XXI

İstanbul - 2001

Sahibi: **ENDERUN KİTABEVİ** adına **İsmail ÖZDOĞAN**

Yazı İşleri Sorumlusu : **Nejat GÖYÜNÇ**

Basıldığı Yer :**Kitap Matbaacılık** (212) 5014636

Cilt : **Fatih Mücellit** (212) 5012823 - 6128671

Adres :ENDERUN KİTABEVİ , Büyük Reşitpaşa Cad.Yümni İş Merkezi
No: 46 Beyazıt - İstanbul (212) 5286318 Fax: (212) 5286317

SULTAN ABDULHAMID II'S OFFICIALS: THE CASE OF NUSRET PAŞA AT BAGHDAD, 1888-1896

Gökhan ÇETİNSAYA

There were endemic conflicts among civil, military and financial officials in the *vilayet* of Baghdad throughout the reign of Abdulhamid II. These had several motives and reasons: political, social, ideological, financial, or personal. The Ottoman central administration could not find permanent solutions to these chronic conflicts among high-ranking officials. To give an example, the case of Nusret Paşa would be mentioned. Generally speaking, the government of the *vilayet* of Baghdad rested upon a delicate balance between the Vali, the Müşir of 6th Army, and the local notables. In addition, the Sultan's decision to appoint a former confidant Nusret Paşa, as the Honorary Inspector of 6th Army, provoked a long-lasting, and in some ways, unique crisis in the administration of Baghdad.

Müşir Nusret Paşa, whose nickname was "mad" (*deli*), had come to Baghdad as an 'honorary exile' in 1888. He was a Circassian by birth, and one of the last surviving statesmen from the era of Mahmud II.[1] Exceptionally, his removal to Baghdad was not the result of opposition to the Sultan's policies, or of doubts about his loyalty. On the contrary, as a typical member of the 'old school' of Tanzimat men, Nusret was very loyal to the Sultan and his regime. Moreover, he was quite religious and a former arch-enemy of Midhat Paşa, which was an advantage in the eyes of the Sultan, who, up to 1886, had happily used Nusret in important domestic and foreign missions. That said, Nusret's

1 For Nusret Paşa, see *Sicill-i Osmani*, IV, p.554 [cf. pp.870-71]; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, XXV, pp.353-54; Public Record Office [PRO], Foreign Office [FO], 195/1794, no.21, 22 May 1893, by Chermside, the Military Attaché.

quarrelsomeness, and his resort to 'jurnals' or denunciations of rivals, had made him very unpopular even among Abdulhamid's own entourage. The last nail in his coffin came in 1886, when in the course of a mission to Iran, Nusret offered the Shah an alliance against the British, to be formed by the Ottomans, Iranians and Russians. He did so without the knowledge of the Porte, or even, it appears, of the Sultan.[2] This was enough for Abdulhamid. Nusret Paşa was sent first to 4th Army, and then to Baghdad as Honorary Inspector of 6th Army.

From late 1890 onwards, complaints began to reach Istanbul, about and from Nusret Paşa. Those containing complaints about Nusret Paşa were sent either by senior provincial officials or by the notables of Baghdad. In turn, Nusret Paşa began to send lengthy reports to Istanbul, complaining about high-ranking government officials, including the Vali and the *Defterdar*. The core of the matter was land. It appears that since his arrival, Nusret Paşa had been using his post to acquire a great amount of land in and around Baghdad, by legal or illegal means. This seems to have shaken the balance of power in the *vilayet*, and given the fact that Nusret Paşa was already a potential troublemaker, with his tough manners and singular character, he was proclaimed persona-non-grata by the government officials and local notables. The result was a protracted feud, which ended only with Nusret Paşa's death in 1896.

