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0521291666 - History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform,
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Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw

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*Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic:
The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975*

STANFORD J. SHAW

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P R E F A C E

During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire witnessed a sustained effort of reform that saw the long-preserved and honored institutions of the classical Ottoman state replaced by new ones, inspired by an increasing knowledge of European thought, society, and government and modified to satisfy Ottoman needs and conditions. In the process the scope of government was extended far beyond the limits imposed by the traditional Ottoman way into every aspect of life, overwhelming the autonomous religious, economic, and social groups that had survived for so long as the substrata of Ottoman society. A new, modern, westernized ruling bureaucracy replaced the old Ruling Class, extended its power throughout the empire, and created a highly complex system of government that ruled with an autocracy unmatched in traditional times.

The era of modern Ottoman reforms began in the last decade of the reign of Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839), who laid the foundations for what followed. His work was extended and at least partially completed during the Tanzimat reform period, which encompassed the reigns of his sons Abdulmecit I (1839–1861) and Abdulaziz (1861–1876), and it was carried out by the reformist bureaucracy of the Men of the Tanzimat, led by able statesmen such as Mustafa Reşit Paşa, Ali Paşa, and Fuat Paşa.

Reform in the Ottoman Empire was a complex process; each solution created new problems. The application of new laws and practices was slowed for a number of reasons. First of all, the empire remained very large, with a heterogeneous society and relatively poor communications. Second, the inexperience of the reformers and the greed of the imperial powers of Europe for profits at the expense of the relatively undeveloped empire and its people perpetuated and deepened a series of economic problems inherited from the past. Third, demands for social and political reforms, themselves consequences of the Tanzimat, conflicted with the desire of its leaders to modernize as rapidly and efficiently as possible, without the delays and compromises inherent in any democratic system. Fourth, nationalistic elements among the subject minorities, nourished and sustained by Russia and, to a lesser extent, the other Western powers, demanded autonomy or independence from the empire and dramatized their ambitions with sporadic terrorism within the Ottoman dominions and with anti-Muslim propaganda in Europe and America. Finally, the great powers, though held back from breaking up and partitioning the empire by their concern to preserve the European balance of power, intervened in internal Ottoman affairs to secure political and economic advantages for themselves. While the Ottoman reformers adjusted themselves and their programs as much as possible to meet these and other challenges, they lacked the knowledge, experience, and strength needed to solve them within the relatively short time left by their enemies.

Though the Tanzimat reforms were accompanied by an extension of the principle of representative government, ironically they culminated in the sovereign autocracy

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of Abdulhamit II (1876–1909), who brought them to full realization. After a brief period of democracy following his deposition, there was a return to autocracy led not by his successors but rather by the leaders of the Young Turk regime (1908–1918), who continued the reforms in many areas while dragging an unprepared empire into the quagmire of World War I, where devastation and defeat led to its ultimate dissolution. Well meant but not always well executed, frustrated by many problems not of its own making as well as many that were, the Ottoman reform brought the empire closer to contemporary European society and institutions but failed to preserve it. The foundations had been laid, however, for the Republic of Turkey, which rose on the ruins of the empire under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1923–1938) and his successors.

The story of modern Ottoman and Turkish history has been told many times, but usually on the basis of European source materials and in the context of European ambitions and prejudices. It has only been in recent years that a beginning has been made in telling the story on the basis of Turkish sources. It is the object of this work to bring together the Western and Turkish sources, adding the results of the authors' research in the Ottoman archives and libraries and presenting the story in its own context.