At first, Nusret Paşa complained that provincial officials, including the Vali and the *Defterdar*, were preventing the peasants (*fellah*) employed by him from working on his land. The Porte's investigation, in December 1890, showed that this was not the case, and that on the contrary, Nusret Paşa himself had committed several injustices. The Grand Vizier, Kamil Paşa, asked the Sultan for his removal.[3] Nothing was done, however, and in the meantime the duel of letters, complaints and accusations between Nusret Paşa and other officials of Baghdad grew steadily more intense. There were complaints, from January 1891 onwards, that Nusret Paşa had occupied certain *waqf* lands, beaten some officials, and interfered in the affairs of the provincial administration. For example, in January 1891, it was reported from Baghdad that Nusret Paşa occupied the land of Ummu'l-Uzma belonging to a *waqf* for poor Armenians in

2 See Cezmi Eraslan, *II. Abdülhamid ve İslam Birliği*, (İstanbul : Ötüken, 1992), pp.304-306.

3 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [BOA], Y.A.Hus. 242/9, 5 Cemâziyelevvel 1308-17 Aralık 1890.

Baghdad. His immediate withdrawal was demanded.[4] The Porte ordered the Commander of Gendarmerie, to halt Nusret Paşa's occupation of the above-mentioned land. When the Commander began to carry out this order, he was cursed and beaten by Nusret Paşa, in his office, in front of all his staff.[5] In late February, the Grand Vizier again asked the Sultan to dismiss Nusret Paşa as Inspector of 6th Army, due to latter's outrageous (*edebe mugayir*) behaviour.[6]

In June 1891, as the result of a report by Committee of Military Investigation, which warned of an imminent threat from the growing Shi'i population in Iraq, Abdulhamid dismissed Sırrı Paşa, the Vali. The Grand Vizier objected that it was neither just nor understandable to dismiss Sırrı Paşa, instead of dismissing Nusret Paşa, and that the population at large would react badly.[7] Abdulhamid replied that, although Nusret Paşa's allegations against the Vali were not given any credence, he had lost his confidence in Sırrı Paşa, due to reports about Shi'i expansion in the region.[8] As Sırrı Paşa's successor, Abdulhamid chose a former Vali of Baghdad (1879-1880), Abdurrahman Paşa, who, however, declined to accept the post.[9] Instead, the Sultan appointed Hacı Hasan Refik Paşa, who was known for his pious character.[10] At the same time, upon the request of the Military Inspection Commission, Müşir Recep Paşa, who had served long years in Iraq, was appointed to Baghdad as Commander of

4 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 243/72, 20 Cemâziyelâhir 1308-31 Ocak 1891.

5 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 247/42, 11 Şevval 1308-20 Mayıs 1891.

6 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 244/54, 17 Receb 1308-26 Şubat 1891.

7 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 248/44, 16 Zilkade 1308-23 Haziran 1891. For 'Giritli' Sırrı Paşa, see İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri,* (Istanbul: MEB, 1969), pp.1700-1704.

8 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 248/74, 24 Zilkade 1308-1 Temmuz 1891; *Ibid.* 248/44, 16 Zilkade 1308-23 Haziran 1891. For the Shi'i problem in Iraq, see, Selim Deringil, "The Struggle Against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq: A Study in Ottoman Counter-Propaganda," *Die Welt Des Islams*, XXX (1990), pp.45-62. Cf. Gökhan Çetinsaya, 'Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908 (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1994), pp.222-280.

9 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 249/56, 14 Zilhicce 1308-21 Temmuz 1891. For Abdurrahman Paşa, see İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrıazamlar,* (Istanbul: MEB, 1969), pp.1320-46.

10 For him, see Max Gross, 'Ottoman Rule in the Province of Damascus, 1860-1909' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1979), p.450 fn.84; Abbas al-Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq bain al-Ihtilalain,* (Baghdad, 1935-56), VIII, p.115.