We would like to pay tribute to the small band of pioneering scholars who have begun this work since the end of World War II: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, of the University of Istanbul, Cavit Baysun, of the University of Ankara, Niyazi Berkes, of McGill University, Roderic Davison, of George Washington University, Halil İnalcık, of the University of Chicago, Kemal Karpat, of the University of Wisconsin, Enver Ziya Karal, of the University of Ankara, Ercüment Kuran, of Hacettepe University, Ankara, Barnard Lewis, of Princeton University, Şerif Mardin, of the Bosphorus University, Istanbul, Lewis V. Thomas, of Princeton University, and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, of Istanbul. We also would like to express our particular gratitude to Midhat Sertoğlu, Turgut Işıksal, and Rauf Tuncay, of the Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul; and to the directors and staffs of the Topkapı Palace Archives and Library, the Istanbul University Library, the Istanbul Municipal Library, the Istanbul Archaeological Museum Library, the Hakkı Tarık Us Library, the Süleymaniye Library, and the Bayezit General Library, Istanbul; the Turkish National Library and the Library of the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara; the British Museum, Public Record Office, and Commonwealth Relations Office, London; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Cambridge University Library; the Quai d'Orsay Archives, Archives Nationales, Archives of the Ministry of War, Chateau de Vincennes and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv and National Library, Vienna; the Harry Elkins Widener Library, Harvard University; the Firestone Library, Princeton University; and the University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, without whose help the research for this work could never have been completed. We would like to pay particular tribute to two scholars of European diplomatic history whose lack of prejudice and search for truth regarding the Turks have stimulated our own work: William L. Langer, of Harvard University, and Leften Stavrianos, of Northwestern University. Finally, we are grateful to the very competent and cooperative staff of the Cambridge University Press American office in New York, and in particular to Colin Jones, Rhona Johnson, Claire Komnick, and Richard Hollick, who have assisted us with great patience and dedication in producing this work.

The study of Ottoman history involves unusually complicated problems regarding transliteration and place names. Ottoman Turkish was written in the Arabic script,

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and its transliteration into Western characters has varied widely according to the language of the transliterators. Thus the sound rendered “j” in English has been presented as “dj” in French and “c” in modern Turkish. The names given individual cities and even entire provinces have also varied by language; thus Istanbul, Izmir, and Edirne in Turkish have remained Constantinople, Smyrna, and Adrianople in most Western languages. For purposes of consistency and accuracy, in this work the modern Turkish spellings and place names have been used, with only a few modifications when they have become particularly accepted in English, or are renderings of Arabic or Persian phrases. Ottoman dates are rendered into their European equivalents for book citations only when the original calendar in use is given or can be deduced from internal evidence. The Arabic article *al-* is transliterated according to the most common modern Turkish usage for each word but here, as in other respects, modern Turkish orthography is not consistent and has changed over time.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND PRINTING

This second printing of *Reform, Revolution, and Republic* has provided an opportunity to incorporate many useful comments and to correct a number of errors.

We also have noted communications from Armenians who contend that we have failed to sufficiently take into account their situation in the Ottoman Empire and, in particular, their sufferings in the last half-century of the Empire, and that this was the result of overemphasis in the use of Ottoman sources.

We make no apology for using Ottoman sources for a history of the Ottoman Empire. For too long the Ottomans have been studied without the use of *any* of their sources, resulting in serious distortion and error. No history of France would be considered methodologically sound and balanced if it were written on the basis of English and Italian observations. At the same time, however, we have made use of a mass of relevant non-Ottoman materials, as is evident in the Bibliography.

No one denies, or seeks to deny, that the Armenian people suffered terribly during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. We do make this clear, but in the context of Ottoman history. What may be overlooked is that the experience of the Armenians, however terrible it undoubtedly was, was not unique to them. It was part of a general tragedy that engulfed *all* the people of the Empire – Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Jews, and others, all of whom have traumatic memories of the period. This was the terrible result of the final breakup of a multinational society as the result of a whole series of brutal and destructive foreign invasions, terroristic attacks, national revolts, massacres and counter massacres, and famine and disease, in which all the Empire's people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, had their victims and criminals. We appreciate, understand, and sympathize with the sensitivity of the Armenians and others on this issue. But it is to the interest of all concerned that all sources be examined without preconceptions or prejudice. As additional research uncovers new information, it is inevitable that this and other books on the subject will be modified. Only through consultation of *all* relevant records by different researchers, each giving his own differential weight to the sources at his disposal to present his interpretation, will a definitive picture emerge. The many facets of truth will appear only when the inquiring mind of the reader examines all the interpretations and reaches its own conclusions.