6th Army.[11] However, Abdulhamid also ordered Nusret Paşa to be transferred to Aleppo. In reply, Nusret Paşa thanked the Sultan, and even asked that his salary and allowances be given from the treasury of Aleppo.[12] But, owing to an impending court case about a piece of land he had purchased, involving a person called Mirza Musa, Nusret Paşa had to stay in Baghdad for the time being.[13]

Meanwhile, Nusret Paşa continued to send telegrams to the Porte regarding the internal and external affairs of the *vilayet*, making some false allegations. For example, he once reported that the Iranian Army was concentrating on the border.[14] He also alleged that, together with the Iranian Ebu'l Fazl Mirza, the Naqibu'l Ashraf and the *Naib* of Baghdad were spoiling the morality of the people (*halkın ahlakını ifsad*). But after some investigation, the Grand Vizier, Cevad Paşa, reached the conclusion that these allegations were mere products of animosity.[15]

Like his predecessor, the new Vali, Hasan Refik Paşa, also continued to demand Nusret Paşa's removal from Baghdad, accusing him of causing disorder in the *vilayet*. In July 1892, when the Grand Vizier forwarded one of the Vali's telegrams to the Sultan, Abdulhamid replied that "given [Nusret Paşa's] character and disposition, it is evident that whereever he is sent he will behave in the same unreasonable manner." He finally ordered that, while the Vali, Hasan Paşa, should be instructed to get on well with Nusret Paşa, at least to some extent, Nusret Paşa should be given a strong warning not to interfere in

11 For 'Arnavut' Recep Paşa, see İbrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*, (Istanbul: Yedigün Neşriyatı, 1946), p.318; *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 6 (1908), pp.154-57.

12 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 252/45, 10 Rebiyülevvel 1309-14 Ekim 1891.

13 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 252/33, 7 Rebiyülâhir 1309-10 Kasım 1891.

14 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 254/77, 26 Cemâziyelevvel 1309-28 Aralık 1891. Moreover, a while later, he alleged that a secret alliance had been made between the British and Iranians, concerning an Iranian attack on the border. See BOA. Y.A.Hus. 254/92, 29 Cemâziyelevvel 1309-31 Aralık 1891.

15 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 261/50, 7 Zilkade 1309-3 Haziran 1892. Meanwhile, new conflicts in the *vilayet* administration appeared on the scene, this time between the new Vali of Baghdad, Hasan Refik Paşa, and the Commander of Gendarmerie. Upon the request of the Porte, each sent their own version of the matter. After examining these reports, the Council of Ministers decided that the Commander should be transferred to another province, and the Vali be given an admonition. See BOA. Y.A.Hus. 258/98.

the affairs of the provincial government, as he had no right or authority whatsoever in this respect, and should keep quiet.[16]

The Grand Vizier Paşa questioned this decision, reminding Abdulhamid that the Vali had reported that Nusret Paşa was provoking tension between the Sunnis and the Shi'is in the *vilayet*, and revealing that the Iranian Ambassador to the Porte had made similar complaints. Cevad Paşa urged that Nusret Paşa should be transferred to Aleppo, and that the government should buy up the land he acquired in Baghdad.[17] Abdulhamid declined to follow this advice, urging that it was scarcely credible that Nusret Paşa was trying to bring about a collision between the Sunnis and Shi'is. Instead, he ordered that Nusret Paşa's son, Muzaffer Bey, one of the aides-de-camp of the Grand Vizier, should be sent to Baghdad to investigate the allegations against his father, and to study the political situation in the *vilayet*.[18]

Towards the end of July 1892, Cevad Paşa forwarded two further telegrams of complaint about Nusret Paşa, one from Sayyid Abdurrahman Efendi al-Gaylani, the brother of the Naqib, and one from a certain Abdulkadir, a landlord (*mallak*), both reporting fresh aggressions by Nusret Paşa and his men. Abdulhamid's attention was drawn to the words of "his men" in these statements, and he asked for an investigation. The response of the *vilayet* showed that, generally, Nusret Paşa committed the acts of aggression on his own, but that, when he was not able to do so, he would employ some notorious person of the city and his aides from the army for this kind of job. A list of their names was also forwarded to the Porte, together with the reply of the Vali of Baghdad.[19] Nusret Paşa, on the other hand, was quick to counter-attack,

16 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.66 (1), 7 Muharrem 1310-1 Ağustos 1892. See the Vali's telegram in enclosure (2). The Sultan added that Nusret was said to have acquired a vast amount of land.

17 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 263/29, 8 Muharrem 1310-2 Ağustos 1892. Interestingly, each side accused the other of provoking the Shi'i problem.

18 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.70, 9 Muharrem 1310-3 Ağustos 1892. Muzaffer Bey was given a 100 lira allowance. See Y.A.Res. 60/5 (1), 13 Muharrem 1310-7 Ağustos 1892.

19 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.199, 17 Muharrem 1310-11 Ağustos 1892, enclosing Cevad Paşa's letter dated 4 Muharrem 1310-29 Temmuz 1892. Later, Abdulhamid replied to the effect that Muzaffer Bey was also charged with looking into this last point concerning the men employed by Nusret Paşa. See Irade-Hususi, no.199, 17 Muharrem 1310-11 Ağustos 1892.

insisting that the accusations against him were fabrications, and that it was, on the contrary, the Naqib's family (*Dergâh-ı Kadiriyye*) at Baghdad which was the real troublemaker. Nusret Paşa asserted that the civil administration of Baghdad had fallen under the control of the Naqib and his family (Qadiri *tekke* of Baghdad), and that the Vali was no more than the instrument of the latter. It appears that Nusret Paşa's hatred of the Naqib's family partly stemmed from a quarrel over a certain piece of land. Later, in September 1892, he sent another telegram to the Palace, arguing that due to the harmful results of the influence of this family, especially with regard to their land case, a special commission should be sent to the region, for the sake of the future of Iraq. Upon this, Abdulhamid reiterated that, as Inspector of 6th Army, Nusret had nothing to do with the civil affairs of the *vilayet*. He should keep quiet, and not cause any trouble, or interfere into the affairs of local government.[20]

Sultan Abdulhamid, however, appears to have disbelieved Nusret Paşa's allegations about the Naqib's family. He commented that Nusret Paşa had never been on good terms with any of the Valis of Baghdad, and that all this was because of Nusret Paşa's belief that he would be summoned back to Istanbul if he caused enough trouble to the local authorities. He suggested that the best way to thwart Nusret Paşa's purposes would be to pay no attention to him. Abdulhamid instructed that a strong warning once again should be given to Nusret Paşa "by way of wisdom", to make sure that he would not cause any more harm in the future.[21] For reasons which are unclear, however, Abdulhamid soon changed his mind: he decided that Hüsnü Bey, the newly-appointed Judicial Inspector of Baghdad, should join Muzaffer Bey in conducting as to what to do with Nusret Paşa.[22]

Nusret Paşa, however, was not defenceless. While the two investigators were still on their way to Baghdad, he sent a telegram directly to the Sultan, complaining that the Vali had become a tool in the hands of Sayyid Abdurrahman Efendi of the Naqib's Family and of Kethudazâde Süleyman Faik Bey, a prominent notable of Baghdad, who served as the Chief Secretary to

20 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.23, 6 Rebiyülevvel 1310-28 Eylül 1892.

21 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.7, Gurre-i Safer 1310-25 Ağustos 1892.

22 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.22 (1), 3 Safer 1310-27 Ağustos 1892; Irade-Hususi, no.51, 8 Safer 1310-1 Eylül 1892.

the Vali (*Mektubcu*). He demanded that a full committee of investigation should be sent to Baghdad as quickly as possible.[23] The outbreak of a quarrel between the Vali and Recep Paşa, the Müşir of 6th Army, played further into Nusret's hands. In a message to the Grand Vizier, the Müşir echoed Nusret Paşa's charge that the Vali was being provoked by the Chief Secretary, Süleyman Faik Bey. As a result, Faik Bey was transferred to Diyarbakır.[24]