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- Tevetoğlu, *Atatürk'le Samsuna Çıkanlar*
Samsuna Çıkanlar
- Tevetoğlu, *Türkiyede Sosyalist*
- TKS
- TOEM
- Trumpener
- TTEM
- Tunaya
- Türk İstiklâl Harbi*
- TV
- Uzunçarşılı, *Alemdar*
- Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu*
- Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*
- Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*
- Uzunçarşılı, *Yıldız*
- Vakâyi-i Enderun*
- Von Moltke, *Bulgaria*
- Von Moltke, *Zustände*
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Weiker, <i>Revolution</i>	Walter Weiker, <i>The Turkish Revolution, 1960–1961. Aspects of Military Politics</i> , Washington, D.C., 1963.
Yalman, <i>Turkey</i>	Ahmet Emin Yalman, <i>Turkey in My Time</i> , Norman, Okla., 1956.
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NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

The modern standard Turkish spelling system has been employed in this book with only a few exceptions. The Latin letters used in this system are pronounced about the same as their English equivalents, with the following exceptions:

Letter	English pronunciation
c	j
ç	ch
ğ	lengthens preceding vowel; thus <i>ağa</i> is pronounced a–a
ı	like the <i>a</i> in <i>serial</i> or <i>io</i> in <i>cushion</i>
j	zh
ö	like the German ö
ş	sh
ü	like the German ü
v	lighter than English v

The modern Turkish tendency to change the final Ottoman letters *d* and *b* into *t* and *p* has been followed, thus *Murat*, *Mahmut*, and *kitap*, but these letters return to *d* and *b* when followed by vowels, as *Mahmudu* and *kitabı*. Arabic terms used in Ottoman Turkish have been given their Turkish pronunciations and spellings, thus *mültezim* and *mütevelli* rather than *multazim* and *mutawalli*.

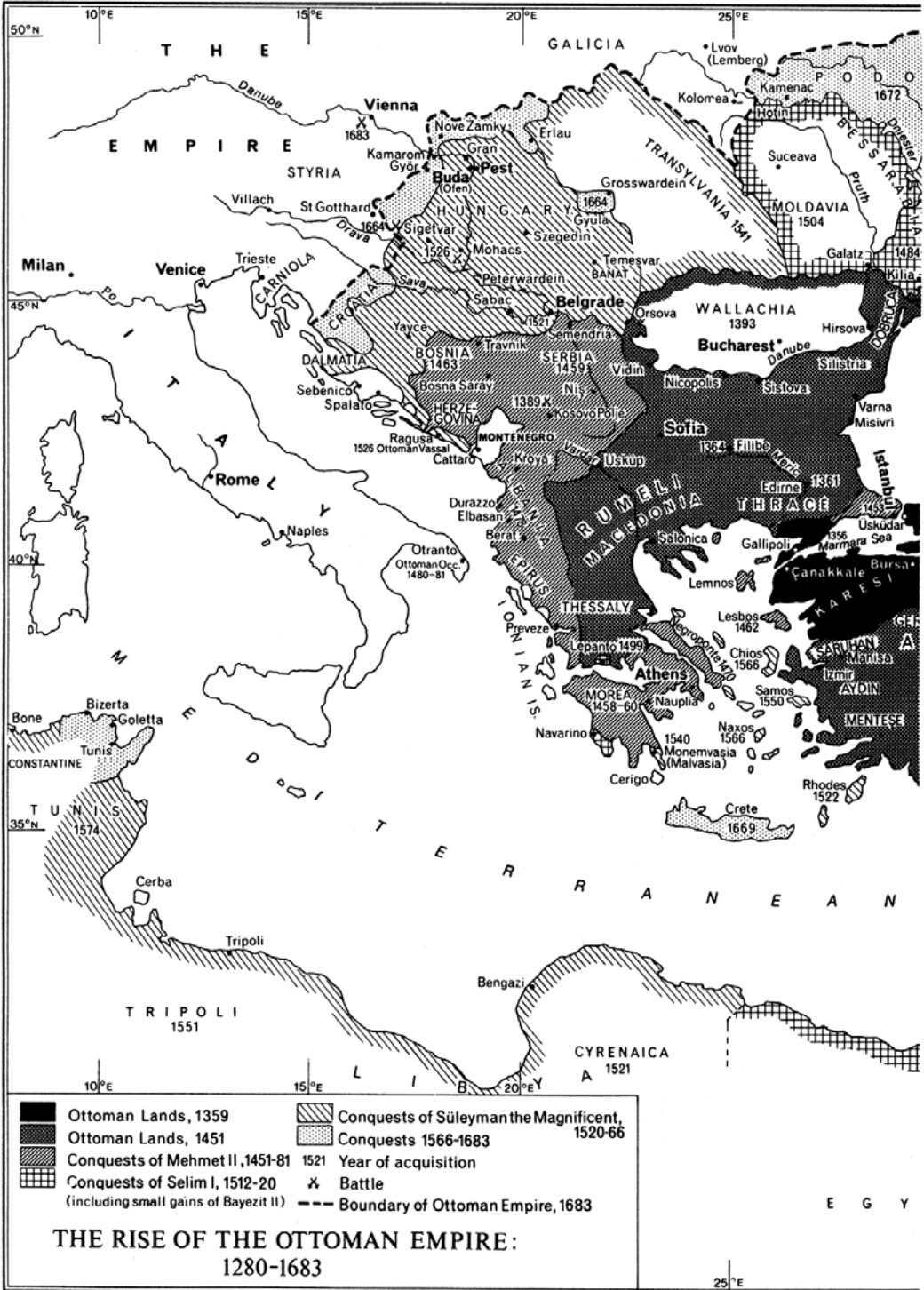
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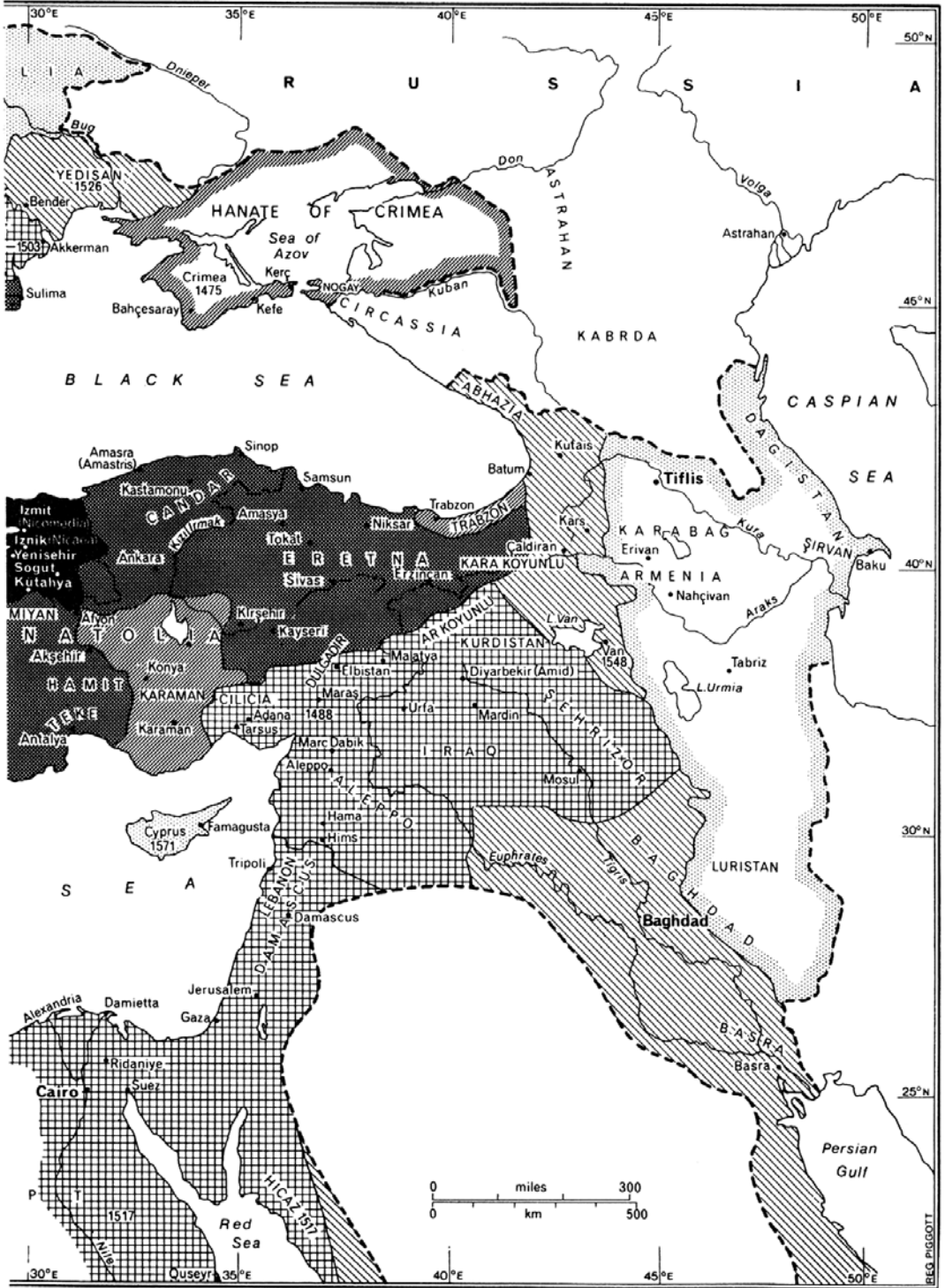