Finally, Nusret discovered that one of the two officials sent to investigate him, Hüsnü Bey, was a relative of the Public Prosecutor of Baghdad, Mahmud Bey, and objected that he would not get a fair hearing. The Grand Vizier was inclined to endorse this objection, and in any case, questioned whether it was wise to appoint members of the same family to the posts of Public Prosecutor and Judicial Inspector at Baghdad.[25] The Justice Minister disagreed, pointing out that Muzaffer Bey, the other investigator, was Nusret Paşa's own son, and that it would be unfair to transfer or dismiss Hüsnü Bey, who had committed no offence. Abdulhamid backed the Justice Minister, reasoning that: "It is my Imperial demand that the courts be independent, and that judicial officials possess the necessary qualities, and the responsibility for this belongs to the Ministry of Justice. Therefore, Hüsnü Efendi [sic] for the time being should stay in his post."[26]

23 Abdulhamid forwarded this telegram to the Porte without making any comment on it. See BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.85, 15 Safer 1310-8 Eylül 1892. For Nusret Paşa's statement, see enclosure (2).

24 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 264/189, 26 Safer 1310-19 Eylül 1892. See especially the minute by Süreyya Paşa, dated selh-i Safer 1310. For Süleyman Faik Bey, see Azzawi, *Tarikh al-Iraq*, VIII, pp.114, 120; Yılmaz Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hanedanlar: Türkiye*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), pp.734-35.

25 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 265/74, 12 Rebiyülevvel 1310-4 Ekim 1892.

26 See the minute in BOA. Y.A.Hus. 265/74, dated 13 Rebiyülevvel 1310-5 Ekim 1892. Cf. *Tahsin Paşa'nın Yıldız Hatıraları*, 2nd edition (Istanbul: Boğaziçi, 1990), p.32, and M. Kayahan Özgül, *Ali Ekrem Bolayır'ın Hatıraları*, (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), p.192, for the independence of justice system under Abdülhamid. In the course of its investigations, the Porte sometimes revised its decisions. In January 1893, for example, Cevad Paşa, upon the request of the Inspector of Justice of Baghdad, proposed to the Sultan that it would be better to include the *Naib* and the *Defterdar* in the investigation committee, for they had intimate knowledge of the case. This was accepted by Abdulhamid. See Irade-Hususi, no.8, 3 Receb 1310-21 Ocak 1893.

Muzaffer Bey and Hüsnü Bey completed their investigations and submitted their report in May 1893.[27] Their report has not been traced, but whatever their recommendations, it appears that no action was taken against Nusret Paşa, who remained in Baghdad, and continued to pursue his vendetta with the Vali and other local officials. For example, in June 1893, in one of his dispatches to the Porte, Nusret repeated his claims that it was urgent and necessary to institute reforms in Iraq in order to stop the misconduct of civil and military officials, praising Ömer Vehbi Paşa for his harsh actions in Mosul. According to Nusret Paşa it was very unfortunate that while Ömer Vehbi Paşa was making progress, he was stopped because of certain false accusations. He finally asked that a similar kind of reform mission be sent to Baghdad.[28] In September 1893, the Vali reported that, while visiting the tomb of Imam Musa al-Kazım at Kazımayn, Nusret Paşa had threatened the *Kilidar* and the *Hademe* of the tomb, on the grounds that the Sultan's name had been mentioned in the prayers there. Abdulhamid promptly objected that it was a customary act to mention the Sultan's name in the prayers at that tomb, and it should continue to be so. He asked the Grand Vizier to issue a strong warning to Nusret Paşa about his behaviour, which by no means corresponded with "devotion and servitude" (*sıdk ve ubudiyet*).[29]

This warning appears to have made no impression, as the troubles he caused continued as ever. In early October 1893, a telegram reached the Porte from some landowners of Baghdad, saying that Nusret Paşa was confiscating and occupying their lands. Cevad Paşa repeated that this growing conflict between Nusret Paşa and the Vali would disrupt civil and military affairs. When the Vali of Baghdad was asked about this, he confirmed the situation and provided details.[30] Towards the end of October, Nusret Paşa took refuge in the

27 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 273/168 (1), 29 Şevval 1310-16 Mayıs 1893. While Hüsnü Bey stayed in Baghdad, Muzaffer Bey returned to Istanbul. See BOA. Y.A.Hus. 274/30 (1), 4 Zilkade 1310-20 Mayıs 1893.