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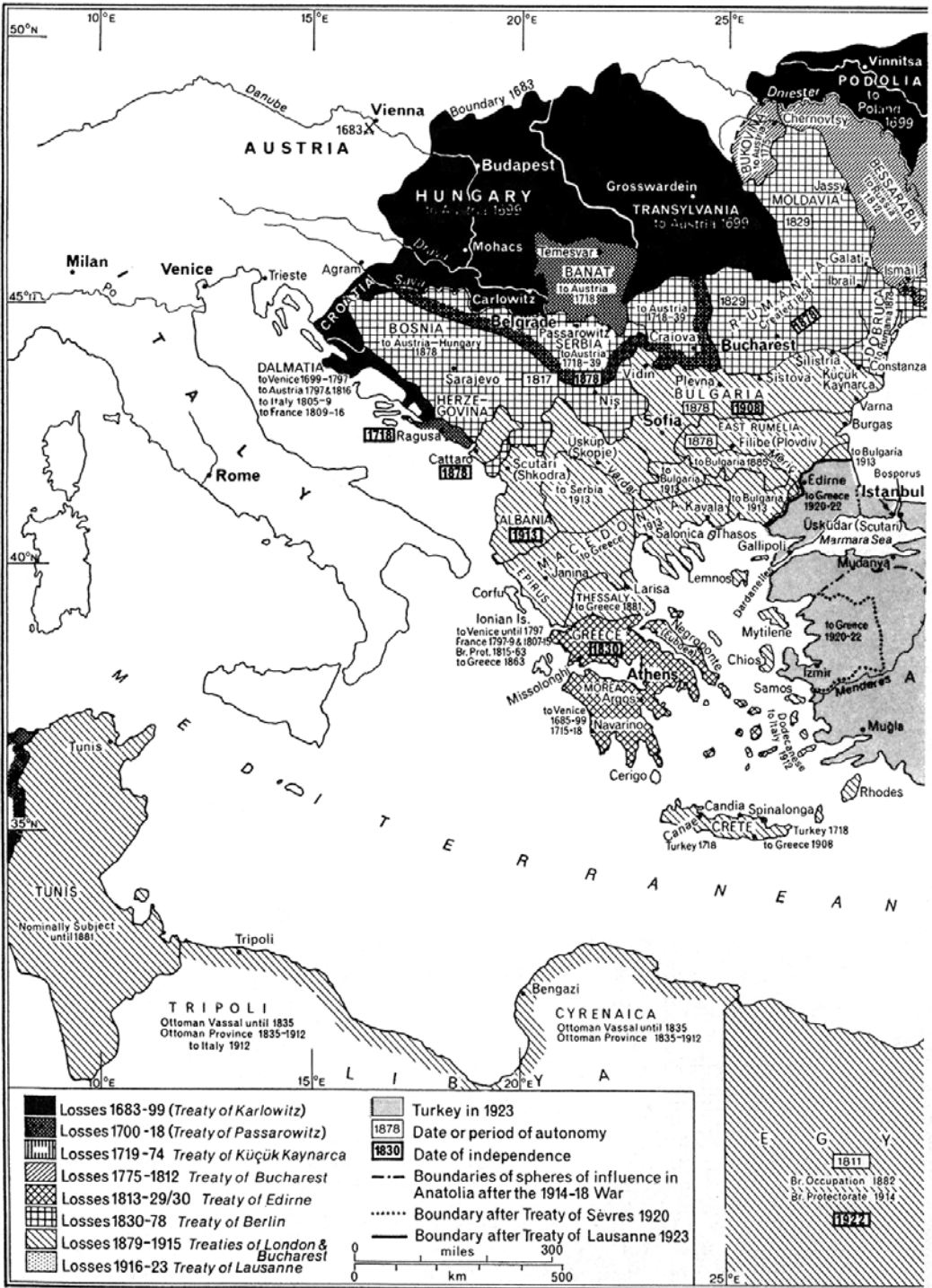
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