28 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 276/17, 6 Zilhicce 1310-21 Haziran 1893. Together with his report he also sent a special map, which was said to have been used by the British Indian Army, as proof of the plans of the British government in the region. For Ömer Vehbi Paşa's mission in Mosul, see Çetinsaya, 'Ottoman Administration of Iraq', pp.181-82.

29 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.162 (1), 26 Safer 1311-8 Eylül 1893.

30 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 281/83 (1), 27 Rebiyülevvel 1311-8 Ekim 1893. See enclosure (2) for the Vali's letter.

office of the Gendarmerie Commander, saying that he was afraid for his life and property and could not go out under the present circumstances. In his instructions, Abdulhamid stated that although there was a state of opposition between the two men, the above-mentioned unreasonable situation was not acceptable. The attention of the Vali should be drawn to this, and also necessary advice should be given to Nusret Paşa through the *Serasker*.[31] In another example, towards the end of November 1893, justice officials of Baghdad complained about Nusret Paşa to the Porte through the Ministry of Justice, since he prevented them from doing their job, and he did not hand over some suspects. When the Grand Vizier wrote to Nusret Paşa on the issue, Nusret Paşa denied all these "allegations" and himself made some new accusations about the civil officials.[32]

In December 1894, 21 persons of Baghdad sent a telegram to the Porte, complaining that Nusret Paşa had seized their land and property, and levied illegal taxes on them.[33] Simultaneously, another conflict broke out between Nusret Paşa and the *Naib* of Baghdad, Aziz Bey.[34] These developments finally prompted Abdulhamid to take a decision: Nusret Paşa must be transferred to Aleppo, and there retired on an adequate pension in order to stop his trouble-making. As he explained to the Grand Vizier:[35]

> Just as Nusret Paşa behaved in an unsuitable manner when he was in Istanbul, in Baghdad, too, he has thus far not got on well with the Valis. Now he is provoking Recep Paşa, the Commander of 6th Army, against Hacı Hasan Refik Paşa, and by so doing, he is distrupting the administrative affairs of the province. Given Baghdad's obvious regional importance, the continuation of this situation is absolutely inpermissible. But it is obvious that Nusret Paşa will not change his conduct, and that even he is summoned back to Istanbul, he will continue his previous conduct.

31 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.72, 15 Rebiyülâhir 1311-26 Ekim 1893.

32 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 285/59 (1), 21 Cemâziyelevvel 1311-30 Kasım 1893.

33 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 287/102 (1), 28 Cemâziyelâhir 1311-7 Aralık 1893. In addition, they added, some men employed by Nusret Paşa had threatened them. The Grand Vizier forwarded the telegram without any comment to the Sultan.

34 At first, Nusret Paşa sent a telegram to the *Meşihat*, complaining about Aziz Bey, to which the latter reacted quickly, sending his version of events. See BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.11, 7 Receb 1311-14 Ocak 1894.

35 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.12 (1), 7 Receb 1311-14 Ocak 1894. The Sultan at the same time reiterated his order that the Council of Ministers should meet to discuss the issue.

Abdulhamid was now determined that Nusret Paşa must leave Baghdad. Nonetheless, incident continued.[36] Later, Nusret Paşa was angry with the officials in the office of justice and finance, because they obstructed his business proceedings. Together with 7-8 armed men, he went to the local government building and reproached the above-mentioned officials.[37] In late February 1894, some notables of Baghdad again telegrammed the Porte for help, after describing Nusret Paşa's attacks and aggression.[38] In April 1894, Nusret Paşa attacked the *Kaymakam* of Kazimayn who was then supervising the works on the dams on the Tigris. He was said to have insulted and beaten the *Kaymakam*, before the workers who were gathered there, consisting of several members of the local tribes. An account of this event was passed to the Porte through the Vali of Baghdad.[39]

At the beginning of May 1894, the Vali of Baghdad complained that Nusret Paşa was still interfering in the administrative affairs of Baghdad[40], and soon after, an incident in which Nusret Paşa physically assaulted the *Defterdar* of the *vilayet* led the Vali, the Naqib and other notables of Baghdad to send a lengthy telegram to the Grand Vizier. Abdulhamid responded by repeating his order that Nusret Paşa be transferred to Aleppo[41] and in July, he asked the Grand Vizier whether Nusret Paşa had left Baghdad for Aleppo or not.[42] But the result of the enquiry was negative: although Nusret Paşa had been given all his salary and a travel allowance, he was still in Baghdad, and causing trouble. The civil

36 Nusret Paşa sent another telegram to the Porte, saying that all allegations against him about the land issue were absolutely false. In addition, he argued that because of the misconduct of the *Naib* of Baghdad, a special committee should be sent to the region to carry out an investigation. See Irade-Hususi, no. 12 (1), 7 Receb 1311-14 Ocak 1894.

37 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 290/39 (1), 6 Şaban 1311-12 Şubat 1894.

38 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 291/14 (1), 18 Şaban 1311-24 Şubat 1894.

39 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 293/45 (1), 8 Şevval 1311-14 Nisan 1894.

40 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 295/104 (1), 29 Şevval 1311-5 Mayıs 1894.

41 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.149 (1), 4 Zilhicce 1311-8 Haziran 1894. For the telegram, see enclosure (2). After the telegram, the *Defterdar* and Nusret Paşa also sent their own versions of the events. Moreover, the Minister of Finance intervened and wrote to the Grand Vizier stating their concern over the issue. But Abdulhamid returned all this correspondence to the Grand Vizier without making any comment on it, on the grounds that he had already ordered Nusret Paşa's transfer to Aleppo and had nothing to do with them.

42 BOA. Irade-Hususi, no.30 mükerrer, 8 Muharrem 1312-12 Temmuz 1894.

authorities were "helpless", and the Commander of 6th Army was therefore asked to repeat the Sultan's decision to Nusret Paşa and convince him to leave.[43] But this had no effect. In the middle of August, Nusret Paşa was still in Baghdad.[44] However, the records suggest that from August 1894 onwards, he refrained from causing further trouble.[45] Nusret Paşa stayed in Baghdad until his death on 24 November 1896.[46]

43 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 304/84 (1), 29 Muharrem 1312-2 Ağustos 1894.

44 BOA. Y.A.Hus. 306/101 (1), 17 Safer 1312-20 Ağustos 1894.

45 From then on, we see no reference to Nusret Paşa in the documents. It is interesting to note that although Nusret Paşa wrote a great deal about the British intrigues in the region, he seems to have got on very well with the British representatives at Baghdad. On his death, Mockler, the Consul-General, wrote the following: "His Excellency during his residence in Baghdad was always on the most friendly terms with this residency and his somewhat sudden death is therefore a cause for much regret." See FO 195/1935, no.573/101, Mockler to Currie, Baghdad, 28 November 1896. Cf. *Sicill-i Osmani*, IV, pp.554 and 871.

46 See FO 195/1935, no.573/101, Mockler to Currie, Baghdad, 28 November 1896, extract under date 24th instant from my diary to the government of India: "H.E. Nusret Paşa, aide de camp to H.I.M. the Sultan and honorary inspector of the VIth army corps, died today." Cf. *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, XXV, p.354, gives the date as 24 Eylül 1896, and *Sicill-i Osmani*, IV, p.554, as 7 Cemâziyelâhir 1314 (13 Kasım 1896).